University of Strathclyde
John Logie Baird Centre
Department of English Studies

Thesis Entitled:

SPORT FOR THE SLOTHFUL?

A STUDY OF TELEVISED FOOTBALL IN BRITAIN

Richard Haynes

Submitted for Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

February 1997

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements

My own love affair with football is inexorably linked to watching the game on television, and I would have to thank my parents for letting me stay up on Saturday nights during the 1970s when 9 o'clock usually signalled bedtime on a weekday.

I give special thanks to my supervisor Professor Simon Frith for his support and enthusiasm for the project and the Economic and Social Research Council for funding the research on the Scottish Doctoral Programme in Media Studies at the John Logie Baird Centre for Media Studies. I would also like to thank the following people for their participation or assistance during the project: John Caughie, Raymond Boyle, Martin Montgomery, Tony Pearson, Margaret Philips, David Imrie, Stephanie Marriott, Karen Lurie, Philip Differ, Archie MacPherson, Kenneth Wolstenholme, Mike Abbott, Steve Redhead, Adam Brown, Jon and Sara Jewitt, Janet Leivers and Bill for bringing me to Scotland in the first place. Finally, for all her tolerance, support and love, I would like to thank my wife Susan.

ABSTRACT

The thesis examines the relationship between football and television in Britain. It explores the historical and contemporary transformations television has brought to professional football as a popular cultural form, in terms of the way in which the sport is organised and spectated. Similarly, there is also an investigation of the place football has in the history and development of British broadcasting in its form and content, from radio to television.

There is also a concern for the relationships between the political economy of televised football, broadcasting technology, the codes and conventions of production, the mode of address, and the reception of these audio-visual media. In particular, the importance of negotiations for television rights, the construction and manipulation of sound and image by television technologies and how these processes relate to the consumption of football are considered.

The research emphasises the importance of empirical study of sports and media industries and, therefore, is based upon historical archives, interviews with key individuals, textual analysis and participant observation. Several case studies are used to illustrate the thesis, including a history of broadcasting the World Cup, the televising and marketing of the 1994 World Cup in the USA, the television coverage of football in Scotland (specifically the 1996 European Championships), and the viewing of televised football by men in public domains.

The thesis takes an interdisciplinary approach to the study of the relationship between football and television and argues that an understanding of the processes of production and consumption of televised football are complex and contradictory. The study examines and adds to theoretical debates about sport and television in society, focusing on the concepts of the sports-media complex, globalisation, masculine and national identities, and audience reception.

Sport absolutely overpowers film and everything else in the entertainment industry.
Rupert Murdoch

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: A DIFFERENT BALL GAME

The Spectacle of Televised Football

Football, as a televised spectacle, attracts some of the largest television audiences in the UK. Within the history of broadcasting, events like the World Cup or the European Championships have attracted audiences which outstrip other prominent televised events such as the first landing on the moon, the Royal Weddings and Live Aid. Moreover, at the outset of my research a European–wide television survey suggested that football accounted for the most watched television programmes of 1993 in Italy, Spain, Portugal, Denmark, France, Poland and the Netherlands (*The European*, 6–12 May 1994). Televised football is truly a global universal which has wide popular appeal, employs many thousands of people from both within the cultural institutions of football and broadcasting and generates a colossal income and prestige for both industries.

In Britain, the relationship between football and television has not, however, always been sanguine and throughout their historical association the struggles over the representation of the sport through the lens of the camera and the microphone, who this mediation is for, and when or how it is delivered, have often proved volatile. The main causes of these disruptions and altercations have been a set of conflicting agendas which reflect the historical infrastructure of football as a professional sport and the unique political economy of British broadcasting formed by an uneasy marriage between public service broadcasting and commercial (otherwise labelled 'independent') television. How the discourses of these cultural industries combine or conflict, and ultimately construct televised football as a popular cultural form is a central focus of this thesis. Before outlining the key theoretical questions and ideas of the thesis in more detail, I will first sketch out the academic terrain within which the research is positioned and has progressed.

Situating the Research: Literature on Television and Sport

As an academic field of enquiry and cumulative knowledge, the study and research into the

relationships between television and sport is relatively new. Apart from the sporadic appearance of media or cultural studies of televised sport during the 1970s, the literature on the subject did not gain momentum until the 1980s and find a more systematic approach until the 1990s. Considering the amount of literature given over to other television genres (in particular news, current affairs and popular drama) or to other aspects of the football configuration (specifically football hooliganism) it is surprising that academic research has taken so long to recognise one of the most pervasive aspects of our popular culture. Televised sport not only provides our main connection to sport itself, but also our ideas about nationality, class, race, gender, age and (dis)ability. It therefore presents a rich seam of material from which to investigate and understand our social, cultural, economic and political lives.

As Whannel (1992) has highlighted, the relative dearth of material on televised sport from within the growing field of media studies was largely due to a schematic split within the academic analysis of television between textual or semiotic critiques which drew upon film theory and socio–economic analysis which focused upon production practices and the political organisation of the media. The former approach is most recognisable in the British Film Institute publication *Football On Television* edited by Buscombe (1975) which incorporated a series of textual readings on the televising of the 1974 World Cup. This exploratory work has proved very influential within subsequent research on televised sport, specifically related to the ideological components of sports broadcasts in particular Nowell–Smith (1978), Morse (1983), Tudor (1992) and, Rose and Friedman (1994). Analysis of the structural aspects of the sport–television nexus provide the alternate trajectory within the media study of sport which can be identified in the work of North American studies by Rader (1984) and Goldlust (1987), and within the UK by Barnett (1990). These studies investigated the transformation of sport by television, in particular how this is related to economic imperatives of television and sponsorship or the cultural policies of nation states in pursuit of public service criteria.

Other major studies, most notably by those within Wenner (ed, 1989), Whannel (1992) and Blain, Boyle and O'Donnell (1993), have variously attempted to bridge this analytical gap through a mixture of political economy, content analysis and aesthetic concerns. These studies have a clear connection to the interdisciplinary agenda of British Cultural Studies which had its roots in the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at Birmingham University. Here, studies

by Clarke and Clarke (1982) on the ideological effect of highlights and action replays or J.E. Hargreaves (1986) on the hegemonic power of sport are particular landmarks in the study of sport, the media and society. The issues of power have also been raised by feminist critiques of sport and the media which in Britain has been sustained by J. Hargreaves (1994) and in North America by Creedon (ed, 1994). Research on the issues of race and ethnicity in televised sport have largely gone under–researched, with a cultural study on the basketball mega–star Michael Jordan by Dyson (1993) a notable exception.

From within the sociological and cultural study of football, the investigation of televised football has remained under–researched. As I have previously argued in Haynes (1995), this is due to a preoccupation with fan violence as the theoretical concern of studying the sport. While this has been rectified in recent years with work by Redhead (1991), Williams and Wagg (1991), R. Taylor (1992) and Sugden and Tomlinson (1994) to name but a few, any in–depth research on the interrelationship between television and the sport before my own research began has not been forthcoming. The only exceptions to this have been produced by the UK's leading (in terms of output) football research group, the Sir Norman Chester Centre for Football Research at Leicester University. In particular, Williams (1994) has produced an excellent overview of the shifts in the television–football nexus during the early–1990s. Non–academic work on televised football has emerged among popular titles on football which have benefited from the explosion in football literature kick–started by the football fanzine sub–culture (Haynes, 1995) and the success of the fan–autobiography of Nick Hornby (1992). In particular, Fynn and Guest (1994) among other subjects, uncover some of the inner workings of the football industry and how television is gaining control of the sports future.

From within the world of television accounts of the codes, conventions and practices of televised sport are revealed in a number of biographies. The best of the bunch include Wolstenholme (1958) on *Sports Special*, Johnston (ed, 1968) on cricket, Waddell (1979) on darts, Bough (1980) on *Grandstand*, Maskell (1988) on tennis, Martin–Jenkins (1990) on cricket and from football MacPherson (1991). These all offer insightful material on the elements of production within televised sport, in particular the art of running commentary. Aspects of the production codes and practices of televised sport also appear within media studies of television which look at British broadcasting more generally. Again, two studies

stand out: the historical account of British broadcasting by Briggs (1979) and the survey of television producers by Tunstall (1992).

Finally, within this initial review of literature there is a growing body of work on the globalisation of televised sport, related to both the pan–global reach of mega–events like the World Cup and the localised effects within individual nations.Again the work of Blain, Boyle and O'Donnell (1993) is significant, as is research from within figurational sociology by Maguire (1991, 1993 and 1994) and from Australia by Rowe, Lawrence, Miller and McKay (1994) and the special edition of *Media, Culture and Society* on 'Sport, Globalisation and the Media' edited by Rowe and Wood (1996). Globalisation is also a growing theme in the study of football including Sugden and Tomlinson (eds, 1994), Giulianotti and Williams (eds, 1994) and Wagg (ed, 1995).

Researching Televised Football

The scope of my research specifically addresses the political economy of televised football, its production and aesthetic construction, and its reception by male audiences in public domains. These are the three axes upon which the research is premised. Moreover, all three foci are positioned within a wider context of mass media legislation, national and regional cultural identity, the construction of masculinities and the analytical issues of modernity and postmodernity.

The research project complements and further develops my previous work in the field of media and popular cultural studies on football (Haynes, 1995). The research critically documents the various discourses, practices and biographies associated with televised football by employing the methodologies of archival evidence, textual analysis of audio–visual material, individual interviews with key personnel within the television industry, and participant observation of male audiences. How and why these techniques were deployed within the research are revealed within the main text, but I will briefly sketch out the main themes of the methodology chapter by chapter.

The initial research proposal which provided the premise for the thesis was heavily weighted towards the reception of televised football. This was mainly due to my own history of

researching football fandom, and an eagerness to produce a wider understanding of the ways in which the sport is consumed. However, upon undertaking the research it soon became apparent that there was a large gap in the body of knowledge on televised football as an industrial and aesthetic form both within media and television studies of sport, and within sport and leisure studies of television. Moreover, there was a clear need to bridge a schematic distinction between the study of media and sport which, as suggested by the review of literature above, had only started to be broken down in the late–1980's and early–1990's, specifically by Whannel (1992) and Critcher (1992) in the UK. Therefore, the first half of the thesis addresses the historical development of the genre (its political economy, technology, production codes, and aesthetics), continues with several case studies of televised football as a globalised and localised cultural form (its mode of address, promotional culture and relation to issues of national identity), and concludes with a phenomenological study of public audiences for the sport on television. Therefore, the project has continually transformed itself within certain parameters which have maintained the focus on the relationship between football and television.

In studying the history of televised football it was clear that in order to fully understand how and why the television genre has developed as it has, there was a need to connect the discourses and practices of radio broadcasting from football to those of the audio–visual medium to provide a wider ranging history of outside broadcasting. In particular, the history of running commentaries from sporting arenas served by the institutional infrastructure and technology of broadcasting provided an interesting way of thinking about the mediation of football as a distinctive discourse type or sub–genre of broadcast talk. Commentaries are intentionally communicative, a public discourse which attempts to simulate the co–presence of the listener or viewer with the commentator. One distinguishing aspect of sports commentaries is that they are, with few exceptions, conducted outside of a broadcasting studio, the conventional, institutional home of radio and television. Therefore, they have their own institutional, discursive and technological requirements and histories. Furthermore, these requirements differ between radio and television, and in order to fully understand football commentary a central concern is to study both the continuities and divergencies of form and content between the two medias, over time.

A major problem in researching this history is that much of early radio and television coverage

of football was not recorded or is not readily available as research material. The most fruitful areas for research included the promotional literature of British broadcasters (the *Radio Times*, the *BBC Handbook* and the *TV Times*); newspapers and contemporary journals (mainly the sports pages and financial pages of the popular press); individual interviews and oral accounts by producers and commentators; football videos and documentaries; and my own personal memory of programmes (which only stretches back into the 1970s). Whannel (1992) in his general study of the historical relationship between sport and television utilised the BBC archives held in Reading, however, it was felt that the material obtained from the above sources was sufficient to provide a coherent and genuine documentation of the key transformations and continuities without recourse to the other resources available. This is as much a practical research decision as it is an epistemological one.

History is not just about plotting dates and the movements of key individuals, it is a process, which is struggled over and negotiated. Within the archaeology of broadcasting football there is a need to tease out key discursive moments. These involve the study of the internal politics of broadcasters (for instance issues of public service broadcasting and commercial television); the internal politics of football (of the football authorities, the clubs, the players and the fans); and how these institutional discourses interrelate. This involves researching both the political economy of broadcasting football commentaries (for instance, negotiations for the rights to broadcast or the scheduling of programmes), and the codes and practices of broadcasting football in sound and vision. Therefore, Chapter 2 addresses the formative relationships between the football authorities, amateur and professional clubs and the BBC, together with a study of the innovations in football commentary on radio from 1927 to 1939 and the outbreak of war. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 subsequently break down these distinct elements of the mediation process of political economy, technology and codes and practices to review the history of similar developments in the televising of football. All three chapters trace a history of the genre from the short–lived appearances of 'live' coverage in the late–1930s, to the edited highlights packages we are familiar with today.

The principle thrust of my argument in this half of the thesis is that broadcasting of running commentaries in Britain inaugurated a new relationship between professional football and its public. The debate over the effect of radio and television broadcasts on actual attendance's at

football has been a constant throughout the history of broadcasting, hotly disputed but never conclusive. However, the balance of power within the most disruptive of relationships – between the football authorities and broadcasters – has drastically changed over time. Although this relationship has become a symbiotic one, strengthened by the sports sponsorship boom of the 1970's, the struggle for power over the organisation of the sport has dramatically swung from football to television, most notably, in Britain, with the inroads of television companies like BSkyB.

These issues are taken up more specifically in Chapter 6, 7 and 8. Chapter 6 investigates the global processes of televised football through a case study of the 1994 World Cup held in the United States. Drawing upon promotional material and a video archive of terrestrial television coverage of the entire finals specifically recorded for the research, I investigate the complex relationships between football, the media, sponsorship and tourism. After a review of the political economy of the World Cup finals, I investigate the manner in which the competition was televisually constructed and ordered for the UK audience, with a specific reference to the way in which football can be touristically themed, in this case creating a slice of America in British living rooms.

Chapter 7 returns to the coverage of domestic football and the recent transformations in the dynamic relationship between football and television, specifically the central role of satellite broadcasting in instigating the English Premier League, and conversely, the role of football in securing a future for non–terrestrial pay television in the UK and Europe. A discussion of the recent trends in this commercialisation process, which conflates the economic imperatives of television and sport, concludes with the wider debate concerning pay–per–view television, and asks what role football might play in its introduction?

Chapter 8 provides a case study of how these transformations in the televising of football have effected issues relating to national identity in Scotland. How televised football is negotiated, produced and distributed within Scotland provides the focus for understanding these processes, demanding that we think about the specificity of televised football markets within a core concern over the "universalising pressures of international sports governance and media representation" (Rowe et al, 1994; 661). Here, a textual analysis of football commentary and

punditry is used to illustrate my argument, utilising a second video archive of terrestrial television coverage of the 1996 European Championships in England.

Finally, Chapter 9 refocuses an attention to the context of television consumption. Drawing upon a participant observation of men watching football in public domains the chapter is concerned with the phenomenology and social processes of public viewing in pubs, and sports clubs. After an initial review of recent literature on television audience research and spectatorship I use viewing football as a public domain in which to question the construction of masculinities. In other words, there is less of a focus on the private pleasures and politics of the domestic viewing space and more an investigation of the male dominated public domains which already have a historically constructed habitus. Connections between drinking, football and television combine to produce an understanding of how men are socialised into certain gender roles, in particular, through the meanings and significance placed upon talk about football.

Chapter 10 concludes the thesis and attempts to connect the way in which these processes are linked to the political economy of televised football. As new markets are exploited within the football–television nexus, and the sport becomes increasingly branded within an evolving marketing mix, the extraordinariness of the football industry and its governance is analysed, concentrating on issues of corruption, 'sleaze' and violence. How the technological revolution of the global communication industries conflicts or colludes with the traditions and modernisation of football as a spectator and mediatized sport preoccupies the final focus of the research.

CHAPTER 2

"THERE'S MANY A SLIP 'TWIXT THE EYE AND THE LIP": AN EXPLORATORY HISTORY OF FOOTBALL BROADCASTS AND RUNNING COMMENTARIES ON RADIO (1927–39)

"A fireside orchestra for sluggards"

The first running commentary on a football match was provided by Captain Teddy Wakelam in January 1927 from the Highbury Stadium, where Herbert Chapman's Arsenal played Sheffield United. The newly formed British Broadcasting Corporation had been constituted under Royal Charter in 1926 and, as a 'public service' broadcaster, given the freedom by the Postmaster–General to provide "early" outside broadcasts from sporting events. Because of the hurried arrangements, the *Radio Times* did not have the opportunity to inform radio listeners that the match would be subject to a running commentary. Ironically the programme 'subbed–off' for football's first "live" radio appearance was a performance of Sullivan's aptly named 'Overture to the Ball'. Also, within the same issue of the *Radio Times*, critic Rose Macauley wrote: "A bright millennium...seems to be rapidly approaching. It is to be a millennium of comfort and ease; an arm–chair millennium." It could easily have been a portentous statement outlining professional football's relationship with its future audience: the armchair supporters of the game.

The professional game itself had recently undergone its own 'soccer revolution' in 1925 when the International Board decided to change the offside rule (much to the annoyance of many nations outside of Britain). Where previously a forward required at least three defenders between him and the goal for him to proceed without being offside, from 1925 he only needed two. The rule change was designed to increase the number of goals scored within the British leagues, and therefore increase the entertainment value for the football supporter, who had begun to tire of free–kick after free–kick caused by cunning offside–traps. Reflecting on the changes within British football during the inter–War years the football journalist Willy Meisl later criticised the International Boards' decision which he translated as a form of surrender to commercialism:

> This change in the soccer creed was high–treason and heresy to the amateur game, to the spirit of the sport, and, if everything is considered, also to

common sense. (1956; 15)

For in trying to boost attendances through a change in the laws of the game the net effect was the cultivation of an even more defensive style of play within the British game. And although there was a short–term increase in attendances, Meisl concluded:

> As so often with new patent medicines, the miracle cure wears off and what remains is the old ailment – only worse. (1956; 16)

It was upon a sound defensive strategy that manager Herbert Chapman gained tremendous success, firstly with Huddersfield Town (1920 to 1925) and then most emphatically with Arsenal (1925 to his death in 1934). Not only a football manager but also a flamboyant showman, Chapman altered the tactical make–up of professional football with the introduction of the specialised role of the 'stopper' centre–half designed, as the name implies, to halt the progress of the opposing centre–forward. With the new safety–first mentality and a team full of international 'stars' including Charles Buchan and Alex James, Arsenal were all–pervasive from the late–twenties to the mid–thirties. It is therefore not too surprising to find that Arsenal featured on radio commentaries far more frequently than any other club during this period (for example in 1930, the year Arsenal first won the FA Cup, they appeared in all of the six live commentaries broadcast by the BBC). However, the football authority's fears of falling goals and gates still endured after 1925, and it was within this context that the inaugural radio commentaries began.

After only three seasons of intermittent running commentaries on League and Cup matches, the Football Association recognised the potential threat to the sports' modest upturn in popularity since the rule change in 1925. Early fears were based upon the belief that broadcasting would keep people away from football: radio would make football supporters passive. Echoes of this particular discourse continue today, not least because of the cumulative effect of the incredible number of live games shown on terrestrial, satellite and cable TV stations. Then, as now, speculation as to the possible social effects of broadcasting technology were voiced, sometimes from the most improbable sources.

In a feature entitled 'SPORTS FOR THE SLOTHFUL or, Football in the Dining–room' (*Radio Times* 23.2.30) novelist Winifred Holtby described how she listened to her first running commentary of a football match. After initial comments about the "old–fashioned"wireless

"clearing its throat" and the sudden eruption of hurried, disjointed commentary which subsequently arrived, Holtby concluded:

> now I know the whole duty of Football. It is to provide a fireside orchestra for sluggards. I know that if ever I want a really exciting sport, I have to wait to put my feet on the footstool, push the six cats out of the armchair, and listen for that astonishing crescendo which rises and breaks about the great shout, 'Goal'. (*Radio Times* 23.2.30.)

Sentiment like this did nothing to allay a growing suspicion within the Football Association that broadcasting was having a detrimental effect on attendance's at football. Indeed, not long after the appearance of Holtby's piece in the *Radio Times* (23.2.30.) the Football Association withdrew all rights to broadcast running commentaries of Cup–ties, insisting on a compensatory fee. Holtby's footstool would have to wait a bit longer on the sidelines before it could be brought back into action.

Here were the beginnings of a discordant relationship that would deliver some of the most hotly contested negotiations in British broadcasting history. Many listeners had written to the BBC the previous year following the disappointment at not hearing a running commentary on the 1929 Cup Final between Bolton Wanderers and Portsmouth. After broadcasting the finals of 1927 and 1928, the BBC had to resort to a series of eye–witness reports from the stadium by relays of commentators who had paid for entry in the usual way. Eye–witness accounts of football matches had been introduced in January 1927, usually employing a recognised local journalist who would report back to one of the main regional stations, for instance: F. Stacey Lintott in Manchester; P. E.Barnes in Cardiff; and Masson Roberts in Glasgow. Clearly for the BBC, especially its head of Outside Broadcasting, the barrister, Gerald Cock, this state of affairs was far from satisfactory. As an editorial in the *Radio Times* argued, an eye–witness account may be a substitute, "but it cannot be said to compare in the dramatic intensity with the pageant of sound conveyed by the microphone from the crowded stands."

Cock was the man behind the BBC's negotiations with the FA. Indeed, as Asa Briggs (1965) has commented, Cock "was the man who had given broadcasting many realistic touches" and had been the motivating force behind the early development of the OB Department, including its new array of sports commentators. He had taken Lord Reith's commitment to provide broadcasts of Britain's major sporting occasions to heart.

A protracted series of letters between the BBC and the FA had ensued after the ban in 1929. These were later published in the *Radio Times* (28.3.30.) as evidence of the FA's intransigent mood towards broadcasting the 1930 final without payment. Despite the BBC's offer of £200 payable to any charity named by the FA Council for full facilities to broadcast a running commentary on one semi–final and the final itself (£100 per game) it soon became apparent that once again there was the threat of no commentary on the Cup Final.

The BBC's refusal to provide payment directly to the FA was a matter of principle. This moral stance was based on an even longer running feud: that between broadcasting and the press. Gerald Cock vented his frustrations within a prominent front page feature in the *Radio Times* aimed at the apparent hypocrisy of the FA's decision to exclude the broadcasters while allowing the presence of the press. He demanded equality with the press:

> For, in regard to running commentaries the position of the BBC is analogous to that of a newspaper; commentaries are, in fact, spoken reports. Newspapers, very naturally, will in no circumstances pay an organisation for facilities to report its activities, seeing that they are the channels of information between the promoters of entertainments and the public. The BBC claims the same treatment. If the Press is admitted free, the BBC should be admitted on the same terms. (*Radio Times* 28.3.30.)

Apart from the incongruous definition of running commentaries as merely "spoken reports", what Cock consciously avoids to mention is that broadcasting offered the armchair football punter immediacy. Old news was no news as far as the newspaper proprietors were concerned, the threat was great indeed.

Lord Riddell, who represented the Newspaper Proprietors' Association before the Sykes Committee in 1923, had been a long–standing critic of what he termed the "Modern Witchcraft" of radio, believing that the broadcasting of football commentaries and results would "seriously interfere with the sale of newspapers" (quoted in Briggs, 1961; 172). The early evening results service supplied by the special football editions (the *Pink 'Un's* or the *Green 'Un's* named after the cheap coloured paper upon which they were printed) were he felt, likely to be usurped by the new medium which transcended certain physical constraints of time and space which confronted the older medium of print.

The conflict between newspapers and radio initially forced the arm of the BBC, who informally

agreed not to broadcast news bulletins before seven o'clock. Sports news therefore appeared late in the schedule on Saturday evenings, and even after Reith had managed to escape the most severe of restrictions, the introduction of eye–witness reports in 1927 would still not be broadcast until after six o'clock even where matches kicked–off early to beat the advance of dark winter evenings. Compared with the contemporary urgency for up–to–the–minute match reports, football followers of the inter–war years were somewhat starved of that vital information of their teams' progress during the afternoon, which could make or break the fans' mood on a Saturday evening.

Furthermore, with the introduction of live, running commentaries in 1927, the *Radio Times* began to issue a warning regarding copyright, reminding those shopkeepers and publicans who listened to the radio within earshot of their customers that: "care should be taken in shops and other open spaces to prevent News Bulletins and Running Commentaries being made audible to the public." This was clearly to appease the wrath of the N.P.A., who feared, justifiably, that landlords would entice custom with the prospect of live football commentary, which in turn would have a detrimental effect on the newspaper result service.

To return to the episodes leading up to the 1930 Cup Final, the BBC refused to pay the FA for a second, less tangible principle. It was a hybrid born of 'Corinthian' sporting ideals and the new Corporation's philosophy of speaking unto the nation. Ironically, one aspect of the BBC's argument for free access reflected the 'amateurist' ideals of the upper–middle–class administrators of the FA (see Tomlinson, 1991). Amateurism in this sense, was grounded in a nineteenth century ideology of 'fair play'; not only towards the rules of football, but also the 'spirit of the game' or the manner in which the sport is played. What amateurism also implied was an ideological opposition towards professionalism, which was legalised by the FA in 1885, and was more than well established by the 1929–30 season (there were in fact, 88 League clubs in four leagues, including the Third Division "North" and "South"). Yet it was feared that the administrators of the Northern based Football League, through their influence on the FA Council, were corrupting the special place the FA Cup competition (with over 500 entrants in 1929) now had in the collective consciousness of the English nation. For instance, Gerald Cock firmly placed the blame for the break down in negotiations at the door of the League representatives:

> There is no doubt...that the committee is completely dominated by the League,

> or purely commercial, element, and that those representing the amateur or sporting interests in the Association have not only not been asked for their opinion, but cut no figure in the negotiations. (*Radio Times* 28.3.30.)

Similarly, a *Radio Times* editorial by H.N. Brailsford several weeks later defended the BBC's stance over no payment, and their unwavering regard for the "sporting aspect of sport." Regretting the introduction of the word "commercial" into the "vocabulary of sport" Brailsford commented:

> The BBC holds that negotiations for the right to broadcast commentaries on sporting events of national importance cannot be placed upon 'a commercial basis' (the words quoted are those of the Secretary of the Football Association). The Cup Final is, or should be, primarily a sporting occasion, only secondarily a commercial undertaking. No added element of commercialism is introduced by a broadcast commentary. The BBC is not a private concern to make profit from a commentary; the only profit accruing from the occasion would be the added enjoyment of the listener, especially those disabled, blind and invalid listeners who could not in any circumstance witness the actual match. (*Radio Times* 11.4.30)

This was clearly a battle for the moral high ground of sport, defending the power of radio to broaden football's appeal. Moreover, it proved an opportunity for the BBC to align itself with its ever growing audience against what it saw as the exploitative motives of the governing bodies of football. Before the advent of competition in 1955 the BBC approached negotiations for the major sporting occasions with a set of arrogant assumtions premised on the Rethian doctrine of being an institutionalised public servant.

Herein lies the second aspect of the more tangible principles upheld by the BBC in the 1930 negotiations for the Cup Final. As sole broadcaster, the BBC played on the desires of a working–class audience, largely composed of men, who would have been eager to listen to the events at Wembley. By 1930, Wembley had already begun to obtain notoriety and a certain iconic status, the Empire Stadium with its now familiar 'twin towers' seemed a 'natural' home for a well established folk ritual only seven years after the first final had been held there between Bolton Wanderers and West Ham United in 1923 (Glanville, 1973). The Cup Final captured the imagination of the nation, and interest was heightened by the early running commentaries from Wembley in 1927 and 1928. Broadening the appeal of the Cup Final via the new medium, served to make the rubric of 'public service' more tangible for the BBC's audience. This tie between broadcaster and audience was used to full effect by the BBC negotiators. Again, to quote Cock:

> The BBC...as a link between the listener and his football interests and as the

> medium by means of which the blind, the invalid, and the poor can renew and keep alive their interest in a national sport, is greatly concerned at the present state of affairs. For it is a dismal prospect when the governing body of a sport originated, built up, and entirely supported by amateurs, should be captured by professionals whose whole interest apparently is commercial, who care not one jot for those not immediately concerned in contributing to their gate money, and who are unable to see that broadcast commentaries actually increase and spread interest in the sports described. Is it to be wondered at that the rising generation is turning with relief to 'rugger'? (*Radio Times* 28.3.30)

By denying the BBC listeners a chance to hear a commentary on the Cup Final, the FA were also denying thousands of football fans the opportunity to participate in the creation of a corporate national life. The Cup Final was one of the emerging group of select events which had begun to converge since the late nineteenth century. The Boat Race, the Grand National, the Derby, Wimbledon and the Test Series combined with the Cup Final to form a compendium of sporting rituals which contributed to a national culture. They produced a sense of belonging to the nation, and with a cyclical calendar of prestigious events the sports fan had a continual supply of anticipatory pleasures. The broadcasting calender resonated with that of the winter/ summer games of the British, and as Scannell and Cardiff (1991; 277) have suggested: "the full convergence of these developments as elements of a unified national life available to all, awaited the establishment of broadcasting and the new kind of public, commensurate with the whole of society, which it brought into being."

Signs that running commentaries on the Cup Final were changing the nature of the relationship between the sport and its fans began to appear during the FA's dispute with the BBC in 1930. A substantial number of letters within a voluminous post–bag from listeners supported the BBC's principle of no payment for broadcasting from Wembley. Public support for a live broadcast eventually led to a cessation in the FA's feud with the BBC allowing a commentary on the much awaited Wembley showdown between the two giants of English football during the inter–war years – Arsenal and Huddersfield Town. An editorial in the *Radio Times* presumed the position of summing up the feelings of a nation by stating:

> The listening public applauds the generous decision of the Football Association to admit the microphone once again to the Stadium. No gesture could more suitably have crowned one of the most interesting and successful football seasons since the war. (*Radio Times* 18.4.30.)

For a third year in four the BBC had been able to persuade the FA to allow free access to the Cup Final. The fledgling principles of sports broadcasting had triumphed, based upon the

Corinthian values of the amateur forefathers of sport. Therefore the FA's 'immoral' commercial instincts had been subdued; supported by its listeners the BBC had procured a sense of guilt among the Council members of football's governing body.

Considering the amount contemporary broadcasters are prepared to pay for sport, it is astonishing to think of the BBC forcing the hand of the football administrators over the FA's commercial scruples. However, radio during the inter–war years was operating as a broadcast monopoly, the concept of a ratings war was of no consequence to the BBC, the FA's claim of lost gate receipts quashed by the Corporation's insistence that there was a nation of listeners eager to savour the 'live' commentary from Wembley. The dispute over the 1930 Cup Final proved an ominous sign of the future pattern of disruption between broadcasters and football administrators. Indeed, the following year in 1931 the Football League decided to ban all live broadcasts indefinitely, largely due to pressure from smaller League clubs who feared the loss of attendances. The FA banned the broadcasting of all matches under its jurisdiction except the FA Cup Final. The FA eventually relented its ban on international matches but it was not until 1937 that the League permitted the BBC to broadcast certain matches, and only on overseas wavelengths. Stanley Rous, the Secretary of the FA, suggested to the BBC that one way to overcome the League's cynicism about broadcasting was to invite two of its members, William Pickford and Charles Sutcliffe, to broadcast programmes about the laws of the game. It was the opportunity to view the process of broadcasting and the people who made it and the pleasure which it brought, Rous (1979; 89) suggested, which "ensured that regular broadcasting of football soon followed." Yet, as the German airship Graf Zeppelin flew over Wembley in 1930, none of the 92,000 supporters of Arsenal and Huddersfield Town could have perceived either the portents of the national game's political wranglings with broadcasters nor the nation's more immanent confrontation with fascism.

"The man in the hut"

> The perfect commentator, like the economic man so convenient to the hypothesis of nineteenth–century philosophers, does not exist. There are, indeed, commentators who can please all the people some of the time and some of the people all the time, but there never has been found, and there never will be, the man who will please all the people all the time.
> (*BBC Handbook*, 1928; 140)

Throughout its development, from radio to television, football commentary faced the

conflicting aims of 'naturalism' and 'construction'. That is, a tension arises between an impulse to be accurate by describing the play and movement on the field and, conversely, to involve the audience within this play, ultimately in a move by the addresser to hold the interest of the listener or viewer (Whannel, 1991; 27). The need for the commentator to provide both a sense of 'realism' and 'entertainment' leads to questions regarding the expertise of the contributor. That is, should football commentators be drafted from the sport itself or from broadcasting, specifically sports journalism? Moreover, as Whannel (1991; 27) has observed, are these experts "to address the general audience or the expert audience?"

From the earliest years of radio broadcasts on football, the commentator was compelled to provide the audience with a fluent description of events. Indeed, the 1928 *BBC Handbook* concluded that the running commentary was in fact a form of narrative, and that the men behind the microphones were "strictly speaking, narrators and not commentators." Semantics apart, commentators were required to apply "considerable technical knowledge" to "visualising a scene and transcribing it rapidly into words" aware "that his very words have news value." The transposition of thoughts into words needed to appear accurate and easy, showing "good voice and great fluency" because "a commentary which consists of a sequence of broken incidents is meaningless to the listener." With these pressures in mind, it is not surprising that throughout the history of running commentaries that mistakes occurred, these gaffes were later to be named by the satirical magazine *Private Eye* as "Colemanballs" after one of the more notorious proponents, David Coleman.

However, in the pioneering years of outside broadcasting the problem of what, when and how to commentate about incident on the field of play was shaded by the logistical and technical difficulties faced by the innovators of the BBC. In the first year of football O.B.'s the commentaries were amplified locally and received by the Control Room at Savoy Hill via telephone lines provided to order by the Post Office and finally broadcast from stations at London and Daventry. The microphones themselves were situated within sound–proof observation huts, built upon temporary platforms to allow the commentator a slightly raised vantage point from which to view the game. These small fragile cabins, which must have yielded a certain amount of discomfort for a man the size of the BBC's first regular football commentator the portly George Allison, were fitted with a studio microphone customised to

hang in front of the commentator. As one contemporary observer noted of the cabins: "In size and shape it was not unlike a 'Punch and Judy' theatre, with a front window hinged from the top" (*Radio Times*, 18.2.27). Although raised from the ground above the heads of the spectators the commentators would have had a poor sight–line to the field of play in comparison to the lofty heights of today's commentary positions which provide a more panoramic viewpoint. Moreover, on chilly winter afternoons their view would have suffered from such innocuous things as the cabin window steaming over.

To create a sense of authenticity and actuality for the listener, outside broadcasts from football matches also utilised what were termed 'natural noises' to convey atmosphere. The roar of the crowd, still vital to contemporary football coverage, was faded in and out as required with the voice of the commentator. The production of these atmospheric sounds engaged the listener with the ups and downs, or the ebb and flow of the match. For the chief engineer, Robert Wood, in charge of the early O.B.'s the limited equipment available to him in the late twenties must have proved a great handicap. Known affectionately as the 'Flying Squad', the O.B. engineers quickly gained respect among their peers within broadcasting, and as John Arlott has reported: "it was jokingly said that, given a microphone, a length of wire and a telephone pole within a quarter of a mile, he [the engineer] would put a programme on the air" (Arlott, 1968; 13). Everything from microphone placement to the telephonic connection back from the O.B. unit to the Control Room in London required considerable forethought and planning. Although these 'effects' gathered from the perimeter fences of football grounds proved an essential part of the outside broadcast, it was the football commentary itself which at first drew and then held the interest of the listener.

As a descriptive narrative, football commentary has its own prosody: the rhythm and pitch of the voice corresponding to the high's and lows of the action on the field of play. Furthermore, contemporary football commentary has developed its own vernacular, a hybrid of football and broadcasting language, conceiving an array of idioms and encoded messages. Moreover, today's audiences for both radio and television have become accustomed to this specialised mode of address. But how did these codes and practices develop? Has the language of football commentary changed over time? And if the forms or styles of commentary have changed, to what extent were these discourses influenced by the culture and language of British football or

the institutional necessities of broadcasting to an ever increasing British audience?

It is difficult to imagine what those early football commentaries would have sounded like to the listening public of the late–1920s. However, there are signposts which enable us to ascertain an idea of the early commentaries and how they were received. The *BBC Handbook* for 1929 provides a transcript of George Allison's commentary from the previous years Cup Final in 1928 contested by Blackburn Rovers and Huddersfield Town. This was the second Final to be broadcast by the BBC, the first being the 1927 Final between Arsenal and Cardiff City (the first Welsh club to win the competition). Although it is not easy to figure the rhythm of play from the transcript, nevertheless, it does show how the drama of the Cup Final was captured even during the early days of outside broadcasting from Wembley:

> Now the preliminaries are over.–It is about one minute to three, and I suppose we shall see the captains shortly tossing the coin for choice of ends. Certainly it is an ideal afternoon for football. Here go the players! For the moment Huddersfield are running off to the left – that is, the left–hand side of your plan – and Blackburn are running away to the right. As soon as they toss we will let you know the positions of the teams for the match. The captains of the teams, by the way – Stephenson of Huddersfield and Healless of Blackburn rovers – have just greeted each other in the customary way with a hearty handshake, and are now tossing the coin, carefully watched by Mr. Bryan. Oh! apparently Stephenson has won the toss, I imagine, because he has called his players away from the left–hand side of the goal from where we are sitting to the right to defend the goal on the right ... And now on your left you have Blackburn Rovers – on the left–hand side of your plan – and on the right Huddersfield Town, and they are just about to kick off ...
>
> Here they go!
> Now the ball is right in the centre of the field. It's gone over to Jones, Jones has it through now to McLean, he has been beaten by Brown, Brown has sent it back to Kelly, Kelly over to smith on the left wing – too hard – and goes over the touch line, that's just about thirty yards down from the Blackburn goal. Blackburn's throw in is being taken by Campbell – Healless, I beg your pardon – Healless now down to Thornwell. Thornwell has it, puts it through to Roscamp ... Mercer has come out, caught the ball ... (tremendous roar from the crowd). Goal to Blackburn Rovers in well under a minute.

The general mien of Allison's Cup Final commentary of 1928 succeeds in providing the listener with an imaginary picture of the opening action, if somewhat rudimentary. The goal is given little if any embellishment, the description of play leading up to the goal is also rather thin. However, Allison's mode of address to the listener does appear relaxed and conversational, specifically in the moments leading up to the kick–off. Moreover, although the transcription of his commentary may not be completely accurate phonetically or syntactically nor provide us

with a sense of timing within his speech, it does signal that Allison's narration of events possessed a mellifluous quality.

It was the development of a conversational style, a mode of address which mirrored that of a friend speaking to a friend rather than that of a teacher to a pupil, which Cock promoted as good practice. However, not all of the BBC's commentators felt totally at ease during these formative years. For instance, during Captain Teddy Wakelam's first rugby union broadcast the commentator addressed his narrative to a blind man who sat alongside him, one suspects to produce the illusion of a direct address to the listener and dampen any 'stage fright' the Captain may have experienced (Martin–Jenkins, 1990).

The intermittent broadcasts from football matches due to the disputes between the BBC and the ruling bodies of the sport meant that commentary developed in a series of fits and starts, continually re–inventing itself. It was not until Gerald Cock left the O.B. Department to become the BBC's first Director of Television in 1935 that sports commentary was given a definitive plan and method by the new Director of Outside Broadcasts, Seymour Joly de Lotbiniere. A giant of a man at six feet eight inches, de Lotbiniere, known as 'Lobby', could be an intimidating figure to those entering the relatively unknown field of sports broadcasting. However, he proved to have an acute broadcasting mind, and a fine understanding of what brought the listener to identify with the BBC's attempt to transport them in time and space to the array of sporting occasions the programmes of the O.B. Department were beginning to supply. His thoughts on commentating are most explicitly laid down in a feature he wrote for a special "Outside Broadcasting" edition of the *Radio Times* in June 1937 and are worth quoting at length:

> ... now I realise that it is no easier to do a first class commentary than it is to write a first class article. Just as a writer has to shape his words to his subject, so a commentary has to be built up in carefully chosen sentences, appropriately distributed between a description of the scene and the action, and an explanation of the occasion and of any sounds that may or may not be reaching the listener according to the quality of his set.
>
> ... I believe that commentary work is as difficult as anything in broadcasting. It naturally demands a pleasant voice, a quick wit, an eye for the significant and a vocabulary with which to describe it. But the peculiar demand that it makes is for a brain that can cope with two or more things at once... He must be watching the broadcast as a whole to see that it is not losing shape, and he must be noticing what 'effects' are likely to be reaching listeners so that he can explain them and yet not talk through them. (*Radio Times*, 4.6.37.)

De Lotbiniere also devised what became known as the 'pyramid' of sports commentary, where the top cross section represents the small 'specialist' sports audience, the middle cross section the 'general' sports fan, and finally the bottom cross section, the bulk of the audience, who know little about sport but are listening out of interest. It was the latter audience de Lotbiniere was most anxious to cater for. In other words, as the commentator John Arlott later wrote, what was required was "first facts first, then broaden in selective order" (Arlott, 1968). This would enable the novice sports listener to gain rudimentary knowledge of a sport, and perhaps identify with the significance or drama of the occasion. Here, in the formative years of sports broadcasting, are the foundations of a sports commentary technique encompassing a set of laws which would endure not only through the history of radio broadcasts of sport but also influence the formal and stylistic properties of television commentaries which were later to dominate mediated sport in the post–War period.

Commentaries had to be "built up" to weave a continuous narrative. Mindful of the whole broadcast, this narrative must not "lose shape" introducing associative material (prepared in note form before the match) when required to bring things back into line. The "voice", "wit", "vocabulary" and a "good eye" would combine to provide drama, suspense and human interest in a fluent yet informal manner, and clearly involved production values more associated with entertainment than straight factual reporting. Finally, it is also clear that de Lotbiniere valued the skills of sports commentary, not only above other forms of work within broadcasting, but also above the rival form of mediated sport practised by a growing army of journalists on the sports pages of the national and local press.

Before moving on to discuss how football commentaries were received during this period, there is another aspect of the early radio sports commentaries (illustrated in the excerpt from the 1928 Cup Final) that is of importance to the development of football commentary. That is, the manner in which these early commentaries attempted to imbue a sense of space and proportion within its address to the audience.

In pursuing a sense of actuality for listeners from sports events, the BBC devised a second level of commentary to provide a coded narrative of play. The introduction of a square plan or

grid to guide listeners through the main commentary enabling them to follow the pattern of play was devised by one of the early pioneers of outside broadcasting Lance Sieveking. Sieveking had spent an earlier part of his career within broadcasting organisations overseas learning the techniques of North American broadcasters who were operating under a commercial system. He had observed the techniques of baseball commentary which had utilised a coded narrative to tell the listener where the ball had been hit and to which field position (Martin-Jenkins, 1990). Therefore, the idea of a coded narrative was imported and used for all manner of sports covered in the year of firsts, 1927. Hence, within the *Radio Times* an eight grid plan was provided for football and rugby union, maps were used to guide listeners around the Grand National course at Aintree and along the stretch of the River Thames used for the Boat Race, and a plan of fielding positions were published for cricket commentaries (soon discarded as de Lotbiniere felt eye witness accounts to be of more value to the listener).

The role of the second commentator was taken by an anonymous BBC engineer, whose job it was to interject intermittently thereby complementing the main narrator and the atmospheric sounds. The verbal artistry of the BBC's principle commentators, who were emerging as public figures recognised by voice alone, contrasted with the ingenuous role of the other man behind the microphone. As the title of a feature in the *Radio Times* suggested in 1930, the second commentator was the "Dr. Watson In The Box" adding parenthesis to the main man behind the microphone. The feature continued:

> The occasional interpolations of a second voice in a running commentary deservedly attract no interest as to its owner and his function in life, though he plays a not altogether unnecessary part in front of the microphone.
> His duties of course, vary with the type of commentary. In football, his main business is to indicate the position of the game by calling out the squares into which the ground, in the *Radio Times* plan, is divided. To those who are following the commentary without this valuable aid he is therefore nothing but an infernal nuisance from the outset. His most important function, whatever the commentary may be, is to hold a watching brief for the listener. Throughout the narrative he must keep in his mind the vital question: "What will the listener make of this?" a quick phrase must be slipped in to explain an ambiguous statement or to correct a mistake... Whatever the occasion, the second commentator must obey one golden rule: "Never speak unless you are spoken to, or unless you have previously silenced your companion with a look." Dr Watson must have a compelling eye!

So to return to Allison's commentary of 1928, he appears to set the scene by referring to the plan, indicating to the listener which goals the teams are defending – to the left or right – in relation to his commentary position which is also highlighted within the *Radio Times* . As the

game gets under way he then appears to concentrate on the movement of the ball amongst the players, which is where, one suspects, the second commentator would take up his role to inform the listener of where the play is situated on the plan. As a technique to aid the listener visualise the ebb and flow of the match the grid and the second commentator were used both throughout this period (1927–1939) and for broadcasts immediately after the Second World War. However, with developments in the art of football commentary, accompanied no doubt by a more knowledgeable radio audience accustomed to imagining the movement of play, the anonymous second commentator became obsolete, later to be replaced by the ostentatious manner of the 'football pundit'.

Audience response to these early sports broadcasts, specifically from football, are difficult to elicit. During the period in question licences rose from around two million in 1927 to over eight million in 1939, when an estimated 71% of households had access to a radio set (Holt, 1989). Early research by the broadcasting industry itself attempted to discover the psychological relationship between the voice and personality of BBC presenters as perceived by the audience. However, these do not provide any evidence as to what listeners imagined when they heard the likes of George Allison in the early broadcasts from Highbury or Wembley (see, for instance, 'Report on the Voice and Personality Tests' by Professor T. H. Pear in the *Radio Times* 14.1.27). Perhaps the best, most accessible indication of what audiences thought of the BBC's new sports commentators to be found in the industry's own literature is provided on the letter pages of the *Radio Times*. Although it must be stressed that the following comments cannot be viewed as a representative sample of the perceptions and appreciation of the total audience for live commentaries from football, they do, nevertheless, provide some indication of the popularity such outside broadcasts had among radio listeners.

Debates about the performance of contemporary commentators, specifically with regard to bias, are now familiar and commonplace to all who watch, read and talk about football. However, the following two letters from November 1929 which comment on George Allison's early attempts to convey play from Arsenal's Highbury Stadium must surely be the earliest critiques of the commentators' trade:

> **'The Football Commentator'**
> After listening to the running commentary on the Arsenal v Derby County match the other Saturday I was surprised to hear such a capable man as Mr Allison persistently giving his personal views on how the game 'should' be played.

Instead of keeping us informed as to how the game 'was' being played. It appeared to be more like a lecture on football, and I hope that in future commentators will give us a true description of the play, and not a personal opinion, which invariably leans to one side or the other.
William Taylor, Leicester.
(*Radio Times* 1.11.29)

'From A Football Fan'
May I, as a keen football 'fan', remark that in listening to such running commentaries as are broadcast I am always impressed by the fairness and impartiality of Mr Allison's description and criticisms of the play? Is it not possible to extend this feature of broadcasting, especially now that the 'dull, dark days' are here, and so many more people are forced to spend their Saturday afternoons indoors? Those who, like myself, have no opportunity of attending the big Association matches find it a simple matter to follow the incidents of the play, thanks to your commentator's descriptive gifts, and I feel sure that even the non–football enthusiast derives great enjoyment from Mr Allison's bright and breezy style.
Mr C.C. Scott, Kettering.
(*Radio Times* 29.11.29.)

Both letters are of interest, firstly for their contrasting opinions of Allison's competence with the microphone which involves issues of aesthetic value and judgment of taste – discourses which pervade contemporary debates on commentary – and secondly, for the allusions to the temporal use of radio in the home, specifically the place of football commentaries within this new form of domestic leisure.

In terms of the commentary style of Allison the main point of contention revolves around his alleged bias and the fine line between descriptive or critical narrative. While it is impossible to ascertain which correspondent has the most valid point of view without having actually heard the commentaries in question, we can deduce that even during these pioneering, innovative days of football commentary listeners began to develop their own ideas of what they expected to hear in both form and content. While both correspondents appear to enjoy Allison's 'bright and breezy' description of play, their opinion differs concerning what can be considered to be the more subjective element of Allison's commentary. Again, sidestepping the personal perceptions of Allison's sentiment and evaluation of play it is apparent from the letters that the commentators narrative included more than a mere catalogue of events.

Here, again are the seeds of a further maxim within sports commentary: 'Description is often at its best when it is subjective rather than objective' (cited from Martin–Jenkins, 1990; 75). And there can be no doubt that Allison's background from within football (Allison later replaced

Chapman as the manager of Arsenal in 1934) would have influenced his understanding of the game and most likely led to a more opinionated, value judgment of play. In other words it is another aspect of the conflict between the commentator as an expert in broadcasting or an expert in sports which had to be negotiated.

By all accounts Allison's commentary did appear to blend his knowledge of football with his new found experience as a broadcast journalist to produce an invaluable and accessible service to the fans of the game who due to circumstance could not attend football – remembering that away support was virtually unheard of at this time – and also the wider audience to whom Cock, and later de Lotbiniere, were eager to capture. As the following excerpts, again from the *Radio Times*, illustrate, early listeners to the BBC's O.B.'s from football were eager for more from 'Mr Allison':

> **'The Saturday Game'**
> Would it not be possible for the BBC to arrange with the Arsenal Football Club to broadcast a bit more of the second–half of the Arsenal's home matches? I am a patient in this Sanatorium, and, along with all the other patients, I look every Saturday to see if you are broadcasting an Association match. We are all disappointed if you are not, and greatly pleased when we find you are. If we are able to, I know the majority of us would attend one match or another every Saturday, and the next best thing is to hear Mr Allison describing one as it is being played.
> H.J. Ranson, King George Sanatorium, Hants.
> (*Radio Times*, 31.1.30.)
>
> George Allison knows the Association game from A to Z; he seems to know every player in all three Divisions of the League so well that he can pick him out, covered with mud, in a goal–mouth melee at the other end of the field. And he can make you interested in the match, even if you didn't know a football from a flat–iron when the broadcast began.
> (*Radio Times*, 1.6.34.)

By the mid–thirties broadcasting could be seen to be changing the patterns of social experience, specifically in the home. Similarly, running commentaries from football were changing the nature of football fandom – indeed creating a whole new creed in the form of the 'armchair supporter'. "Saturday afternoons indoors", as one of the correspondents wrote, were indeed to change and, I believe, far from creating a mass of 'passive' supporters, produced instead a healthy groundswell of 'fans' the length and breadth of the country who could follow the fortunes of 'their' team through the new medium, without ever having to step out the front door. Paradoxically, radio brought a football community together through the privatisation of

leisure, and the 'match of the day' could still be dissected and debated in the public domains of the work place or the pub, stitching together the public and the private spheres.

However, as previous research analysing the entry of radio into the private space of the home has highlighted, the changing patterns of domestic entertainment did not entail a change to the politics of gender within the home (see Moores, 1988). Although some research has shown that women's interest in football actually grew during this period (Dunning et al, 1988), the evidence suggests that radio coverage of football on a Saturday afternoon provided a leisure option for only one half of the family – the men. Football commentaries had the potential to disrupt the 'family weekend'; far from creating 'domestic bliss' it had the potential of leading to what Asa Briggs (1961; 15) defined as a 'wireless divorce' or producing what has more recently been referred to as the 'football widow'.

Radio manufacturers soon realised the potential of the implicitly male genre of football commentary as a means of promoting radio's latest technological advances. For example, a 1930 advertisement in the *Radio Times* for the 'PYE PORTABLE RADIO' a man in a suit is leaning forward from his armchair and a caption from his mouth reads: "SHOOT MAN SHOOT". Silhouetted beside the man is a drawing of a striker bearing down on goal, the illustration completed by the anticipatory stance of a goalkeeper. The copy below reads:

> Tense with excitement... thrilled.
> Almost seeing the game, so clearly does he
> hear it. Can you wonder that he shoots?
> Such radio is new to him. It comes as a
> revelation that broadcasting can be so
> vividly alive. It is his new Pye Portable –
> the portable supreme. Entirely self–contained – ready
> always for immediate use, anywhere. Glorious
> in tone, generous in volume, comprehensive
> in range of reception.

The advertisement strives to capture the excitement and actuality of listening to running commentaries of football. The listening culture for football broadcasts is represented as being explicitly male, addressing men as consumers of new technology through a genre they can identify with. Women are completely absent from the equation, which is further illustrated by the advertisement's emphasis on functionality (coded as a masculine trait) rather than the portable radio's aesthetic qualities as a piece of furniture in the home (coded as a feminine trait).

Another commercial spin–off from radio's coverage of the game were the football pools. Although it was the provincial newspapers who, at the turn of the century, first devised the system of betting on a whole series of games rather than the outcome of any one particular match, radio added a new dimension to the collation and distribution of match statistics. Each BBC region would produce an early evening results service after the News, the relative immediacy of such a programme lending itself to an expectant, hopeful audience of all ages, sexes and class. At the time of the 'Depression' the expenditure on the football pools in Britain rose from an estimated £10 million in 1934 to an incredible £40 million in 1938 (Holt, 1989; 183).

Unfortunately, none of this money was finding its way back into the game itself. Some argued that the pools had helped to further the popularity of the game, especially amongst women, even if their interest stopped at the sight of a score draw, rather than any further concern about the names of the scorers themselves. Others pointed to the incredible number of jobs that had been created at a time of high unemployment in the collection and counting of coupons – again an occupation almost entirely composed of women and girls, who sat row upon row sorting the millions of coupons each week. It clearly became too much for the Football League who issued the seasons fixture list which were then exploited by a burgeoning pools industry. In February 1936 they attempted to stop the pools outright by scrapping the fixture lists, to the extent that fixtures were only released to the clubs on a weekly basis. The embargo lasted just three weeks. There was an immediate drop in attendance's, which was of major inconvenience to the clubs, and the League caved in to their pressure by reinstating the fixture lists, therefore providing the pools companies with a victory they did not even have to fight for. It would not be until after the Second World War that the Football League charged the pools companies a fee for the right to publish the fixtures, through the dubious notion of owning the copyright. And it was not until the 1970s that the Government came to an informal agreement with the pools companies to redirect 2.5% of the betting duty received towards the game itself via the Football Trust, a percentage later increased after the Taylor Report in 1989.

The picture I have attempted to draw of the 1930's audience for running commentaries from football is only a rough sketch, a tracing from half–hidden fragments which have been taken

from the pages of the *Radio Times*. Clearly, this is not wholly satisfactory as a study of early consumption practices of football broadcasts. Which leaves me to suggest that more detailed work in terms of oral histories of the fledgling 'armchair supporter' would provide a more accurate analysis of the symbiotic relationship between broadcasting and football, albeit clouded by nostalgia.

To conclude this section, I would argue that football provided many of the 'blue chip' events in the broadcasting calendar; from the drama of Cup–ties to Internationals involving the four 'Home' nations. The actuality of running commentaries lived on in popular memory, both in terms of the history of football *and* the history of broadcasting itself. Therefore, the histories of both industries are delicately intertwined.

However, it can hardly be suggested that radio had a profound effect on the game itself. Players, despite gaining a wider audience were still employed under a repressive regime of the retain and transfer system and the maximum wage, which was assessed by age and experience (for the period in question the maximum wage was set at £8 per week by the Football League). During the same period transfer fees grew to five figures for the first time, but this increase was funded by a rise in actual attendance's, and hence gate receipts, and not money from the broadcasters. Radio certainly familiarised the names of the more prominent players in the League, but the same information was readily available from cinema newsreels or the back pages of the popular press which had begun to outstrip the sporting press, threatened by its own specialised, narrow appeal. Perhaps one small innovation to the game was indirectly linked to radio commentaries: the numbering of shirts. First used in the 1933 Cup Final between Everton and Manchester City – where peculiarly the players were numbered from 1 to 22 – shirt numbers were eventually accepted by the Football League in 1939. However, this can be said to be an innovation which aided the broadcaster, in terms of identification, rather than the playing of the game itself. The game would have to wait for the post–War development of televised football for its most dramatic changes.

CHAPTER 3

A HISTORY OF FOOTBALL'S RELATIONSHIP WITH TELEVISION (1936–1966)

"A pageant of sound and vision"

When the Second World War broke in September 1939 the Football League suspended all football except for that played by the Armed Forces, and the BBC, changing tack to support the 'national interest', also withdrew from its urge to innovate with outside broadcasts from Britain's sporting arenas. Although both sport and radio broadcasting did much to bolster morale among civilians and the troops during the war, they were to remain separate popular forms within a united national culture. One exception appeared on the BBC's specially devised 'Services Programme' which broadcast a football match between the French and British armies from Lille in 1940, Raymond Glendenning the man who was to replace George Allison as BBC radio's voice of football after the War providing the running commentary (Briggs, 1970; 129).

Also suspended for reasons of national defence was the BBC's infant television service which officially began broadcasting to a select few in November 1936. As with radio, the BBC had set about experimenting with outside broadcasts, pushing the available technology to the limit. After the inaugural television O.B. of the Coronation ceremony for King George VI in May 1937, Gerald Cock the BBC's first Director of Television continued with his enthusiasm for sport by providing a meagre London based audience of 2000 with the first sight of a televised football match with the Home International between England and Scotland from Wembley in April 1938. This was one of the many 'firsts' in the BBC's coverage of sport, and as the *Radio Times* had promised in its last issue of 1937: 'Make no mistake about it – there will be big moments to make a big year in the television outside broadcasts of 1938' (*Radio Times* 31.12.37).

BBC Television and Football – Early Developments

Negotiations for televising the game came up against the same arguments and opposition that

radio had endured ten years earlier. The threat to attendances of other matches was perceived as being too great by the F.A. Council who were not amenable to the idea of televised football, despite the more positive attitude to broadcasting from the Secretary of the FA, the former referee Stanley Rous (see Rous, 1978). Cock had initially approached Rous in December 1937 and due to the intransigence of the Council wrote to him again in February 1938 saying: "Television is on trial. Here is the beginning of a great industry, the progress of which depends to a great extent on the co–operation of institutions such as the F.A." (quoted in Barnett, 1990). Under the then pioneering spirit of Rous the F.A. Council finally conceded to the BBC, allowing them to televise both the international between England and Scotland (April 9) and the 1938 F.A. Cup Final between Preston North End and Huddersfield Town (April 22). A measure of how important these O.B.'s were to the BBC's fledgling television service can be gauged from the following excerpt which appeared within a new review column of the *Radio Times* written by a group of contributors under the single pseudonym of 'The Scanner' and addressed towards the select audience for television. In the issue falling between the two 'live' television broadcasts 'The Scanner' promised:

> almost the biggest television broadcast of the year – the Cup Final. A fortnight ago the mobile unit operated in the stadium to televise the England v Scotland international match. To me and, I expect, to you, the transmission seemed perfect. But those concerned at Alexandra Palace mutter knowingly, 'You wait for the Cup'. So keen are they to improve on the perfect that experiments on the best positions for cameras will be carried on until the last moment.
> (*Radio Times* 22.4.38.)

The above excerpt also hints at television's expectant cultural role – asking us to 'wait for the Cup' – and within this context the earliest signs of televised football's formal properties (the experimentation with camera positions) and institutional development.

The possibility of (re)producing 'live' visual transmissions from football stadia clearly introduced a new popular cultural spectacle. The direct transmission of football into the home proved to be more than a technological necessity during the formative years of television, the 'immediacy–effect' as Caughie (1991; 23) suggests was both an "essential characteristic and an aesthetic virtue of the new medium." Of course by 1938 football supporters were already accustomed to seeing visual reproductions of their sporting heroes within cinema newsreels, albeit several days, even weeks after the event had taken place. As one observer from 1938 wrote of early television coverage of sport in *The Times* (23.12.38):

> To see these events as they take place is something different in kind from a

> news–reel after the event; it has a particular thrill and would alone make the possession of a set worth while.

The overtly delayed screening of newsreels and their brief film highlights bear no comparison to the affect of television's immediacy, and while the newsreel certainly used football as part of its own rationale of information and entertainment, the footage from football – consisting of as many shots of the crowd as the play itself – was not the motivating force for attendance at the cinema for the millions who flocked there during the inter–war years. Conversely, my contention is that football, and more generally the whole field of television outside broadcasts from sporting events, were crucial to the manner in which the BBC sought to define what television actually was, and that within the initial throes of developing a television service there are some residual discourses which continue to pervade contemporary debates regarding televised football.

The technicality of the new medium was to cause many headaches in both production and reception, but as with the development of radio commentaries on football, it was the institutional and political discourses of the broadcasters and the football authorities which structured the history of televising the sport. Although early television broadcasts had the capacity to transmit pre–recorded film, delayed recorded highlights of football matches were not introduced at any significant level until the mid–1950s. Therefore, the majority of televised games were 'live' and as a consequence could potentially distract football followers from attending, or participating in, another match being played on the same afternoon, amateur or professional. As we have already seen with the introduction of radio commentaries the possible effect 'live' broadcasts could have on attendances accounted for the intransigent mood of the football authorities who were unsure of the new technology and its social consequences.

At first television would not appear to be a threat of any significance, after all when the television service closed with the outbreak of War in September 1939 only an estimated 20,000 viewers were able to watch the couple of hours programming from Alexander Palace each day (BBC Handbook, 1940). Moreover, despite the advertising rhetoric – "Television is Here – You Can't Shut Your Eyes to It" – the new medium played second fiddle to radio, which by the late thirties had firmly established itself in millions of households across the country. It had not been until the Television Advisory Committee established a single standard for television in

February 1937, approving the Marconi–EMI system rather than the one pioneered by John Logie Baird, that the perception of television rose above that of a gimmick. As one feature which reviewed the first year of television in *The Times* (7.1.38) suggested:

> Up to that point lack of space and time had severely hampered the efforts to transform television for the private viewer from an ingenious toy into a serious entertainment.

It is perhaps due to the uncertainty pertaining to the new medium and the fact that radio commentaries had gained a degree of respectability amongst the football authorities that they initially allowed television cameras access to the game on a purely experimental footing. Once again it was Arsenal F.C., not averse to self publicity under the management of George Allison (the club were to feature in the British film production *The Arsenal Stadium Mystery* in 1939), who featured in some of the earliest television coverage, just as they had done ten years previously with the innovation of radio commentaries. Indeed, the BBC had used two Arsenal teams (presumably the first team and the reserves) while conducting private experiments in televising outside broadcasts in 1937, several months before they broadcast publicly from Wembley in April 1938. Two games were also broadcast from Highbury Stadium later in the year, the BBC transmitting second half action from both the FA Charity Shield between Arsenal and Preston North End (26 September 1938) and England's 3–0 victory over the Rest of Europe (26 October 1938) which gave BBC viewers an early experience of two young rising stars of the English game Stanley Matthews (aged 23) and Tommy Lawton (aged 19).

Post–War Developments

In the immediate post–war years the BBC sought to consolidate its television service after its resumption in June 1946 in the shadow of radio. As Corner (1991) has highlighted in his retrospective cultural analysis of broadcasting, the BBC emerged from war as a national institution, where a radio could be heard from every household. However, the BBC had maintained its bureaucratic cultural character, coupled with the Reithian rhetoric which saw the broadcaster as an 'embassy of the national culture' with specific constitutional obligations. The coverage of the FA Cup Final had already established itself as part of the broadcasting calender, and the FA reaffirmed its willingness to continue its association with the BBC by permitting a radio commentary on the last 30 minutes of any one cup–tie plus the Cup Final in full.

By 1946 professional football in England and Scotland had also resumed full League

programmes for the first time since 1939. In the shadow of War the desire for mass entertainments created a fillip to football attendances which peaked between 1947 and 1949 with aggregate attendances at English League games exceeding 40 million per season, representing an income of £4 million at the turnstiles. Football's dominant position within British popular culture (among both men and women) had never appeared so secure, and it is therefore no surprise to see the BBC once again turning towards the sport as a mechanism for capturing a broader audience, this time for television.

In an unprecedented move during a period of continued rationing for scarce resources the BBC gained permission from the Government to broadcast the 1947 Cup Final during hours when the domestic use of electricity was otherwise prohibited (the programme was broadcast between 2.45 and 5.00pm). As a public service broadcaster the BBC was clearly doing its duty in presenting an event considered to be of national significance. However, as with radio there were ideological battles which needed to be fought regarding television's role within society,even for a comparatively restricted audience – only 30,000 joint radio and television licences at a cost of £2 had been issued to London viewers by the end of 1947 (*BBC Handbook 1949*). The BBC steered between the competing discourses which stressed the need to either inform and educate or, as with the coverage of football, and sport in general, to entertain. The Labour Government's exceptional decision to permit the broadcasting of the Cup Final during restricted hours of domestic electricity use prompted a number of complaints, of which the following excerpt from the *Radio Times* letters page is representative:

> It would be interesting to know who withheld permission for church services during similar hours to be broadcast on Easter Day so that many invalids, mothers of young children, and those with aging and helpless parents might join in the observance of the most solemn day of the Christian year by the Established Church of this country.
> Mrs. A. Imrie Swainston. London N6.
> (*Radio Times* 28.4.47)

Although similar arguments regarding the disabled, the aged and the immobile have equally been used to justify television's coverage of major sporting events, it is clear that the BBC had difficult ideological decisions to make regarding the information/ entertainment nexus and its conception of the popular. At a period when generic codes and conventions of television were still embryonic, and the flow of a television schedule had still to be developed – for instance, audiences were advised to take a selective approach to viewing from the three to four hours of

programming – sport challenged vigorously for its place within an ad–hoc approach to television broadcasting.

It is probably this ideological dilemma which led the BBC to inscribe the Cup Final (and for that matter international matches) with specific cultural importance, which detracted from its entertainment value. By emphasising the cultural and national importance of the Cup Final the BBC were also able to deflect the principle economic argument put forward by the football authorities that 'live' broadcasts would affect the income of League clubs playing on the same day as people stayed at home to either listen to commentaries or watch a match in the comfort of their own home.

In a period when aggregate weekly attendances at League matches continued to soar, the Football League maintained its reluctance to allow its member clubs and players to appear on television with the exception of the Cup Final and international matches. The ban emphasised the fears held by the League President, C.W. Cuff, that television as a visual form of communication was a far greater threat to attendances than the coded accounts delivered over the radio. Although radio commentaries of League matches had become a staple of post–War Saturday afternoon broadcasting, the League forced the BBC to withhold the identity of the match concerned and even then only provide coverage of the second–half. These measures were clearly designed to persuade those with an interest in football to actually attend the home fixtures of their local club.

The Football League were not alone in their attempt to maintain control over television exposure in order keep spectatorship an exclusive experience for those who went through the turnstiles.Other sporting bodies, most notably the Jockey Club and the Boxing Board of Control, were equally suspicious of television in the immediate post–War period, the latter specifically envious of the money changing hands between boxing promoters and television companies in the United States (Whannel, 1992; 23).

In November 1944 many of Britain's sporting organisations, including the Football Association and the Football League, led by the Greyhound Racing Association had banded together to form the Association for the Protection of Copyright in Sport (APCS) in anticipation

of the resumption of 'live' telecasts from sport. Apart from the immediate fear that television would diminish gate receipts the APCS were fearful of the 're–diffusion' of sporting events in public places. As the conflict between the BBC and the sports promoters came to a head F.S. Gentle, vice–chairman of the APCS drew the attention of all concerned to one surreptitious event of 1951, where before the televising of a fight from Birmingham "people went round the streets looking for aerials, and paid 2s.6d. to go into private houses to view it" (*The Times* 26.9.51).

Such anecdotes about the early days of television viewing habits are commonplace, although the majority do not involve such exploitative behaviour on the part of those fortunate enough to posses a television set.

The imaginary prospect of thousands of young men prowling the streets in search of a television aerial in order to watch their sporting heroes on the small screen clearly had wider social and political consequences. After a noticeable drop in attendance s at Football League matches on the day of the 1950 Cup Final between Arsenal and Liverpool, the Post–Master General established a Sports Television Advisory Committee to monitor fluctuations in attendances at sports events during selected sports transmissions on BBC television. Their report a year later showed a significant drop in League attendance's across the country as Newcastle United overcame Blackpool in the 1951 Cup Final. It had been suggested at an earlier FA Council meeting to defer the Final by one week thereby avoiding a clash with the final day of the League programme. However, this was rejected in favour of restricting the BBC's coverage exclusively to the second half. Luckily for those viewing the match at home Jackie Milburn scored his two winning goals after the half–time interval!

In a further written report from the Post–master General's office, the Assistant PMG,, Mr Grammans wrote:

> The penetration of television into the section of the public which attends sporting events is at present very slight and this makes it extremely difficult to detect and measure the effects of televising sports events, or to forecast these effects when television is more widely developed. It follows that it will be necessary to continue our studies over a long period in order to assess the effects of an increased use of the television service and the way viewers change in behaviour with length of ownership of television sets.
> At this stage the only point on which we can be reasonably certain is that the televising of certain major events, such as the Football Cup Final, results in

> reduced attendances at other sporting events held on the same day, and that this effect is more marked at minor sporting events.
> We draw attention to the harmful consequences of reduced gates at minor events. The less important clubs often operate on a slender financial margin, and this applies particularly to amateur organisations – so that any fall in attendance receipts may lead to a number of them having to close down. Apart from the entertainment thus denied to local supporters this is bad for sport as a whole, since minor clubs form an important nursery for the development of sporting talent.
> (*The Times* 13.3.52.)

But before the PMG report was even published the Football League had placed significant pressure on the F.A. – the guardian of the game at all levels – to ban 'live' transmission of the 1952 Cup Final.

However, fears of an emergent social dimension to early television spectatorship bore no comparison to the threat held by re–diffusion within cinemas. Despite football's growth in appeal in the immediate post–War years, audience figures for the cinema far outstripped attendance at any other popular form of entertainment during the Great British weekend (Corrigan, 1983). Hence, with the possibility of cinemas re–diffusing television pictures the APCS attempted to enforce a form of copyright, to be held by the sporting authority concerned for the broadcasting of individual sporting events. The concept of copyright diverged from previous arrangements between broadcasters and British sporting organisations. For instance, the BBC had always considered any payment to the FA as a 'facility fee' for access to football premises (which as I suggested earlier was already a bone of contention between BBC radio and the press) and/or compensation for any lost revenue through loss of seats caused by camera positions, sound technicians or commentators. The 'facility fee' rarely topped 25 guineas because the BBC held the view that their broadcasts rather than hinder attendance at football actually aided the promotion of the game and, as I have outlined above, the corollary of broadcasting sporting events was its beneficial function towards a thriving, common national culture, an ideology shared by both the BBC and all the sporting organisations concerned.

However, the APCS were now claiming that television as a visual medium was exploiting the performance of sportsmen and women who played their sport under the rules and auspices of the sporting organisations. Ironically, radio commentary was now considered to be more akin to press reportage as it provided a second–hand coded narrative or description of play and

unlike television it did not convey the sports performance in actuality. The main thrust of the APCS argument is illustrated once again from the following quote by F.S. Gentle, the organisations vice–chairman when he claimed:

> that a promoter of a sporting or spectacular event should be placed in the same legal position regarding the televising of his production as the author, composer or playwright.
> (*The Times* 26.9.51.)

Within the above statement can be read a series of contradictory yet inter–related issues which pervade the contemporary sports/media nexus but which at that specific moment in the history of British sport were not completely configured, and would not be until the introduction of the intermediary concerns of sponsors and agents in the late–1960s to early 1970s.

Perhaps the most pertinent question to ask is: where within a team sport such as professional football does the copyright on performance actually lie? Gentle's statement emphasises the complicity of sports performers (both amateur and professional) in relation to the sporting and social codes and conventions of 'playing the game' overseen by the governing bodies and institutions of sport.

Within football, players were tied to the retain and transfer system. As some social historian commentators on the sport have suggested they were not so much the idolised servants of club and country, but contractual slaves to an oppressive sporting regime governed by the FA (Wagg, 1984). In other words, the order of things dictated that players were subservient to the whole system, and although top players could obtain reward either financially or more often than not in kind from sources outside or related to the game, it was ultimately the clubs, the FA and the Football League who were likely to benefit from any income gained by television rights, because as governors of the sport they maintained control over the performers of the game. This highly subservient position of the professional footballer would eventually be challenged and overcome during the 1960s, but it is only recently – since the EC Court of Law ruling of 1995 deemed the entire transfer system to be illegal – that professional players are becoming free agents in the media–driven football marketplace. Television has played a major role in this process by broadening the audience of the game and creating a host of mythologised and idolised star players from George Best to Paul Gascoigne (see Critcher, 1979 for an early theoretical exposition of this process). But within the malaise of the post–War negotiations

between sport and television the portents of these power struggles were beginning to emerge.

Copyright, Floodlight and Competition

Three specific forces were to have far reaching consequences for the relationships not only between football and television, but also within the professional game between players, clubs and the football authorities. They were: i) pressures to change the copyright law; ii) the introduction of floodlit football and; iii) the introduction of competition from commercial ('independent') television.

Whose Copyright?

One of the five main aims of the 1950 Beveridge Committee's report into broadcasting, which adhered to the Labour government's view of maintaining a television monopoly, recommended that the BBC develop television 'as part of the work of the corporation, but with due regard to its problems' (quoted *The Times* 18.1.51.). This specifically included the dilemma over the copyright of sporting events on which the Committee, in typical British style, advocated a compromise whereby the BBC would gain a right to televise subject to terms to be settled by agreement or arbitration. However, within a climate of uncertainty caused by the threat of cinema re–diffusion, the FA, after withholding permission to screen the 1952 Cup Final, established a joint committee with the Football League to discuss the question of financial terms for football broadcasts by the BBC.

Television boycotts from within football and other 'national' sports (most notably The Grand National) prompted questions to be asked in Parliament. The debate centred upon a way of reconciling private interests with those of the public at large, the prospect of which was made all the more complex by the newly appointed Tory Government's proposals to break the BBC television monopoly by introducing a commercial station (see the 1952 White Paper on Broadcasting).

Earl Jowitt, an opponent to commercial television due to his experiences in the United States, proposed that there should be a copyright, not in the performance itself but in the television image of a sporting spectacle and the interests concerned – the BBC, the cinemas and the sports promoters – should get together to see how the copyright should be 'parcelled out' (*The Times*

3.5.52.). Throughout 1952 and 1953 as the wider debates on broadcasting worked their way through Parliament, numerous pleas from the House of Lords argued for a statement from the Government to break the deadlock on televised sport. Lord Brabazon stated that it was 'a question of arranging hard business facts between promoters of sports and televisors' (*The Times* 26.6.52.); and the Government were criticised by Lord Lucas for being 'dilatory' in dragging its heels over the publication of the Copyright Committee report which was also addressing the issue of televised sport after being appointed in April 1951.

In the event, the report, published in October 1952, followed a similar line to that advocated by Earl Jowitt in order to break the deadlock between promoters and the BBC. The report recommended that the sole performing right should be vested in the BBC (or any other broadcasting authority). It was felt that such an arrangement would enable the broadcaster to control re–diffusion of an event, and from the fees so earned recompense the sports promoters for any loss of gate receipts thus incurred. It was felt 'that if a similar right were accorded to sports promoters it could not be restricted to them, but would have to be granted more widely' (*The Times* 14.10.52.). In order to ensure a fair fee for the public performance of copyright material, the committee proposed that a tribunal system be established to settle disputes. The notion of arranging fees therefore overturned the Beveridge Reports' earlier suggestion that gave the broadcasting authority legal right to televise events irrespective of the promoters wishes. In its leader comment *The Times* argued:

> [T]he broadcasters will have to account with the promoters, to whom they will be able to pay a fair share from the proceeds of fees which their new right will enable them to charge. The promoters, for their part, cannot be compelled to admit the television cameras to their grounds; but if they do they must be satisfied with a fair payment and in case of dispute the amount must be settled by a tribunal appointed for the purpose. This is a working solution of an obstinate problem. Only experience can test its value. Common sense will approve its enunciation.
> (*The Times* 14.10.52.)

The report appeared to thaw the cool relations between the sports promoters and the BBC, whose temporary estrangement ended the following week as the parties concerned engaged in 'exploratory' talks. Indeed, the FA had already overturned their policy of banning 'live' coverage of the Cup Final by July 1952 and suggested that League clubs should bring their games forward to avoid clashing with the 1953 final. They had also agreed to second–half coverage of two England internationals during November 1952 against Wales and Belgium

subject to ticket sales at Wembley. However, it was not until February 1953 that a financial package was decided upon, the BBC agreeing to pay a £1000 fee for the Cup Final in May of that year.

By the end of 1952 the demand for television sets was beginning to outstrip their production, and 'live' coverage of the major sporting occasions, along with the prospect of watching the forthcoming Coronation of the Queen in 1953, proved the most seductive televisual events and reason to invest in the new medium. Lord Lucas attempted to capture the publics desire for these major outside broadcasts with the following statement in January 1953:

> The public wanted the televising of public events, and had a right to expect it. They had invested large sums in television sets and would not be confined for long in watching the antics of *Muffin the Mule*. By far the best programmes were the outside television broadcasts, and unless the matter was resolved there would be diminution in public interest in television, which would affect not only the BBC but also, the industry.
> (*The Times* 22.1.53.)

Such rhetoric concurred with Lord Reith's notion of the BBC's position in public life, and the construction of national identity through the broadcasting of civic events, within which sport played a significant role. Moreover, the concern for the coverage of national events was part of a wider discourse which held that if television was to capture the imagination of the British people, as a powerful, educational form of communication, the BBC must maintain its status as a broadcasting monopoly. This was diametrically opposed to the policy ideas laid down in the Conservative government's 1952 White Paper on broadcasting, and its proposed introduction of sponsored television. The fear of Lord Lucas and his supporters was that a commercially driven television service would outbid the BBC for the major public events and would ultimately lead to the end of the Corporation, the degradation of programme quality (a conception based on an unfavourable value–judgment of American television), and ultimately the end of television itself! This overtly pessimistic opinion of commercial television and the supposed vulgar 'hidden persuasion' of advertising (Packard, 1957) was later shown to be false and misleading.

As will be discussed later, commercial television struggled to make inroads into the BBC's monopoly of the coverage of sport in its formative years, placed at a distinct disadvantage by the BBC's relative experience within the genre and its excellent contacts with sporting

organisations. However, even before the arrival of the legislation which introduced commercial television, there were some radical ideas emanating from the advocates of an open television market which sought to break the BBC's hold on sport. For instance, Lord Hawke proposed an idea which would place the copyright of the major sporting events in the hands of the television advertisers. As the sponsors of the television coverage, advertisers would also act as the promoters of the sporting events. This would both provide income to the sporting organisations for handing over the right to broadcast and lessen their burden in terms of promotion. The beauty of this model of organisation, according to its advocates, was that both television and the advertiser would benefit from their association with sport. In turn, sport would benefit from the specialist treatment afforded by the advertiser, a service which, in Lord Hawkes' opinion, was denied by sport's association with the BBC. This model of televised sport was clearly derived from practices in North America. Moreover, it is a model which has now resurfaced in the face of technological and economic change within the contemporary television industry in Britain, providing a somewhat truncated lineage within the political economy of sports broadcasting.

Floodlit football

There had been experiments with the floodlighting of football as early as 1878 when an estimated 20,000 spectators watched two select teams at Brammal Lane, Sheffield. Powered by two Siemans generators, two lamps were positioned in opposing corners and erected upon wooden towers, thirty feet high (Golesworthy, 1957). Further experiments in floodlighting continued during the 1930s, although they were against the will of the FA. In August 1930 the FA had passed a resolution prohibiting any of its member clubs from taking part in such games. This ruling was not rescinded until December 1950 with the provision that no competitive game could be played under artificial light without prior permission of the FA (Golesworthy, 1957).

The introduction of floodlighting enabled clubs to play mid–week matches on dark winter evenings, opening up a further opportunity for thousands of football supporters to see their heroes for a second time within a week. Moreover, because the floodlit matches were non–competitive and not subject to the Football League's ban on televised coverage, the BBC took its opportunity to approach the clubs involved directly to gain access for its cameras. This

was a great boost to the BBC's attempt to improve the profile of its football broadcasts. Due to the League ban the BBC had filled several Saturday afternoon schedules with matches from either the amateur football (the Amateur Cup and the Senior London Cup were to feature several times from 1948 to 1954) or from fixtures involving the armed forces. These matches were a poor substitute to the appeal of watching the household names from the professional ranks. Floodlit football provided a form of access previously denied.

One League club, in particular, helped to pioneer the introduction of televised floodlit matches in Britain. Wolverhampton Wanderers, an original member of the Football League, were one of the most successful English clubs throughout the 1950's, and spearheaded the use of floodlighting in the British game. Under the stewardship of Secretary–Manager, Major Frank Buckley, and tactically coached by manager Stan Cullis, they were League Champions in 1954, 1958 and 1959; runners–up in 1950 and 1955; and FA Cup Winners in 1949. Wolves were also amongst a group of League clubs which began to test their style of play (based on the long ball) against clubs from overseas, and it was the mixture of floodlit football and television which provided British audiences with their first glimpse of football from the 'Continent'.

In December 1954, Wolves, West Ham and Chelsea, played a memorable series of matches against 'Continental' opposition including AC Milan from Italy and two teams from Hungary, Voros Lobogo and the army sponsored club Honved. The English public had been made aware of the Hungarian talent for football in dramatic style one year earlier when their national side humiliated England by inflicting a 6–3 defeat, the first time England had lost to an overseas side at home. The defeat was given extra significance because it had been televised by the BBC. To many, the Hungarian style of football based upon quick short passing and movement off the ball was a revelation. As Rogan Taylor in his eulogy to a goal scored in the game by the Hungarian captain Ferenc Puskas describes:

> The Hungarians' third goal was pure genius. I'll take the memory of it with me to my grave. Superb play by Czibor released the ball to Puskas, positioned at the right–hand corner of the 6–yard box. As Billy Wright's thundering tackle was launched, Puskas dragged the ball back sharply with his left foot, body swerving to the left simultaneously, and smashed the ball into the roof of the net. Wright's tackle seemed to be still in transit as Puskas turned towards the centre circle, arm raised in triumph, walking away. My mate and I were stunned. It was not just the speed and brilliance of the man, *he had dragged the ball back with his studs.*
> (Taylor, 1990; 36)

Taylor's account hints at the power of television's immediacy effect upon the ever growing audiences of the mid–1950's. Television's promise of the exotic was thrillingly realised by its coverage of such rare football events.

Similarly, Wolves' game with Honved in December 1954, holds an equally powerful place within the formative years of television broadcasts of European football. At first sight, a football match played on a muddy, waterlogged pitch one wet Monday night in the West Midlands would not appear to have held much appeal. However, the game had an element of revenge about it as six of the Honved players had been involved in the crushing defeat of England. Television, perhaps for the first time, focused the attention of the wider viewing public to the significance of club football to the health and status of the nations most popular sport. With their 3–2 victory over Honved, Wolves were heralded as the unofficial European Champions by the English press. The BBC had positioned its audience as witnesses to the salubrious event, the health of the national sport riding on the back of a single clubs' fortunes. Here, television's ideological work was emphatically realised with the substitution of club for country. The coverage of the Wolves' victory under the murky lights of Molineux and its subsequent plaudits proved to be a portent of televisions' future love affair with mid–week European football, where gauging the quality of both the English and Scottish style of play against that of the 'Continentals' has been a perennial motif. Recalling the many televised, floodlit, games which Wolves played during the 1950s, Billy Wright commented:

> To bring over, as Wolves and other clubs have, great teams from Russia, Hungary, Brazil, Argentina, Austria, Germany and France, to mention but a few countries, is to my mind, a wonderful investment. Yes, I mean to use the word *investment*, because it really does apply in this case, for in addition to the thrill of seeing these colourful characters on parade, I think it has proved a wonderful source of value to the millions of youngsters I know look in to see such as Ferenc Puskas do his tricks.
> (Wright, 1959; 82)

Domestically, the advent of mid–week friendlies under floodlight also enabled English and Scottish clubs to compete against each other in front of the cameras. Unfortunately for the clubs concerned the football authorities north and south of the border did not look on such fixtures quite as favourably as the fans who were eager to witness the outcome of such culture clashes. One specific floodlit fixture between Falkirk and Newcastle United caused tension between the Scottish Football Association and the clubs involved. Mr R. Kelly, president of the Scottish

League and Chairman of Celtic FC, protested that unrestricted television would seriously damage the future of small concerns in sport just as, he argued, it had in North America. Moreover, Mr W. McIntosh, Chairman of Dundee United was reported in the *Glasgow Herald* (1.10.53.) as saying that television 'would be a cancer' if allowed to go unchecked. Within the post–War climate of increasing modernisation within the entertainment industries, such discourses were beginning to be perceived as overtly conservative and increasingly ludicrous. For instance, the *Glasgow Herald* drew its readers attention to the more enlightened view being taken by the English FA towards such fixtures, specifically regarding English teams playing clubs from the 'Continent'. On the day the SFA Council made its final decision on the matter the *Herald*'s sports column stated:

> One wonders how many of the SFA counsellors who will attend their monthly meeting to–day in Glasgow watched the Tottenham Hotspur v Racing Club of Paris match last night on television. No doubt those who did will be completely up to date in their knowledge of how successful is the televising of football, including football played in floodlighting. There is a great fear among the football officials of Scotland of the effect of television of football on the attendances at matches – a fear which many feel is exceeding the bounds of common sense.
> There were some 30,000 spectators at White Hart Lane's floodlit match last night which is a fair indication that the real football follower does not prefer a seat at the fireside. Furthermore, faulty transmission, during the televising, which embraced only the second half, gave spectators at home a much inferior view to that of those in the ground.
> (*Glasgow Herald* 30.9.53.)

The newspapers' advocacy of televised football must have resonated with the majority of the SFA Council as they voted 20 – 16 in favour of the floodlit broadcast. Despite missing the first–half of the match in which Newcastle scored twice, a potential 80,000 Scottish households saw Falkirk score three times during 'live' coverage of the second–half to defeat the English side 3–2 and cheer the heart of the *Herald*'s sportswriter who reported the following day: 'If television viewers enjoyed the floodlit match at Brockville Park last night even half as much as the 12,000 crowd they were at least satisfied' (*Glasgow Herald* 21.11.53.).

By the summer of 1953 the England national team had played their first competitive match under floodlight at the Yankee Stadium, New York, during a prolonged tour of North and South America (Wright, 1956). Moreover, by 1955 the FA recognised the benefits of mid–week evening kick–off's for Cup replays, and in 1956 the Football League sanctioned the

use of floodlights for those games rescheduled because of postponement.

Yet the official recognition of floodlighting raised another query for the football authorities to address: the payment of players. The maximum wage was based on a weekly rate and, therefore, players could not expect to receive extra payment for mid–week fixtures. Throughout 1954 and 1955 officials from Sunderland FC approached the FA with the proposal that League clubs should be permitted to pay their players an extra £5 for appearing in floodlit matches. Sunderland's idea was not accepted. However, with the increasing level of televised matches, due in part to the rise of floodlit games, the Players Union, under the Chairmanship of Jimmy Guthrie, approached other unions operating in the entertainment field, such as the Variety Artists Federation, with the intention of gaining some form of renumeration from television for its members. According to Guthrie, footballers as public performers ranked for consideration in the matter of fees as in any other form of entertainment.

In January 1956, Guthrie discussed the contention that players should receive a fee when football matches were televised with the director of administration of the BBC, Sir Norman Bottomley. Guthrie approached the so–called 'informal exchange of views' with the idea that if a fee was negotiated, half would go to the players and half would go into a players accident fund (*The Times* 4.1.56.). However, the BBC contended that fees for televised games was an issue to be settled between the players and their employers. One week later Guthrie was in discussion with the FA and the Football League who deflected his demands once more by reiterating the regulations which forbid payment and left him with the suggestion that the only way to change this situation was for the clubs to alter the regulations themselves.

The negative responses from both the broadcasters and the football authorities fuelled Guthrie's indignation and led the Union, in March 1956, to place a ban on their members appearing in floodlit matches before television cameras unless a fee was paid. Guthrie approached Wolves players who pledged their support to the Union in the campaign for additional payment for televised or floodlit matches. Wolves were due to play the Spanish side Atletico Bilbao the following week and their backing of the Union's stance prompted the League Management Committee to discuss the matter on the Saturday prior to the game. In a reply to the Union's demand, the League were prepared to negotiate with the players over fees on the condition that

the proposed ban be removed immediately, the principle of the maximum wage recognised, and the transfer system retained. At the eleventh hour the Union rescinded its ban and stated that they had 'agreed a mutual basis for joint consultation between the League and the Players Union for the resolving of outstanding problems' (*The Times* 12.3.56.). The football authorities, who were soon to move into extensive negotiations with both the BBC and the newly formed ITV for television rights, had maintained their hegemonic position within the governance of the game and its finances, a position they would continue to hold until another player revolt inevitably emerged in the 1960s. The above events are another reminder of how television began to transform not only the wider perceptions of viewing football, but also the upheaval it brought to the institutional fabric of the sport itself.

Competition: BBC and ITV

The struggles over television copyright and the introduction of floodlighting (which had effectively increased the volume of football and, therefore, its potential audience) were signposts to a new pattern of commercialised sport, which was reflected by broader shifts away from the immediate post–war years of austerity to an emergent, conspicuous, consumer culture. Although football's association with the processes of consumer culture were not fully realised until the mid–1960s, apotheosized by the exploitation of George Best, the arrival of a commercial television service in 1955 generated a new, competitive approach to the coverage of the sport by the BBC. As Garry Whannel (1992) has documented, with competition bearing down on the activities of the Outside Broadcast department, the chief negotiator for contracts, Peter Dimmock, had initiated changes within the BBC's sports programming, while producers within other television genres were far more complacent. In 1954 BBC Television introduced a new sports omnibus programme, *Sportsview*. Broadcast on a Wednesday evening, at first a fortnightly, and then a weekly programme, *Sportsview* adopted a magazine format which combined filmed material with studio presentation and interviews. There was much emphasis placed on sporting 'personalities', with the imperative of winning support from a 'family audience' uppermost in the minds of the programmes producers (see Whannel 1991).Football was to feature strongly throughout the programmes' history, as it has within its successor *Sportsnight*, but arrangements with the Football League in 1954 were far from resolved.

The aggregate level of attendances at League games for 1954/55 had fallen by over two million

from the previous year, and Arthur Drewry, the President of the League, announced in May 1955 that the ban on any extensive coverage of football on television would be continued. With the knowledge that ITV would soon be up and running, the League for the first time in its association with broadcasting had some leverage with regard to reaching a level of remuneration it felt would forego the loss of revenue from falling gate receipts. However, the League management committee remained divided over the subject. The main concern was financial, but a sub text for much of the indecision was a fear of the unknown.

The management committee were clearly making decisions based on the wider debates raging at the time regarding the appropriate role of television in the lives of British people. From its initial squabbles with broadcasting after the introduction of radio in the inter–war years, the football authorities had been willing to accept the Reithian precept that commentaries on sport had an important place in the nation's affection. But, by the mid–1950s the tenets of Reithianism were eroding, being dismissed as culturally outdated and outmoded at a time of significant social and economic change. The Conservative Party had swept to power in 1951 behind images of the affluent worker. A television set was "the defining symbolic object" of a 'New England' (Laing, 1986; 29) and, the introduction of a commercial service was considered an appropriate means of expanding the rapidly growing field of the broadcasting service. However, the prospect of commercial television, with advertising jingles and quiz shows, led to derogatory criticism from both the Left (who gave a moral warning about the debasement of working–class culture) and the Conservative cultural elites (who railed against the processes of Americanisation). As Strinati (1992; 48) has observed with regard to British culture, these fears were, at root, based upon anxieties about "the erosion of grass root 'organic' communal structures and 'authentic' value associated with the production and enjoyment of truly authentic popular or 'folk' culture." League Football, which had standardised and rationalised the 'folk' game into a mass spectator sport, paradoxically clung to its patriarchal, working–class roots by checking the level of commercial progress and restricting the social and economic transgression of its labour force (the players) through the mechanisms of the retain and transfer system and the maximum wage. However, the expansion of television, and the wider cultural transformations associated with it, would ultimately lead the sport towards a less incongruous co–existence in the sports–media complex, and yet, in 1954 opinion was clearly divided as to how football should proceed.

As with radio, the development of relations between the television broadcasters and football invariably fell on the shoulders of key individuals within the respective institutions. As competition in television beckoned, it was left to the younger executives within both the League and the FA, who had a clearer grasp of the economic, social and political climate, to produce the dynamic impetus needed to develop the televised game. Alan Hardaker, in 1954 the Football League's assistant secretary to Fred Howarth, was delegated the job of negotiating with the BBC. As Hardaker noted later in his autobiography:

> Fred Howarth knew little about the medium, and cared little about it, and passed what responsibility he had in this connection on to me. It was the first time he had given me any sort of job, and I was delighted to take it on.
> (Hardaker, 1977; 222)

The representation of impending changes in League opinion on television are plain to see within this account. If the old guardians of football "cared little" as to the future of the sports relationship with television, then such ambivalence was not shared by Hardaker who, as events transpired, became increasingly aware that television was of vital importance, not only to the growth of the new medium, but also to the game itself. This was made no more apparent, than when Dimmock suggested to Hardaker that the BBC were willing to pay a staggering quarter–of–a–million pounds for a undisclosed level of televised coverage of League matches (Hardaker, 1977; 222). However, no sooner had the unofficial offer been made, than it was rescinded, due to the plain fact that the BBC could not afford to spend such a sum on live OB's. But, the episode clearly fuelled the economic appetite of the League's assistant secretary, as the potential riches of television were bared for the first time.

By March 1955, both the BBC and the ITA had submitted proposals to televise filmed excerpts of League matches, with the promise that no prior knowledge of the games covered would be given to the audience. Meanwhile, as the League pondered its possible future with television, the FA continued its contract with the BBC for broadcasting the Cup Final, as terms were agreed in August 1955 for a further three years coverage (1956–1959). It was a symbolic gesture of loyalty by the FA, whose growing recognition of the BBC's capacity to transform the event into a shared national ritual, was duly being repaid. Moreover, allied to these institutional ties, was the technical ability of the BBC, which even by 1955, had grown immensely. For instance, the corporation had in 1954 televised several football matches from

overseas via its 'Eurovision' links with mainland Europe (see next chapter). By comparison, the ITV network was unknown, both in terms of its staff, and its ability within the field of outside broadcasting. With *Sportsview* the BBC had developed a full–time sports production unit. ITV, organised within a federal, regional system and hampered by its lack of any centralised sports co–ordination or production, was placed at a distinct disadvantage towards the coverage of sport before it even began broadcasting in the Autumn of 1955 (see Sendall 1983).

Within this context, the League ultimately turned to the BBC. In an almost arrogant show of victory, the BBC announced its contract with the League on Thursday 22 September 1955, the very day commercial television was launched in Britain. The agreement, for one season, was for the telerecording of seventy–five matches, with the stipulation that each recording was neither to exceed five minutes (unless there was only one game available, in which case ten minutes were allowed) nor could they be televised before 10pm. A circular was sent to League clubs to provide 'every facility' to the BBC, and those concerned in the recordings would receive a 5 guinea facility fee (*The Times* 22.9.55.).

The acquisition of the rights to League football was a fillip to the BBC's growing sports portfolio. Two weeks before the deal was announced Dimmock had introduced a brand new programme scheduled for Saturday evenings. *Sports Special* was a sister programme to the mid–week magazine *Sportsview*, placing emphasis on the day's sporting action rather than interviews and filmed reports which were an essential ingredient of the latter programme. The expansion in sports programming had been due to the success of *Sportsview* to attract what Dimmock described as "a large and growing audience for sports programmes" (*Radio Times*, 2.9.55.). The logistical hurdles which were presented to the production of *Sports Special*, which in the programme notes always promised "Today's sport on your screen tonight," will be discussed in the next chapter. But it is important to highlight here, in the context of competition, that the BBC had not only made a decisive breakthrough in persuading League football to be televised, but also had created the ideal vehicle within which the filmed highlights could be broadcast to the armchair sports fan. Indeed,*Sports Special* was part of the BBC's general increase in programming within this period. Between the beginning and end of September 1955, the BBC had boosted its aggregate weekly hours of programmes from

forty–one to forty–nine hours per week, just one hour below the Postmaster General's ceiling for permitted hours of television. This was part of BBC Television's effort to stave off the arrival of ITV. Sir George Barnes, the Director of Television Broadcasting, addressing the issue in the *Radio Times* pronounced:

> Although with powerful competitors bent upon exclusive contracts, we shall not have the same choice of events and performers that we have hitherto enjoyed, the BBC will continue to give the most varied and diverse television programmes to suit all tastes of a nationwide audience – an audience which is increasing through the addition of one million new licences a year.
> This service is paid for by those viewers; it owes no allegiance to anyone else.
> (*Radio Times*, 16.9.55.)

Barnes was cocking–a–snook at ITV, suggesting that the new television service would have little allegiance to its viewers, and would restrict its range of programming to cater for the tastes of its sponsors, the advertisers. However, sport, and specifically League football, could potentially match the ITV companies' and the advertisers' needs by providing mass, popular entertainment. Although the League management committee had given the BBC permission to televise filmed highlights – for a sum it would not divulge – the possibility of negotiating a contract with commercial television had not been ruled out.

In May 1955 the ITV's weekend companies Associated Television(ATV) and Associated Broadcasting Company (ABC) had made initial approaches to the League. According to *The Times* (18.5.55.) an offer of £1000 per match had been offered to screen live games in London. But, at this time the League management committee were still adamantly against such an arrangement. A considerable breakthrough did appear to surface as the rights came under negotiation in the summer of 1956, after the BBC's first year of filmed highlights. ATV proposed that in return for a fee in the region of £50,000 they could televise the second–half of up to thirty–five League matches per season, with a delayed kick–off at 6.15pm. Furthermore, ATV promised to compensate clubs for any lost revenue caused by televising the game (which was estimated by *The Times* (21.7.56.) to be in the region of £60,000) and to recompense travelling clubs for having to remain away from home overnight because of the late kick–off. As a further inducement, ATV also offered to make a special film to advertise the League across the ITV network. This package, devised to usurp the dominance of the BBC in the coverage of football, was the first proposal for 'live' football with any substance and persuasion. Still fearful of television, the management committee decided to refer the offer, and wait for a report

to a special meeting, two months later. But, as Hardaker (1977; 223) remembered, "the offer was so good it almost made one believe in fairies at the bottom of the garden". At the special meeting in Blackpool the management committee initially voted to accept the offer from ATV, the first time the League had formally agreed to 'live' televised football. However, a large contingent of clubs who were strongly against 'live' coverage were absent from the ballot.Therefore, a second special meeting was arranged in Manchester, where by 38 votes to 10, representatives of the League clubs rejected ATV's terms, and deferred indefinitely the prospect of covering League matches 'live'.

Negotiations for Saturday evening matches resurfaced briefly during the 1960–61 season when ABC offered the League £142,000 (£92,000 for exclusive rights and £50,000 to advertise the game) for the second–half of twenty–six games, selected from all four divisions. The idea, according to Hardaker, was to use the Saturday evening schedule as a public relations exercise "to present football and the League in the best possible light and give the public, including millions of women who watch television on Saturday nights a taste of the excitement and spectacle of first–class football" (*Manchester Guardian*, 17.8.60.). Similarly, the management committee stated that: "It is difficult to envisage a more favourable business deal for any form of professional sport" (*Manchester Guardian* 17.8.60.). Dissenting voices from within and outside the game raised the awareness of the League's management committee once more to the affect on wider popular entertainments. Specifically, Mr R. B. Jones, secretary of the Arsenal Supporters Club, feared that many would "stay at home on a bad afternoon in anticipation of getting his football by the fireside in the evening" (*Manchester Guardian* 17.8.60.). Moreover, Sir Tom O'Brian, general secretary of the National Association of Theatre and Kine Employees and president of the Federation of Film and Theatre Unions called a meeting between the parties concerned from television and football, and argued that the proposed deal would jeopardise the livelihood of 100,000 people. In the event, one game between Blackpool and Bolton Wanderers was shown 'live' as a means test; according to Hardaker it was a rather dull affair, and with that disappeared ITV's chances of clinching the deal.

During the period in question, this was the nearest ITV came to wrestling the exclusive rights to League football away from the BBC. With the breakdown in negotiations between the ITV companies and the Football League, the BBC stepped in with a modest offer of £20,000 for

Saturday evening filmed highlights for the 1956–57 season, which was renewed for another year (1957–58) and then three more years (1958–61). For the remainder of the 1950s and most of the 1960s ITV continually lost out in the battle to obtain rights to football. All that remained were the odd scraps from mid–week FA Cup replays or attempts to organise alternative football competitions, like ABC's five–a–side football on Sundays (Whannel, 1992; 48). Because of the reasons stated above, and the institutional power of the BBC, the ITV companies found it incredibly difficult to break the hegemony of its now established adversary. The ITV companies were to remain in the shadow of the BBC until 1966 when a more centralised sports production unit was established to provide economies of scale, and a more coherent style for its audience.

The Modern Player and Televised Football

Although paltry in comparison to the financial exchanges of the 1980s and 1990s, from the late–1950s there was an unprecedented sum of money from television lining the pockets of the League clubs and the football authorities. Given this influx of money into the sport, it was only a matter of time before the contradictions of the maximum wage would be addressed by professional players eager to improve their standard of living, commensurate with the rapidly increasing number of television viewers they entertained, despite a fall in actual attendances. The Football League were dragging their feet over the issue, and yet openly pursuing a profit regime which would ultimately transform the modern professional game, in its organisation, form and social relations. After a series of negotiations with the League, the PFA, led by their chairman, Jimmy Hill and secretary, Cliff Lloyd, threatened strike action a week before Christmas 1960.

Less than one month into the PFA's ultimatum the clubs gave in, much to the dismay of Hardaker who believed that a maximum wage of £30 per week should have been introduced as an incremental measure between the old ceiling and the open rates of pay the players had been seeking. After an agreement was made to abolish the maximum wage, in January 1961, Fulham announced that they were to pay Johnny Haynes £100 per week. Furthermore, Chelsea had agreed terms with AC Milan to transfer Jimmy Greaves for £73,000, £10,000 of which was awarded to the player. This latter transaction was seen as a symptom of the wider economic transformations affecting the sport, which for so long had been held back by the FA,

the League, and the clubs. The Continental game was seen to be offering 'milk and honey' to the top players,and for *The Times* the implication was clear:

> The siren call of financial gain across the Channel will be hard for many to resist... Football has given birth to a supermarket. The boundaries no longer merely enclose England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland. It is now a world game in a new age.
> (*The Times*, 14.4.61.)

The rhetoric of a 'new age' was slightly premature, however. The above commentary was published on the eve of an extraordinary general meeting of the League management committee who, while accepting the abolition of the maximum wage, decided to veto the players demands to end the policy of retention, which restricted their movement between clubs. However,in the changing climate, it was not long before this tenuous restriction of trade was legally challenged. After being transferred to Arsenal, George Eastham, an England international, began proceedings against his former club Newcastle United. The case went to the High Court where, in 1963, Mr Justice Wilberforce judged the retention of Eastham by Newcastle, and therefore of all players, to be *ultra vires*. Not wanting to act outside the law the clubs rescinded their restrictive practice.

These radical transformations in the relationship between the clubs and their players reflected, in many respects, the 'age of television' and all that it represented in the burgeoning forms of domestic–centred leisure. They were also the premise upon which television began to exploit the individualist ethics of a new crop of outstanding players, which so starkly contradicted the paternalistic benevolence of football administrators within which the previous generation of players had been complicit. The increasing visibility in public life of players like Jimmy Greaves, Denis Law, Bobby Moore and George Best was testament to a widening differential and hierarchical structure of reward in the football labour market which television did much to reproduce.

The increasing power of the players was realised again in 1965 when the televising of the 1965 Cup Final was placed in jeopardy. The dispute, between the PFA and the FA, was over the agreement initially made in 1956 whereby sums of £5000 from the FA's revenue from television (£1000 of which came from the Cup Final) were payable on a yearly basis to the players accident fund. The FA decided to discontinue the fund because of the Football League's

plans to introduce player accident insurance, which was seen as replacing rather than complementing the money from television. After a ballot the PFA instructed its members not to appear before cinematographic or television cameras. Cliff Lloyd argued that the PFA had "been left with no alternative in a situation where the FA arbitrarily and without consultation have terminated a long–standing agreement" (*The Times*, 20.3.65.). The ban incensed Hardaker, as it affected the League's contract with the BBC. In a countering statement he proclaimed:

> The live televising of matches in which League clubs take part are subject to an agreed fee of 10 guineas a man, which is in the Football League regulations as a result of negotiations with the PFA, and by taking the action they have, without consulting the Football League, they leave the League no alternative but to withdraw from the negotiating committee.
> (*The Times*, 20.3.65.)

For a further week a stalemate ensued until the FA restored its commitment to the due payments under the 1956 agreement. However, they also decided to ban the televising of live matches except the Cup Final from the beginning of the 1965–66 season, once its contract with the BBC to televise one live game from each round had expired. This episode emphasised that the commercial imperatives of football, which had been heightened by the influence of television, were becoming installed within the sport's structure of governance, and as Rowe (1995; 121) suggests with regard to this process in general, such "commercial assumptions become increasingly indistinguishable from those pertaining to the interests of the sport." The speed with which these changes occurred were only just accelerating in the early–to–mid–1960s, but they are tangibly visible in the ruptures and power struggles which occur at this time.

The 1966 World Cup Finals have been viewed as another watershed in Britain's football industry, specifically in the relationship between the sport's image and its public (Redhead, 1987). But the seeds of this transformation between football and its fans were sewn with the introduction of the BBC's *Match of the Day*, first screened at 6.30pm on 22 August 1964, and developing a style which has become an archetypal method of packaging recorded highlights of football in Britain.

The programmes' development owed much to the introduction of video technology, but also to the arrival of BBC2 in 1964 which afforded the corporation an expansion in the range and choice of programming. The second channel also opened up the number of hours available for

televised sport, which previously had to compete vigorously within the single, mixed, schedule of the public service broadcaster. An agreement between BBC2 and the League for fifty–minute recordings on Saturday evenings had been struck at the beginning of August 1964, but not before some constitutional disagreement with the FA. Denis Follows, an administrator from the airline industry who had succeeded Sir Stanley Rous as the secretary of the FA in 1961, argued – once the BBC made an initial announcement of the contract – that the deal was not official as far as he was concerned. Follows' dispute was based upon the contravention of previously laid guidelines which only allowed thirty minutes of filmed recordings from domestic matches, which were not to be shown before 9.30pm. The fear, as always, was that such a high level of coverage, so soon after the actual match had finished, would detrimentally influence attendances for those games due to be televised. However, the League management committee were committed to the contract with the BBC, which Follows, after a joint–committee meeting, accepted "had to be observed" (*The Times*, 20.8.64.). Realising the sensitive nature of Follows' reservations and not wanting to overly upset relations with the FA, Dimmock agreed to review the scheduling of the programme after the first three showings. For the first two series *Match of the Day* remained on BBC2 initially scheduled for 7.00pm (for 1964–65) and 10.45pm (for 1965–66), before moving to its now more familiar slot on BBC1 after the success of the World Cup in 1966.

Concluding Remarks

During *Match of the Day*'s formative years, the availability of BBC2 was restricted to the south east of England, and as Kenneth Wolstenholme introduced the first programme with the sentence "This afternoon we are in Beatleville", the irony that Liverpudlians could not view the dawning of a new era in televised football, emphasised regional distinctions in cultural consumption which was inscribed within the residual power of the BBC's metropolitan centre. Wolstenholme's opening address also illustrated the growing ties between football and wider transformations in popular culture during the 1960s, which had in this instance, manifested itself on the terraces of Anfield in the anthemic singing of Beatles' songs.

The evidence within the narratives I have provided above, illustrate the fluctuating speed with which television and football accommodated the needs and requirements of each other. The political wranglings and hegemonic struggles during the formative decades of televised football

between the broadcasters, the administrators, and the players are complex and contradictory. The resonance between the BBC's statutory commitment to public service and the ritual symbolism of the Cup Final (north and south of the border) both served to knit together a shared national culture, and at the same stroke, move the professional game beyond its straightforward origins of payment for play in front of spectators towards a set of complex relations whereby the sport supports and is supported by television, which increasingly has acted not as a secondary, ancillary industry, but an integral, constituent part of it,economically and culturally.

Given that television has undoubtedly transformed football as popular culture, there is a need for a more detailed understanding of the generic codes and conventions of televised football. How and why have the processes of mediating the sport from the field to the screen developed? In what ways, and with what devices, has televised football attempted to appropriate an audience?

CHAPTER 4

SCREENING TELEVISED FOOTBALL: TECHNOLOGY AND PRODUCTION

Technology, Television and Football

The chief concern of this chapter is to trace the historical and technological processes which have ultimately transformed the way in which football is produced and consumed. My first objective, is to trace the discursive history of production practices of televised football in Britain. My second objective, is to critically analyse the relationship between what Silverstone (1994) has called the 'tele–technological system' and the emergent importance of international football. This will be provided by an overview of the key developments and changes within the history of broadcasting the World Cup in Britain.

Raymond Williams (1974) has shown how technology is etched within the institutional history of British television broadcasting and, as we have seen in Chapters 2 and 3, how these institutions are etched in the economic and political structures of the State. The relationship between sport and broadcasting has made this structural relationship with the State both integral (for instance, through the 'listed events') and increasingly problematic as the global advancement of television and electronic landscapes transcend or evade traditional cultural boundaries and State regulations (Morley and Robins, 1995). Technology, specifically that of television, has been central to the rhetoric of Western modernity, and it is with this ideological context in mind that my analysis turns to a study of the BBC's promotional rhetoric and its attempt to develop the technical conventions of televised football.

Recordings of early television in Britain are not available, but one method of recapturing technological discourses on televised football is through the pages of the official literature of the BBC, the *Radio Times* and the annual *BBC Handbook*. In tracing televised football's technological history from the publicity material of the BBC, it is possible to discern the social and cultural influences of technological change and institutional perceptions of its reception. Theoretically, this should help to avoid the technological determinism which plagues many accounts of television's history. Within the *Radio Times* the discourse of technology was an

important tool in the marketing of television, specifically relating to OB's, of which football was an integral aspect. So from this material we can glean some information of the technological systems and processes involved in the transformation and mediation of football by television.

One of the earliest examples of this preoccupation with promoting the televising of sport as a technological event preceded the televising of a Rugby Union international between England and Scotland from Twickenham in March 1938, one week before the first Association Football match was televised from Wembley (see Chapter 2). Within the new television column of the *Radio Times*, there appeared an early indication of the logistical difficulties facing the BBC technicians in their attempts to provide the clearest possible 'depictive form' of the play. Twickenham was to become the first sports stadium to be permanently equipped for television, and the *Radio Times* informed its readers that three cameras were to be positioned within specially constructed wooden huts in the West Stand, thirty feet from the ground placed level with the half–way line and the two twenty–two yard lines. Under the pseudonym of The Scanner, the *Radio Times*' television critic wrote:

> With skilful use of the telephoto lens the ball or the forwards on top of it should be seen the whole time. A 'sticky' pitch slowing up the game will probably make a better picture.
> (*Radio Times* 11.3.38.)

The expected fragility of the image can be sensed from this account, and the positioning of the cameras was clearly viewed as the optimum use of the telephoto lenses to capture the play in each third of the field. The cameras were supported by what was effectively a portable studio system which consisted of three vans: the scanner (where the director instantaneously edited the pictures from the pool of cameras), a generator (which powered the whole operation) and the transmitter (which was connected to a portable, if cumbersome, eighty–foot telescopic aerial). At Wembley, for the first televised coverage of the FA Cup Final a suitable source of power was taken from a sub–station conveniently nearby the transmitter, and the aerial was placed between the 'Twin Towers' providing the stadium with a new icon of modernity. A transmitter at Highgate picked up the messages and then passed them on via a land–line to Alexander Palace.

After beginning in the spring of 1937, OB's were severely restricted in their range of

transmission. The mobile unit, constructed by Marconi–EMI Television Company Ltd., could only be used at a maximum range of twenty miles from the transmitting station. Similarly, utilising ultra–short waves, the range of the BBC's television service was no more than forty miles, which positioned places like Brighton and Oxford on the fringe of what became known as the 'Magic Circle' (*The Times* 7.1.38.). Furthermore, the sheer bulkiness of the technology required to transmit an OB, specifically the mass of cable involved, severely restricted the mobility of the equipment. Although the early attempts to standardise television OB's were evident, the problems of economically marshalling the technology needed on location took many years to resolve. For instance, reflecting on the differences between radio and television productions in 1951, Peter Dimmock remarked:

> The equipment for a sound outside broadcast often weighs only about 2 cwt., whereas a television OB requires sixty times as much gear, weighing anything up to 350 cwt. All this equipment has to be mobile, and a fleet of vans has been specially designed for the purpose.
> (*BBC Handbook*, 1951; 51)

This, inevitably, enforced certain time constraints. For example, in 1938 the coverage of England against Scotland from Wembley on Saturday 9 April was preceded by a Light–Heavyweight title fight between the boxers Len Harvey and Jock McAvoy on Thursday, 7 April, which left twenty–nine hours between the broadcasts. As The Scanner suggested, "come behind the scenes, and you will see that, far from being ample, the twenty–nine hours' interval is giving something in the nature of a rush job" (*Radio Times* 22.4.38.). This relative immobility is symbolic of the transitional period in media technology. It was a time consuming (and labour intensive) process and virtually pre–Fordist in comparison to other forms of communication at this time (radio reached over ninety percent of the population by 1938). Processes and techniques had yet to be fully standardised. Programmes had yet to be formalised in any coherent, recognisable way. And mass consumption of television was far from realised.

Steve Barnett (1990) has documented that Gerald Cock's own post–mortem on the success of these early experiments in televising from football were mixed. For the first coverage of the Cup Final three cameras had been positioned on the half–way line (two above the Royal Box and one below) and appear to have covered the field of play quite successfully, however, the BBC had used George Allison's radio commentary with the television pictures and the

twinning of the simultaneous broadcasts had failed to work for the first half–hour. However, as Barnett (1990; 8) notes, Cock received several complementary letters and telegrams, and himself commented that the broadcast "resulted in probably the best Press that any television has had since the Coronation."

The problem of finding suitable camera and commentary positions added to the complex dynamics of matching sound and image. As Briggs (1979; 869) has commented, "ideas often outran techniques" as the production team for football broadcasts struggled with the resources available to them. The first major coverage of the Olympic Games from London in 1948 improved the available television facilities for broadcasting from Wembley and also kick–started a whole series of innovations during the immediate post–War period. New, more sensitive, CPS Emitron cameras were introduced, providing a higher degree of depth of field and focus (Whannel, 1992; 64). Allied to this innovation were the introduction of 'zoom lenses' mounted on turrets enabling OB directors, like Alan Chivers, the ability to focus on individual players instead of actual play. First used in the coverage of horse racing from Ascot in 1951, the new lenses brought a five–to–one ratio, which was a vast improvement on the previous two–to–one system. Therefore, a one hundred yard shot was brought to within twenty yards. This now familiar practice often used to link edited highlights, or add personality interest during lulls in the play, was novel in the 1950s and, through a process of personalisation, gave the viewer a 'privileged insight' into the game (Clarke and Clarke, 1985; 72). However, the close–up had to be used sparingly, for if the camera concentrated on one player for too long the pattern of play was lost to the viewers, who were proving to be quite discerning when it came to knowledge of camera angles and techniques (Briggs, 1979; 870). The following letter criticising the BBC's coverage of a match between Dukla Prague and Tottenham Hotspur in 1962 illustrates that even after two decades of filming football the visual conventions of the genre were still under scrutiny:

> The siting of the camera on the half–way line gives anything but a steady picture. Also, often one player only is seen in a view covering about two per cent of the pitch, and his position can be fixed only when the half–way line or corner of the penalty box comes in the picture.
> Can anyone convince *Sportsview* that easily the best view of a match is with cameras behind the goal line, both looking down the same touch–line? Such a view was shown in a Saturday match at Hendon about six years ago, and was given with excellent results in an evening game under floodlights some two years ago.
> Cameras in this position need move only occasionally through a quarter of the angle needed to cover both corners from the centre of the stand position, and the

pattern of the game as the forwards advance is much more clearly seen.
G.J. Love. Hampshire.
(*Radio Times* 5.4.62.)

What the above letter alludes to is an imaginary ideal position from which to view the game, and it is apt to remember that within many stadia in Britain the bulk of supporters traditionally stood behind the goals. One reason for the positioning of cameras at the half–way line on one side of the ground was to obey the realist film convention of the 180–degree rule. In order not to disorient the viewer the camera would not cut beyond an imaginary line which ran from goal to goal, a convention largely adhered to today and only breached with a graphic reminder to the viewer that this is a 'reverse angle'.

Another, more technical reason for maintaining at least two cameras together at the half–way line was the need for continuity within filmed edited highlights before the introduction of video technology. Because the length of the film was restricted (due to size and weight), a match would be filmed in sequences by two main cameras (usually in long or mid–shot, with a third camera where logistically and financially possible providing close–ups). Therefore, a camera assistant would studiously watch the counter of one film camera while loading up the second in readiness to switch over once the first film neared to an end. Frequently perched high upon the roof of a stand in all weathers, often in cramped conditions with comparatively rudimentary film equipment,it is not surprising that this system of film relays occasionally broke down, invariably due to one or both of the cameras jamming. The ex–BBC football commentator Kenneth Wolstenholme recalled one such incident within an interview with the author:

> There was a great fella we had in the BBC, Colin Prentice, a superb cameraman: "We've got a jam", and this camera [No.2] hasn't been loaded, and that camera [No.1] is out of action. So we haven't got a camera. So we did Wales against England at Cardiff, and England score first, and Wales are then winning two–one – they'd scored two in the second half, I think John Charles and Coby Jones scored superb goals – and we had the same situation on each camera: that camera [No.1] had just finished and hadn't been loaded and that camera [No.2] had jammed. Now, no one believes it. There were letters sent to the BBC, MP's asked questions in Parliament: "This was disgraceful", and we had one goal to show. We had film cameras and there was nothing you could do about it.
> (Interview with author, July 1995)

However, as Whannel (1992; 33) has noted, the professional ideologies of realism in order to maintain a level of transparency in the coverage of sport were always in tension with the need for entertainment. Football fans who regularly attend matches are acutely aware that televised

highlights are a mediated product, which involves a process of selection, which in turn is restricted in possible representations.

By August 1950 the BBC was shortening even larger distances as the first television OB from the Continent was carried across the English Channel by a series of microwave radio links which hopped their way to London from Calais. In spite of difficulties caused by lack of standardisation, the initiative to make further connections between countries led to the Coronation in 1953 being transmitted to France, the Netherlands and West Germany. Here was a development which would transform not only television as communication, but also the processes of Europeanisation and globalisation experienced within the political economy and cultural significance of football. Specifically, the acceleration in the growth of international football, and the participation of the British nations within global competition, coincides with, and is undoubtedly connected to, the development of European wide (and subsequently global) television communication systems.

Televising the World Cup

Origins and British Dissent

Appearing every four years, the World Cup, football's premier tournament, runs conversely with the other pre–eminent sporting occasion the Olympic Games. The two year gap between the two sporting festivals is political rather than coincidental. The competition to find the world's leading football nation began within the Olympic movement, which had been rekindled from the ancient Greek Games by Baron Pierre de Coubertin in 1896. International football first appeared in the Olympics in 1908, where the winners were a Great Britain side comprising of an amateur, upper–middle–class gentry. However, the Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) which was established in 1904 – with the abstention of the British Football Associations – decided that they alone had the right to organise a world championship. As the French secretary of FIFA, Henri Delauney, proclaimed:

> Today international football can no longer be held within the confines of the Olympics; and many countries where professionalism is now recognised and organised cannot any longer be represented there by their best players.
> (Mason, 1995; 38)

Yet it would be a further twenty–six years before FIFA realised their goal of holding their own tournament. The first World Championship was thus held in 1930 in Uruguay, who were then

reigning Olympic champions. Political disputes between national associations ensured that attendance at the first three World Cups of 1930 (Uruguay), 1934 (Italy) and 1938 (France), were fraught with defections and counter–defections. Most notable by their absence were the four British national teams who did not enter the World Cup until the fourth tournament of 1950 in Brazil. This was due to both an ethnocentric view that British football was naturally superior, and therefore, need not subject itself to 'foreign' scrutiny, and also, of more practical, domestic and political importance to the football authorities, due to their rejection of broken time payments for amateur players.

The non–attendance of the British nations, and the lack of prestige they attached to the World Cup, guaranteed the absence of the British media from the first three tournaments and the BBC's insularity appeared to match that of the UK Football Associations. Under the guidance of Stanley Rous the home nations rejoined FIFA in 1946, and were represented at the 1950 finals in Brazil by England. With England's inclusion, the BBC offered three meagre, five minute radio reports from the football correspondent of the *News Chronicle*, Charles Buchan. The summaries covered England's three games in Brazil – against Chile(2–0), Spain (0–1) and the infamous defeat by the USA (0–1) – and once England had departed, there were no contingencies to cover the latter stages of the tournament, eventually won by Uruguay.

Eurovision

The possibility of linking up eight European countries as part of a 'Television Continental Exchange' were being discussed by the Autumn of 1953. The World Cup from Switzerland in 1954, saw the first extensive coverage by the BBC as part of this exchange; the origins of 'Eurovision' and the European Broadcasting Union (EBU), which remains a dominant force in global televised sports rights and distribution. A series of programmes were transmitted between eight countries in June and July of 1954, and the Swiss contribution from Berne were "ten principle matches of the World Football Championships," providing more programmes for the international exchange than any other country. The exchange relied upon some four thousand miles of connecting land lines, with forty–four transmitters. The ideological motivation for the exchange, from the British perspective, is identifiable within the following quote published in the *Radio Times* from the BBC's Chief Technician, MJ Pilling:

> We have tried to advantage the universality of the picture as a way of overcoming the language barrier. This has led us to develop much more along

the lines of shared programmes.
(*Radio Times*, 21.5.54.)

Individual broadcast nations – many of them less than one year in operation and utilising borrowed, temporary equipment – had their own commentator for the same pictures, situated either at the stadium or in a studio. This technique of segregating background sounds or 'effects' from commentary was first used the previous year for the broadcast of the Coronation in 1953, and was greatly assisted by the use of the lip microphone which had been introduced within radio during the 1930's. Eurovision saw the beginnings of what we now recognise to be a form of electronic community: although with the need for connecting cable, geographical proximity remained of relative importance. The BBC, and their technicians, played a crucial role within these formative transnational links. Moreover, their involvement ensured British broadcasters had a subsequent dominant position within the exporting of programmes as one of the 'Big Four' (the others being France, Germany and Italy) within the EBU, and it is worthy to note that such a hegemonic position is based upon social and cultural divisions as much as technological ones (not least between western and eastern Europe).

Through the 1950s and early 1960s the BBC developed more mobile cameras in pursuit of finer detail and realism, including the 'roving eye' which transmitted pictures while on the move and lightweight cameras which were portable, and allowed access to previously restricted areas (Whannel, 1992; 64). For the 1958 Finals in Sweden the Eurovision links once again proved a successful means of relaying live transmissions of the matches involving all four home nations. But in 1962, the World Cup moved to Chile from where live television transmissions were impossible. The BBC, desperate to cover the Finals turned to what now appear to be some extraordinary measures to provide televised football from across the Atlantic. The *Sportsview* unit, under the direction of Ronnie Noble, aimed to give British viewers coverage of the Finals approximately forty–eight hours after the games had been played. A ten–man team headed out to Chile, including commentators David Coleman and Kenneth Wolstenholme, with two complete film–camera crews poised to cover eighteen matches in their entirety. The process of transporting and developing the film was meticulously described in the *Radio Times*:

> Each film must be flown from Santiago to Lima, Peru – from Lima to Panama – Panama to Miami – and Miami to New York. That takes approximately fourteen hours. Then the ninety minutes of film must be processed in New York and rushed to Idlewild Airport to be put on the first available transatlantic jet.

(*Radio Times*, 24.5.62.)

The lengths to which the BBC were prepared to go in 1962 is symbolic of the importance now placed upon the World Cup within Britain: furthermore, interest would also have been boosted by the knowledge that England were to host the 1966 Finals.

Manipulating the Image

By the time the Finals had reached England, the BBC had introduced a new technology which would revolutionise the formal structure of televised football, allowing the manipulation of the image and its basic elements. Improved video technology had accelerated the editing process, and was already establishing itself in the coverage of football by 1966 after the introduction of *Match of the Day* on BBC2 in 1964. Brian Cowgill, the head of BBC Television sports programming, soon innovated action–replays, and stop action recordings. These new techniques allowed the in–depth analysis of play and have since become a mainstay in televised coverage of football. However, unlike the contemporary manipulation of the screen, action–replays during the 1966 Finals were used sparingly, albeit to great effect. For instance, a letter from H. Cole of Sidcup (Kent) enthused to the editor of the *Radio Times* (11.8.66.) about the marvels of the newly introduced techniques of sports broadcasting: "I thought David Coleman and all his colleagues were wonderful, and those very quick flashbacks of goals scored left me quite breathless." The contrast in the experience and meaning of technology to the viewer from 1966 is a tremendous one when compared with the expectancy of contemporary viewers of televised football – or indeed those who actually attend games – who await action–replays as a matter of course, so familiar are they with the immediate post–mortem. The action–replay gave credence to Cowgill's assertion in the *Radio Times* (2.6.66.) "that no one who can watch BBC1 need miss a single moment that matters in the 1966 World Cup". Ironically, the World Cup Final at Wembley between England and West Germany provided one of the most contentious moments in football ever captured on television: Geoff Hurst's strike for England's third goal which hit the underside of the bar, bounced down and then out off the turf. After consulting his Russian linesman Bakhramov, the Swiss referee Dienst awarded the goal. As Brian Glanville has observed: "For the English crowd, the English players, it was a moment of ecstatic catharsis" (Glanville, 1993; 155). Replayed and cross–examined frame by frame ever since (even after being digitised and analysed by computer), this 'slow motion' moment in televised football history continues to defy the

technology that made it, and through its centrifugal interplay with broader discourses on sport and national identity, continues to fuel sub–cultural rivalries between English and German football supporters.

The rhetoric of 'liveness' or realism which the coverage of football frequently adopts – even within edited highlights – has been made problematic by the introduction of action–replay technology which has produced "a complex and altered time scheme" (Feur, 1983; 15) within the ontology of television. Moreover, as Stephanie Marriott (1996; 78) has illustrated in her linguistic analysis of 'live' sports commentaries and replay–talk, action–replays transform temporal relationships and the laws of linear time (Morse, 1983) by creating discordances between "the time of the telling" (the signifier) and the "time of the thing being told" (the signified). Furthermore, Marriott suggests:

> Through the technology of the action replay, television thus constructs a radically different kind of narrative: both 'live' and non–'live', self–referential, consuming itself in a potentially endless cycle of iteration.
> (Marriott, 1996; 84)

During the 1966 World Cup Final, Wally Barnes provided ancillary comments, or 'subjective–gloss', to Kenneth Wolstenholme's commentary during some of the action–replays, which only appeared after a goal was scored. Although I will discuss television commentary in Chapter 5, it is worth noting here the alternation within the linguistic system of tense – between present and past – that can be seen in the following excerpt from Wolstenholme's and Barnes' commentaries on England's first goal:

Wolstenholme	Now Moore moving up... brought down by Overath... Moore with the free–kick. In goes.. Oh, there's an equaliser...
Barnes	Again there was a brilliant piece of football by Bobby Moore. [Action replay begins] He looked up and he saw that the Germans had momentarily gone flat across the penalty area. And he flighted it across to his own home club player who must always be looking for this type of cross when Bobby Moore's in possession. And there he is putting England back on level terms now.

(BBC Enterprises, 1993)

The original event is described simultaneously by Wolstenholme and is ordered in the same linear fashion: Moore is fouled, he gets up and takes the free–kick, Hurst heads the ball into the goal, and then turns away to celebrate. At the latter moment, Barnes begins his more reflexive comments. The television narrative to this point has been the same, but then moves back to consume the first moment of the original sequence, thereby eliding any 'real' time event at the Stadium. When the television narrative returns to the 'live' image the players have already returned to the centre of the pitch ready for kick–off. It is here, Marriott persuasively argues, that the phenomenon of the replay finds its 'extraordinariness':

> During the sports broadcast, television 'unrealizes' the original sequence, dislocating it from its spatial and temporal circumstances (the 'here' and 'now' of the crowd event). At the same time it also re–embeds the sequence in a different 'here' and 'now' – the 'here' of the shared perceptual space which television creates for both commentator and viewer, and the 'now' of the television event, unfolding in 'real' shared time. The development of replay technology means that the same sequence can be re–embedded again and again, each time in a different present moment, a new phenomenological 'now'. (Marriott, 1996; 84)

In 1966 the technical competence of commentators with regard to action–replays was obviously at an embryonic stage. It is interesting to note that the BBC formally intended to separate the main commentary of Wolstenholme from the reflexive analysis of Barnes, and that three of the six goals scored during the final had replays without any spoken narrative whatsoever, the image simply dislocated from the atmospheric sounds. The technology of action–replays has now seen various innovatory conceptualisations in the way in which material is organised and reconstructed since the sixties, and today's coverage is as likely to use four or five replays of the same event from different spatial perspectives (with cameras in the goal, at ground level, behind the goal and level with the penalty area, as well as the traditionally positioned camera at the half–way line).

1966 proved to be significant in the manipulation of the image and its subsequent conventionalisation. The World Cup remains the show case for the techniques of televising the game, and as Geraghty, Simpson and Whannel (1986) observe, 1966 proved to be a significant marker in this process, which although criticised for its use of close–up and rapid cutting by journalists in Mexico and Germany, was praised by *Le Figaro* who commented, "It will no longer be possible for us to watch a televised football match other than through the eyes of English cameras" (quoted in Geraghty, Simpson and Whannel, 1986; 23).

Global spectacle and the football–marketing nexus

1966 also saw the introduction of another technology and the first transatlantic pictures from a football match, as Mexico received pictures from Europe via the Telstar satellite which had first relayed television pictures from Japan in 1963. The first major sporting event to be relayed via satellite to the UK was the 1968 Olympic Games from Mexico. The immediacy effect of relaying pictures from around the world has transformed sport in the late–twentieth century, perhaps more than any other communication technology. In 1966 most nations taking the coverage from England relied upon videotaped images, however, in 1970 the World Cup also in Mexico augured the first chance for European audiences to watch the tournament, as it happened, from South America. British television viewers and sport were seen to be extending themselves towards a 'global village', where profound personal and social consequences were the result of new technology (McLuhan, 1964). By 1970 British audiences had also seen the introduction of colour television in 1968. The combination of these technologies led to a conscious acknowledgement of this McLuhanistic vision, and the prospect of England retaining their World Championship gave a fillip to the spectacularisation of the event (Plant, 1992), and transformed the context within which the World Cup was consumed.

Following Silverstone (1994), we can see that televised football as part of a 'socio–technical system' reached a new level of commodification in the early-1970s as the consumption of television within British households began to reach a level of saturation. These processes of commodification can be traced in the sport–media–marketing nexus of the late–1960's and early–1970s. This reminds us that the phenomenon of television is not only a form of mediation, but also an object to be consumed and incorporated into the household which foregrounds communication.1966 had proved something of a watershed for those households without television to either buy or rent a set for the first time. Advertisements abounded in the *Radio Times* in editions prior to the finals. For example, DER promised to install "a brand new 1966 TV set... completely free of charge for a trial period, in time for you to watch the World Cup on TV" (*Radio Times* 28.7.66.). As we have seen in Chapter 2 with the promotion of radio technology by manufacturers in the 1930s, sport and specifically football, has been used as a rhetorical tool within advertising discourse. The Olympic Games in 1968 had been used as a vehicle to promote the introduction of colour television, but even by the mid–1970s the

conversion to colour had still to be fully realised in Britain. Hence, when Scotland, as the sole representatives of the home nations, went to the 1974 World Cup Finals in West Germany manufacturers once again turned to football to fuel desires for colour television. For example, the *Radio Times* (25.5.74.) carried an advertisement for DER which asked: "Are you sure you'll be shouting for Scotland?". The Advertisement continued:

> On a black and white TV the blue shirt of Scotland looks dark grey.
> As does the red shirt of Chile. And the green shirt of Zaire.
> So unless you can spot Billy Bremner's freckles, you could end up shouting for the wrong team. And that's not the thing to happen to any self–respecting Scot.
> Now there is a way DER can help.
> **Try colour TV in you own home–Free.**

Two other technologies which were transforming the viewing experience were the innovations of portable television sets and video recording. Again, within a World Cup issue of the *Radio Times* (25.5.74.), with a graphic showing football on the screen,an advertisement for Hitachi promised "The world at your fingertips" with their "carry–around TV" which meant that "a choice of viewing now means 'where' as well as 'what'". By 1982 the technologies available for the armchair football fan had reached a new height of complexity, as the following Radio Rentals advertisement suggests:

> **Get the best view of the World Cup with Radio Rentals.**
> If you don't want to miss the excitement of the World Cup, hurry round to Radio Rentals.
> We have colour sets with Teletext, so you can keep up with the scores and other news; we have videos to record the games to replay later, and we have colour portables that make the ideal second set (who knows, someone in the home might want to watch Wimbledon!).
> (source: *Radio Times* 12–18 June 1982)

The clues to the dynamics of consuming these new technologies in the home is given in the last sentence of the above advertisement. The "someone in the home" clearly denotes the women in the household, and brings to the fore questions regarding the politics of domestic life and issues of gender. It relates to the function of television in the home, and the way in which television as technology is used. To what extent the appropriation (the point at which the technology is owned) and the incorporation (the function of the technology) of television technologies is pre–empted by the rhetoric of advertising, both materially and symbolically, has been a matter of debate within media and cultural studies of consumption (see for example, De Certeau 1984, Gray, 1987 and Brunsdon 1991). But, for our purposes here, it is enough to note that football, within this consumption dynamic, has played a conspicuous role in the

commodification of television technologies in the home, and their differential access. Equally within a dialectical process,football has itself been commodified by the consumption of these technologies, and has led to specific gender expectations being inscribed within its mediation.

Scheduling and Mode of Address

It is not only the material technology which is objectified within the home, the programmes themselves also establish meanings. Therefore, an initial investigation of the methods of scheduling and mode of address adopted in the coverage of the World Cup is important for an understanding of how broadcasters attempt to develop and maintain audiences. There is a need to be specific in analysing the positioning of the World Cup within these processes however. Televised coverage of a major sporting tournament is an extraordinary event: in terms of scheduling it is more a question of how the World Cup disturbs, unsettles or interrupts the regular flow of programmes with which audiences become familiar; similarly, the mode of address of publicity material and of the programmes themselves is likely to change during such events, particularly if one of the home nations is involved. There is a further problematic regarding the construction of the World Cup coverage as a 'male genre' and how its insertion into the flow of programming disrupts the rhythms and routines of different households. These points are important contextual reminders, not least because the World Cup has produced some of the largest audiences within British television history. Yet it is the technical and formal innovations in the presentation of the tournament which have provided the portents for the transformations in televised football at a domestic level. In one sense, the World Cup provides a showpiece for new talent and ideas in both football and television, which at a rhetorical and ideological level, are utilised as indicators/symbols of modernity.

As I have already outlined, the coverage of the World Cup in 1954 was encompassed within a continental exchange. It was also broadcast within a somewhat flexible, if short, daily schedule and was co–ordinated in Lille, France, and overseen by the newly formed EBU. The final exchange from Berne, Switzerland, was the World Cup Final itself from the Wankdorf stadium, between West Germany and Hungary. The whole game was relayed 'live' from 4.55pm to 7.00pm with a brief, understated presentation and commentary by Wolstenholme.

The 1958 World Cup from Sweden provided more of a challenge in scheduling and presenting

the games. BBC television had its first taste of competition in the coverage of the Finals, as the ITV regions, now members of the EBU, sought to gain a foothold in the coverage of the major sporting events (ITV was also competing for audiences with their coverage of Wimbledon). By 1958 seventy–six percent of the UK population had access to ITV (Laing, 1986; 142), and the regional companies were beginning to stabilise themselves economically after shaky beginnings. Over a three week period, 'live' football dominated either the afternoon or evening schedules of both the BBC and ITV regions on no fewer than thirteen occasions, with six of those games being duplicated on both channels. While the BBC coverage was more extensive, the regional system of ITV allowed subtle changes in scheduling and, on occasion, opt–outs within its own structure. Therefore, with all four Home Nations competing in the Finals for the first time, Scottish Television were able to follow the fortunes of Scotland's qualifying group match against France during an afternoon where none of the other ITV companies, nor the BBC, appeared interested in doing likewise. As will be discussed in detail within Chapter 8, the connection between broadcasting systems within the UK and their coverage of football (both at domestic and international levels) is important for an understanding of how discourses of national identity are constructed within the media, and the levels of relative autonomy or empowerment therein. Within this context, the World Cup in 1958 appears to offer one early expression of cultural independence through sport by Scottish Television. Here, football is used as an anchor–point within the afternoon's viewing (England's game against Russia later on in the day played a similar role within the evening schedule) and as the only 'live' coverage of Scotland's campaign could be viewed as a dominant structuring element within the whole weeks viewing, demanding a more intensive form of attention, relating as it did, to wider structures of national cultural identity. The phenomenon of the World Cup would go on to gain purchase within the schedule within a dialectical process whereby intensive television coverage would boost the significance of the event, which in turn, would warrant the event more status within the broadcasters lexicon of programmes in their attempts to mobilise audiences. However, in 1958 discourses which espoused the traditional temporal divide between the winter and summer sports of England could still be heard. As the following letter to *The Times* suggests, some sports fans could not (or would not) entertain the encroachment of football into the middle of the cricket season, a process in which television appeared to collude:

> Mid–summer football on television! Science has given us many horrors, including the H–bomb, but surely this is the end.
> S. Miall, Sussex
> (*The Times* 20.6.58.)

Ironically, it was the constraints of technological advance which temporarily halted the progress of the World Cup as a truly accepted event in the British sporting calender. Chile in 1962 was, metaphorically, out of television's reach. The lack of immediacy pushed the filmed highlights to the nether reaches of the BBC schedule, with seven of the nine filmed reports being transmitted after 9.30pm or 10.00pm; ITV did not even bother to show up.

1966 brought a new level of coverage, with competition between the BBC and ITV reaching unprecedented heights, not least because England were the host nation. The BBC's hegemonic position in the coverage of sport ultimately proved to be influential in the extent and depth of coverage provided, and the channel loyalty, expressed on such occasions as the FA Cup, also played its part in dampening the impact of ITV's coverage. The BBC were also aided by the introduction of BBC2 in 1964 which provided a means of escape from the saturation of football on BBC1, although for non–football lovers given the info–educational remit of BBC2, the alternative programmes on offer could hardly have been classified as light–relief or entertainment. The possibility of providing an alternative schedule to that of the World Cup has proved a significant saving grace for the BBC in legitimising the number of hours it can dedicate to the tournament. However, it also highlights the gender specific nature of football coverage, the broadcasters themselves recognising and inscribing football as a 'male genre'. In 1990 the *TV Times* provided its male readers with "the Greavsie guide to surviving the World Cup and your marriage!" which included the following advice for the wives of "The World Cup couch potato":

> After 8 July, when the last ball has been kicked, when the last crisp has been swept up from the carpet, when the 30 black bags of drink cans have been taken away by the dustman, and the remote control device has eventually been prized from your husband's grasp, don't strangle him when he innocently says:'It's only a month or so before football kicks off again, love.'
> (*TV Times*, 30 June – 6 July 1990)

Although the article is meant to be taken as a bit of fun, the underlying patronising tone is evidence of a set of ingrained assumptions regarding the gendered viewing contexts television ascribes to its coverage of the World Cup.

Competition was clearly at the forefront of the broadcasters minds when they introduced more complex modes of operation, both in their promotional material and the gloss they layered upon

the coverage of the actual matches in the form of previews and panels. Within their critical review of television coverage of the 1974 World Cup Buscombe et al (1975) emphasise the importance of the back–up publications in "setting the scene" (McArthur, 1975) and the role of the "telexpert" (or pundit) in continuing this groundwork by elevating 'stars' within a structured set of narrative conventions operated by television consisting of the preview, the half–time analysis and the post–mortem (Tudor, 1975). As Tudor suggests, it was David Coleman who first "breached the wall of specialism" by self–fashioning a showbiz image from within television's 'world of sport' during the mid–1960s by fronting *Sportsnight With Coleman.* This was achieved by focusing on sports men and women as personalities, which in turn legitimised his own claims to 'star' status. Within the history of televising the World Cup, 1966 presents something of a watershed in the early development of this process. The change was initiated, in part, by a dawning realisation within the BBC that ITV were potential contenders for the coverage of football as part of a 'corporate national life'.

Courting a rare full–colour cover, the *Radio Times* (7.7.66.) embraced the World Cup as its main feature for the first time. The wheels of publicity had been set in motion one month before a ball was kicked with a special feature 'BBC COVERS THE WORLD CUP' (*Radio Times* 2.6.66.). Billed as one of the greatest challenges the BBC had faced, the "television feast" would include more than fifty hours of football within twenty–one days (this estimate would seem inflated when compared to the actual scheduled hours of World Cup programming which totalled an aggregate of forty–six hours, and yet, in comparison to the twenty–two hours scheduled by ITV's Rediffusion in London and given that the thirty–two matches totalled an aggregate time of forty–eight and a half hours actually played, the BBC's commitment to televising the Finals was impressive). The 'World Cup Number' of the *Radio Times* continued to signify the BBC's dominant position in the coverage of the Finals by having an opening address from Sir Stanley Rous, the President of FIFA, and another column by Denis Howell MP, the Minister for Sport. As with previous World Cups the journal also reveals the process of production, this time laying more emphasis on biographical detail of the faces in front of the camera (the presenters and panelists) and the voices behind it (the commentators). Prominence was given to aspects of teamwork and the adoption of the programme title *World Cup Grandstand* reiterated a sense of competence and quality in sports broadcasting which an association with the popular sport magazine programme brought (many of the personnel like

David Coleman, Frank Bough and Alan Weeks were already familiar impresarios in this respect). McArthur (1975; 14) notes that this process of self–legitimisation sets up a contradiction within the rhetoric of 'factual' television, "for *by the nature of the presentation* of the impresarios – both in television itself and in the back–up documentation – their roles as impresarios are both celebrated and subsumed within the hegemonic category of 'stars'" (his emphasis).

This process is most evident in the elevation of the pundits who provide the 'expert view' of the Finals. The use of 'expert' panels was another innovation by television introduced for the 1966 World Cup. The BBC's line up of 'soccer personalities' passing comment on the games included: Walter Winterbottom(former England team manager); Billy Wright (former captain of England); Joe Mercer (manager of Manchester City); Don Revie (manger of Leeds United); Ron Greenwood (manager of West Ham); Arthur Ellis (a leading referee); Tommy Docherty (manager of Chelsea); Ken Aston (former World Cup referee); Johnny Haynes (former captain of England); Jimmy Hill (manager of Coventry City); and Danny Blanchflower (former captain of Northern Ireland). Tudor (1975) once again provides a formal typology of the panel phenomenon. He suggests that the role of the panel is to impose a definition of what is important in the television coverage; the members of the panel operate a formalised rationale which casts all their subjects in 'star' terms, legitimising their own opinions by their own 'star quality' within the realms of television and showbiz from which they make their claims to expertise. The attempts to impose this selective perceptual pattern on the game (for example, a preoccupation with fouling) are in accord with the entertainment values of television: "For the paradigm telexpert is a loquacious, single–minded and infallible guide to right and wrong, truth and lies" (Tudor, 1975). The entertainment values which underlie this televised football chatter can be seen in excess within contemporary coverage of the game, which now include musical montages and comic skits among television's repertoire of peripheral gloss to the mediation of the actual game.

However, the 1966 panel does present some anomalies within Tudor's typology of the "telexpert". By his own admission, he highlights the early–1970s as a juncture at which football expertise or knowledge ceased to be the main criteria upon which opinion was legitimised for the television audience. He also suggests what precluded the showbiz element

was a friendly, diffident amateurism within the presentation styles of commentators and programme anchors. Within the BBC panel of 1966 what we actually see is a mixture of discourses on the game: the amateur/ paternal; the professional/ tactical; and the personality/ showbiz. For instance, the use of referees on the panel – now a rare practice within contemporary televised football – was a form of official sanctioning (or criticism) of World Cup refereeing decisions, grounded one suspects, in the English FA's power in regulating the rules of the World game, and most likely reflecting the paternalistic ideology which permeated the governing body. Interestingly, Arthur Ellis would himself be transformed into a more recognisable media personality within the quasi–sports programme *It's a Knockout* from 1967 (see Whannel, 1990). Winterbottom, Wright, Mercer, Revie and Greenwood can be seen as a group embedded within discursive formations centring upon notions of professionalism and tactical knowledge, recognised as personalities within the game, but because of their sobriety in opinion not wholly legitimised as personalities within the wider, entertainment led, media domain. Their legitimacy as experts in their field would seem to be vindicated by the fact that the latter three in this list would subsequently manage the national team in the 1970s (Joe Mercer temporally between Alf Ramsey and Don Revie), a fate which would befall subsequent television panelists Bobby Robson, Graham Taylor, Terry Venables and Glenn Hoddle. Docherty, Haynes, Blanchflower and Hill had diverse fortunes within football and television: Docherty, a somewhat opinionated, and autocratic manager would rise to the peak of club management with Manchester United, only to fall from grace due to his own impropriety spectacularly documented by the media which had previously dubbed him 'The Doc'; Haynes, a hero of Fulham and England, would recede from the gaze of the media and enter the mythological realm occupied by other 'football legends' like Finney and Matthews, representing the end point of what Redhead (1987) has called "pre–modern football"; Blanchflower the captain of the Spurs 'double' winners of 1961, would become recognised as a serious sports journalist in his own right, both in broadcasting and the press, but was by the late–1970s not a dominant figure within football media discourse, which cannot be said of the final member of the list above. In terms of setting the agenda and perceptual pattern of the interpretation of football, no figure looms larger in British television than Jimmy Hill. As manager of Coventry City in the mid–1960s he was never more comfortable than facing the gaze of the *Match of the Day* camera's either in the traditional post–mortem, or as on one celebrated occasion in March 1967 during a Second Division match between Coventry City and

Bolton Wanderers, at half–time. Such ease with the intrusion of television into football's previously heavily sanctioned culture broke new ground in the 1960s, but has since become a statutory requirement within any contemporary relationship between the two industries (see for example the positioning of cameras within the changing room to increase television's panoptical effect).

With the technology to manipulate the television image as their tools, pundits like Hill, have governed the parameters within which football is defined. With the introduction of slow–motion action replays into the vocabulary of televising the game, a heightened form of introspection emerged within football including the questioning of refereeing decisions. The result has been an indirect shift in power with the intervention of television in the running of the sport (for instance a continuous fine tuning of the rules to satisfy television's critical eye) and a loss of credibility of football referees who today are still officially considered as amateurs.

To conclude this section on the relationship between scheduling and modes of address within World Cup coverage, it is important to stress the shift in emphasis which occurred from 1966 as a preoccupation with technological efficacy was eclipsed by the need to produce narrative pleasures through the patina of a 'star' system, with its associated entertainment values, in order to compete for viewers. After arousing a wider interest for the World Cup in 1966, the Finals of 1970 (Mexico) and 1974 (West Germany) saw intense competition between the BBC and ITV to mobilise audiences behind their coverage. Competition increased over domestic sport in 1967 when ITV initiated a new drive within its coverage by centralising its production base in London. After the reallocation of ITV's weekend franchise to London Weekend Television (LWT) in 1967/68 the channel introduced a new football programme *The Big Match* on Sunday afternoons in 1968/69. LWT appointed Jimmy Hill as its Head of Television Sport and chief analyst and lured a then young and talented BBC radio commentator, Brian Moore, onto its staff. Hill was then lured back to the BBC in 1970 to front its flagship highlights programme on a Saturday night in what was then lauded as the "Snatch of the Day" (the transfer of Bob Wilson in 1994 from BBC to ITV is a more recent example of the way in which television personalities are bought and sold in a similar fashion to their football counterparts). The televising of subsequent World Cups have seen the basic elements which were introduced during this period of the late–1960s modified and updated but essentially maintained as the

studies of the Finals from 1974 to 1994 by Buscombe (ed, 1975), Nowell–Smith (1978), Clarke and Wren–Lewis (1983), Tomlinson and Whannel (eds, 1986), Tudor (1992) and Sugden and Tomlinson (eds, 1994) have all testified through their different perspectives. One major difference has been the begrudging acceptance (particularly on the part of the BBC who have the flexibility of two channels) of some form of alternation to avoid duplicity since the Annan Report in 1977. ITV had attempted unsuccessfully to get exclusive rights to the 1970 World Cup which rode in the face of the 1954 Television Act which had urged non–exclusivity for large sporting events, which in British eyes now included the World Cup. The IBA also attempted to negotiate a pattern of alternation for the coverage of the 1974 Finals, but again failed to indent the power of the BBC, upon which it commented in its Annual Report that it could not "reasonably be expected, in its own interests, or in the interests of the viewing public, to adopt any other attitude than that of fair shares for both services" (quoted in Whannel, 1992;52). The BBC's arguments against alternation were lengthy, and geared towards maintaining their dominance. Annan however, insisted that broadcasters had a duty to the public interest and should therefore, reduce the instances of duplication to the "barest minimum" and "should agree to share their coverage of such events" (Annan, 1977; 346).

To conclude this chapter, which has attempted to trace historically the relationship between television technology and the social and cultural codes and practices of mediating the game, I would suggest that there are residual shadows cast into the contemporary genre of televised football from radio, through to the pre–War years of television and into the 1950s and 1960s. The quest for realism is central to this process. The coverage of football, specifically the pageant of the World Cup, provided a means to realising the innovatory possibilities of broadcasting technology. In particular, television had the capacity to ingest aspects and structures of popular cultural life, including football, and, at the same time, project the power of the image and its immediacy.

CHAPTER 5

FOOTBALL COMMENTARY: CODES, CONVENTIONS AND IDEOLOGY

Introduction

In 1995 BBC Television began a new comedy–sports–quiz programme entitled *They Think It's All Over*, hosted by the English actor and comedian Nick Hancock, with two team captains recently retired from their respective sports of football and cricket, Gary Lineker and David Gower. The programme is a hybrid of sports trivia and satirical comment, where the manner and style in which the game is played is more important than the final score. The title of the programme is of interest with respect to this chapter, as an example of the familiarity of televised sports discourse, its transcendence into mythologised, structured narratives of sport as popular culture, and the way in which it serves as an excellent reference "to the ideological character of images and stories which naturalise and disguise the reality of the historical and the man–made" (Silverstone, 1995; 22). The title of the programme is taken, of course, from Kenneth Wolstenholme's running commentary of the 1966 World Cup Final at Wembley (the complete phrase: "Some people are on the pitch, they think it's all over [Geoff Hurst scores for England] it is now, it's four" is probably the most frequently repeated sports commentary in British Broadcasting history). Wolstenholme's commentary has gained mythological status as it is the key signifying element of England's World Cup victory of 1966; specifically, it denotes England's fourth and final goal against West Germany at the end of extra–time, and the moment when Geoff Hurst scored the only hat–trick in the history of the World Cup final. As Whannel (1992; 148) suggests, television, consumed by millions, aids "this instant production of myth." According to the BBC's Audience Research Unit approximately 27 million viewers watched the 1966 final on BBC Television, several millions more have seen the image of Hurst's final raid and shot from the edge of the German penalty area, complemented by Wolstenholme's commentary.

The moment is not only replayed as a significant part of English sports history, but often presented as a central element of British television's history (the broadening of the national

nomenclature is also of significance here). In many respects, the event represents a transformative period in British television, both in its social and cultural importance, and more pertinent to the following discussion, in the codes and conventions of the communicative process of televised sport. As will be discussed in Chapter 9, the coverage of such large sporting occasions connect with and inscribe a range of social relations and cultural meanings, which are both general and specific in any given time and space. Therefore, it is the biography of such television texts – their production, distribution and reception – which is central to an understanding of the relationship between the technology of television and its mediation of football. Similarly, in creating these links between mediated form and social process, television also produces a double movement of mediation by ingestion and projection: what Corner (1995; 5) has characterised as "centripetal interplay" and "centrifugal interplay". By centripetal interplay, Corner suggests that television has a powerful capacity to draw towards itself and incorporate wider elements of society and culture. This lends heavily on the idea of Williams (1974) who talked of 'Drama in a Dramatised Society', where much in culture bears a resemblance or relation to what is 'on the box'. Clearly, as I will demonstrate later in this chapter, televised football (and indeed all sport on television) with its rhetoric of realism, very much fits into this typology, with the key transformations centring upon a mix of commentary, edited highlights and action replays. By centrifugal interplay, Corner is alluding to the process whereby television projects its images, characters and catch phrases into broader aspects of the culture. Once again, Wolstenholme's commentary from the 1966 World Cup is an evident case in point, and is now verging on pastiche and satire, as illustrated by its use in the title of the aforementioned comedy–sports–quiz programme. The use of such 'golden moments' in television, therefore, become contested sites of a struggle for control over meaning and potency: the significance of Wolstenholme's commentary is clearly different for supporters of English football as compared to the fans of Scottish, Welsh or Irish football.

There is a third dynamic which Corner alludes to which is important in understanding the mediation of football by television; it is also a dynamic integral to the popularity of the game *per se*. This is the need to understand both football's and television's contingency; their uncertain variables, their conditional elements and incidental moments, which within televised football, create narrative pleasures. In the early years of television there would have been doubts as to whether a television picture could be produced at all, which, as I illustrate in the previous

chapter, produced an institutional and promotional discourse (specifically within the *Radio Times*) preoccupied with the technology of the medium: the wonder of television. As we have already seen with radio broadcasts from football, once the techniques, codes and conventions were established this unpredictability changed, and discourses preoccupied with the aesthetics of television and modes of address became more dominant. Therefore, the expectations of the audience with regard to televised football has changed with the development of the techniques of mediating the sport. The relatively sophisticated institutional discourse of Wolstenholme, and the way in which it combines with the camera image of Hurst as he attacks the German goal (which is also institutionalised), as communication refer not only to that moment in the game, but also take on their own significance, through the unpredictability of what happens next, and creates its own powerful poetics.

This chapter is concerned with the ways that the codes and conventions of football commentary, have as social processes, developed over time. More fundamentally, it discovers the various ways in which commentary as an institutional discourse of television has become the context for thinking, talking and writing about the game: in other words, to study the centrality of television within our perceptual field of what the sport actually means. The chapter begins by providing a social history of football commentary on British television, and how this relates to other production elements, such as highlights and action replays (some of which has already been touched on in relation to technology in Chapter 4). The chapter then proceeds to draw upon a specific case study from the 1994 World Cup in the USA, focussing on the coverage of the Republic of Ireland.

Presence at the Microphone

There can be no doubt that the television coverage of the World Cup has produced some of the most enduring images within twentieth century popular culture. However, it is not merely the visual mediation of the athletic ability of Pele, Moore, Cruyff, Maradonna and Romario which are recalled in popular memory, but also the descriptive narratives of the commentator which provide the bases of such communication. As I outlined in Chapter 2 with regard to radio commentary on football, this particular form of sports discourse had to be invented, through trial and error, and, as Whannel (1992; 26) has highlighted, by overcoming "the conflicting aims of naturalism and construction". This tension alludes to the fact that football commentary

is, as part of television technology, a social process, and employs specific techniques as a roundabout way of achieving a desired effect: that of realism and entertainment. Again, as we have already seen in Chapter 2, the conventions for delivering a coded narrative of a football match with an economy of words was a process well on the way within BBC radio commentary by the mid–1930s, under the guidance of de Lotbiniere. The level of economy of speech required by radio and television were, however, different, and were recognised as such by de Lotbiniere as he anticipated the the arrival of television in 1937:

> The art of the 'sound' commentator is scarcely ten years old and it still has a long way to go. But there may not be much time left for its normal development, as television will soon be making a different demand on the commentator, and, I believe, a lighter one.
> (*Radio Times* 4.6.37.)

The necessity for a mellifluous quality within sound broadcasting – painting a picture with words – seemed unnecessary and almost intrusive with the medium of television, and the notion of using the same commentary for radio and television was soon discarded after the 1938 Cup Final. With radio there was room for error. If there occurred "a slip 'twixt eye and lip" the radio commentator could use little 'white lies' to get him out of a sticky situation. For instance, one BBC producer advised radio commentators: "if you make a mistake in identifying players, don't leave the audience in any doubt, don't let on that you're not infallible, make him pass it" (from an interview with Kenneth Wolstenholme, July 1995). However, television revealed – although selectively – the actual play and, therefore, continually opened up the possibility that viewers could recognise mistakes in the narrative and be reminded of the transformative nature of television, despite all the rhetoric to the contrary.

Another comparison is of interest at this point, that of the recruitment of new commentators by the BBC in the late–1940s and 1950s. Within radio, prospective candidates had been asked to perform under broadcasting conditions by providing a closed–circuit commentary to a 'blind' listener who would adjudicate his talent (or lack of it). According to de Lotbiniere the number of what he considered to be "good commentators" was scarce, and anyone taking the test would have a difficult task in displacing the now familiar voices of Allison, Wakelam, and Grisewood (all of whom shared a similar upper–middle–class status to that of BBC producers and directors). In the shadow of radio, recruitment into television sports commentary appears even more ad hoc and circumstantial. Take, for instance the movement into television by the

BBC's first recognised football commentator Kenneth Wolstenholme.

In an interview with the author, Wolstenholme recounted how he had always possessed a desire to be a sports writer, and had been fortunate enough to meet the editor of a Sunday newspaper, Harold Mays, while on active service during the Second World War. Immediately after the war he met Mays once more at the FA Cup semi–final between Charlton Athletic and his home town side of Bolton Wanderers in 1946, whereupon Wolstenholme was asked to write a small feature on cricket in Lancashire. At the same time he had written to the BBC informally applying for work, and was subsequently asked, upon the strength of his article, to provide an eye–witness account from a cricket match. He was then asked to do a full radio commentary on an amateur international trial match between Northern Counties and Southern Counties. As Wolstenholme describes:

> So that was sheer luck. Which I suppose is the short answer to how you become a football commentator. If you're cheeky enough to ask for a job, you're lucky enough for someone to ask you to do it.
> (Interview with the author, July 1995)

Wolstenholme's move into television was due to a similar happenstance. Jimmy Jewell, who had refereed in the first televised Cup Final of 1938, had taken over the role of football commentator for television immediately after the War. Wolstenholme had moved from BBC Radio in the North West to become Jewell's understudy when the ex–referee suddenly died of a heart attack, leaving Wolstenholme as BBC Television's principle football commentator.

Even as television began to cover football in a more comprehensive fashion in the 1960s, personnel appeared to drift into working within the medium, for example Scottish football commentator Archie MacPherson. A school teacher by profession, MacPherson had written a series of short stories, a selection of which he had been asked to read for broadcast by BBC Scotland. Upon hearing the distinctive grain of voice, and with the knowledge that MacPherson had previously had a brief spell with the Glasgow club Partick Thistle, the sports producer Peter Thompson asked the teacher if he was interested in giving eye–witness accounts of Scottish League matches for BBC Radio Scotland. MacPherson soon found himself promoted to BBC Television in Scotland after turning a commentary post down in London on the advice of another young BBC radio commentator, Brian Moore. MacPherson continued to teach

throughout his early years of commentary until he realised that a full–time career could be made in broadcasting from 1965.

The biographical backgrounds of Wolstenholme and MacPherson reflect wider connections of sport with both the military and education, rooted in an historical concern for disciplining and schooling the body (Hargreaves, 1985). The assumption that sport was morally and socially a 'good thing' lurked beneath the discourses of both commentators, as it had done for those early producers of televised sport.

Another route of entry into the role of sports commentary was sports journalism, traditionally a cloistered profession, which was given a new lease of life by television. For instance, David Coleman joined the BBC in 1954 after an apprenticeship with the Cheshire County Express and several years as a freelance radio contributor; Barry Davies joined ABC TV in 1966 before moving to the BBC in 1969 after beginning his career with the British Forces radio in Cologne, and a spell as a sports correspondent with *The Times*; John Motson worked for the Barnett Press Weekly Newspaper and the Morning Telegraph in Sheffield before joining BBC Radio in 1969, and making his debut for television in 1971; and Martin Tyler, now BSkyB's principle commentator, began as a staff–writer and sub–editor for a publisher, before becoming an editorial assistant on LWT's *On The Ball* with Brian Moore, and moved to commentating for Southern TV in 1974. These career profiles sketch a more familiar pattern of entry into 'factual' broadcasting: from print, to radio and then television. In this respect, these commentators share similar career patterns with sports producers and editors (Tunstall, 1993). However, as Wolstenholme and MacPherson testify, there is no clear–cut or straight–forward 'career–ladder' upon which the budding football commentator may climb. One thing is certain, it remains an exclusively male preserve, despite the few women sports journalists who have managed to cross over into broadcasting to stake a claim in an otherwise ubiquitously masculine domain (the presenter Hazel Irvine of BBC Scotland is a rare case in point).

To conclude this brief summary of the career paths of British football commentators, it is worth noting the longevity within broadcasting of all the above practitioners. For the BBC Wolstenholme provided the commentary for twenty–three FA Cup finals before being replaced by Coleman in 1972, then Motson in 1977 and more recently by Davies in 1995; and for ITV

Brian Moore has been the principle commentator since 1968 and was preceded by less familiar men at the microphone like Peter Lloyd and Ken Walton (once an actor) who had provided some of the earliest ITV commentaries, and a host of regional commentators, most notably, perhaps, Hugh Johns (of ATV in the Midlands region) who provided ITV's commentary for the 1966 World Cup final.

The Commentator's Address

One reason for such longevity is the need for familiarity by broadcasters to obtain and maintain an audience for their football programmes. When a new commentator is introduced one can sense that a 'bedding in' period is required for acceptability by the audience. As we have seen with radio this requires a conversational style, building up sentences with a familiar lexicon of football phrases and idioms and weaving a continuous narrative without losing shape. Here we see the congruency between radio and television commentary. The mode of address of the commentator is governed by the general mien of the programme and the professional ideology of the producers, directors and editors who structure it. Within my interviews with football commentators, professionalism and teamwork were heavily emphasised: from the background researchers who feed an endless supply of biographical and statistical data on players, managers and clubs, to the production engineers who enable the commentators' performance with television monitors, microphone equipment, and 'lazy talkback', which allows communication with the final team members the producers, directors and editors who orchestrate the whole broadcast with their control of sound and cameras (again, operated almost ubiquitously by men). Although the tight production teams which used to operate within the pioneering years of BBC sport have disintegrated to a certain extent, partially due to advances in technology and a level of homogeneity of practices in outside broadcasting (UEFA now sets strict guidelines on camera positions and editing) Wolstenholme's adage that "any broadcast with commentary needs as much teamwork as on the field" would appear to substantiate claims to slickness and professionalism in production.

Whannel (1992; 60) illustrates how the professional ideologies of sports broadcasting are a fusion of journalistic practices of objectivity, entertainment practices grounded in the principles of 'good television' and dramatic practices which involve the audience in a narrative. These ideologies can be seen to govern the principles of football commentary and were clearly evident

when the BBC began its first regular football highlights programme *Sports Special* in 1955, the residual effects of which can be seen throughout contemporary television coverage of football in Britain. Wolstenholme recalled how he utilised the general guidelines of de Lotbiniere: "you've got to think of the audience as a pyramid" from the small cross–section of specialists at the top to the broad audience made up of occasional viewers at the bottom. The tensions between realism and entertainment are evident once more. The commentator has to explain why a player is offside without regurgitating the laws of the game. Technical or 'in' expressions need to be avoided but the commentary must be well informed and put over the significance of the event. The description of play is required to be faithful to what is happening on the field but must also avoid being overly objective and has to introduce human interest and suspense. Associative material in the form of pre–researched notes are frequently utilised, but the commentary needs to avoid the appearance of being scripted and requires a level of fluency and informality of address.

Highlights and Action Replays

The process of selection within the construction of edited highlights also influences the commentators capacity to inform and entertain. MacPherson, in his autobiography *Action Replays*, recalls how before the days of video technology at BBC Scotland he had to allow a moments silence at recognisable 'edit points' so that filmed highlights could be seemlessly cut together. This meant never talking over goal–kicks, throw–ins, and treatment for injuries. He remembers:

> If you were not talking over the goalkeeper kicking the ball up field the editor, if he so wished, could make the ball land ten minutes later by inserting a cutaway shot of a player simply looking vacantly into space.
> (MacPherson, 1991; 30)

Crowd shots or old library stock could also be used where necessary, a technique pioneered within newsreel. The commentators worst fear regarding highlights, therefore, is that his work might be changed beyond recognition by the editor:

> There's always a love–hate relationship with the editor. It's like journalists they'll say that sub–editors ruin all their best work. And we always said that in edited highlights, the editors have always left the best stuff on the cutting room floor.
> (Wolstenholme interview with author, July 1995)

With film cameras they did not know what they were filming, the commentator had no monitor

to tell him what the camera was picking up. Once the film had arrived back from the OB to the studio for editing – the speedy transportation of film was also part of televised sports' professional ideology, meticulously planned and executed by a fleet of motorbike couriers and even a helicopter – there was always an air of anticipation as to what the cameras had captured. Sometimes the film was damaged or 'fogged' by over exposure, which frequently drew complaints. As with technology there are logistical constraints to commentary as well. Wolstenholme, for instance, confessed to me that he is scared of heights, not the best phobia for a football commentator who has to sit, often precariously, high up on the gantries of British football stadia.

Contemporary use of action replay is the most utilised moment within which to edit highlight packages, and as Marriott (1996) has shown there is a complex phenomenological set of live and recorded, or recorded and replayed, sequences which radically transform and construct new narratives out of the original event. But how is the rhetoric of realism maintained within edited highlights? How is the flow of commentary sustained within this illusion?

In a survey of Scottish Television's (STV) coverage of the European Champions League during the 1995/96 season, I analysed the key 'edit points' (where there is an obvious ellipsis in coverage, rather than from different camera positions and framing) within their late–night highlights programme which took as their main feature the challenge of Blackburn Rovers (Glasgow Rangers were featured in STV's live coverage earlier in the evening, therefore, opting out of the ITV network's main focus on the English champions). Analysis was made more interesting (or more possible) by the fact that STV kept the graphic illustration of the time played in the match in the top left–hand corner of the screen, a practice normally eschewed within football highlights programming. The average length of the edited highlights over five games was approximately seventeen minutes, which excludes the pre–match speculation by the anchor and the panel, the advertisement breaks at half–time and full–time, and the post–mortem at the end. The number of separate sequences which constituted the edited highlights ranged from sixteen (Blackburn Rovers v Legia Warsaw, 1.11.95.) to twenty six (Rosenburg v Blackburn Rovers 27.9.95.), these included an average of eighteen action–replays (with two or three per sequence), and a duration which never exceeded three minutes (sequences invariably ranged between one and two minutes). What these rough measurements suggest are a series of

conventions which enable the selection of key moments in the play, their repetition through replays, and their structuring within the parameters of the overall length of the programme (including the incorporation of advertisements).

How are these separate elements linked? As MacPherson intimated in his recollection of the editing process of film, the key moments occur around goal–kicks, throw–ins, free–kicks and goals. The contemporary use of these 'edit points' highlights a the level of historical continuity, and a recognised convention of syntagmatically presenting key moments in the game to hopefully construct a faithful representation of the match. Through this tried and tested technique a large ellipsis in play can be achieved, with an illusion of continuity in television time and space. For example, in the match between Rosenburg and Blackburn Rovers (27.9.95.) the highlights manage to jump from the kick–off to the fifteenth minute of actual play within one minute and seven seconds of television time. After one minute of action the ball was played through to the Blackburn goalkeeper, Tim Flowers,who kicks the ball into touch for a throw to Rosenburg. This action was covered by a long–shot from the camera at the half–way line. There then follows a close up of Flowers, and the commentator Brian Moore says, "First touch there for Tim Flowers" and the time on the graphic clock is 1:06. The next picture is a mid–shot of the Rosenburg throw–in from a similar position to where the ball was kicked into touch by Flowers and the time now reads 14:48. The throw resulted in a shot, performing the desired effect of producing entertainment value by elevating the dramatic significance of the moment. The ellipsis works (despite the noticeable jump in time) because the close–up is tightly framed and avoids revealing other happenings on the field of play, which then leads the commentator to identify one of the 'stars' of the Blackburn team, a discourse which is outside the narrative description of the actual game. The play then re–starts with a congruent spatial perspective from the throw–in (which is paradigmatically acceptable to the viewer), and is accompanied by a new, distinct commentary.

Other methods of achieving the illusion of a coherent match is the use of action–replays, which have grown in sophistication since their introduction in the 1960s. These may appear either in sequence with the original 'live' coverage (within the Blackburn game this could be detected because the clock continues to turn over from the actual play into the action replay), or they appear out of sequence due either to the fact that the replay was delayed within the original

'live' coverage (the editor omits the action between the event and its replay), or maybe introduced, by the receiving (secondary) broadcaster who has made an independent decision that a specific event within the game is worthy of repeating. Within the games involving Blackburn this could be detected by the clock repeating the time.

The latter form of editing requires a separate sound edit because the original coverage was not interrupted by a replay and, there was, therefore, no corresponding commentary or analysis. The flow of image and sound is achieved by continuing the commentary from the previous sequence into the action–replay (which is alien to this narrative) and following this replayed sequence with a new sequence of play which allows a further ellipsis. To illustrate this point, it is possible to detect within the coverage of Rosenburg v Blackburn, the introduction by STV of an 'alien' replay which followed a sequence which highlighted an attack by Rosenburg, culminating in a shot by their player Jacobson. The length and objectification of events on the field of play within the sequences I have chosen for analysis can be seen in the table below.

Time of Match	Action on the field	Commentator
32:51 to 33:22	Blackburn lose possession, Jacobson shot for Rosenburg	Moore & St. John
33:13 to 33:20	Replay of shot by Jacobson	St. John
40:14 to 40:43	Close up of Blackburn bench, 2nd replay of Jacobson shot	Moore

What has occurred here is the introduction of a replay within television time (that is, within the highlights), which during the original 'live' coverage shown in England occurred at a later time (during the third sequence in the table above). The commentary used for the mid–sequence introduced by STV utilised some analysis by Brian Moore's co–commentator, Ian St.John, who was chastising the Blackburn performance (which included: "Was that a comedy of errors if ever you seen them, eh?"). This narrative ran from the end of the first sequence at 33:22, through the replay introduced by STV, and on into the third sequence showing the Blackburn bench at 40:14 (presumably to detect signs of worry among the Blackburn managerial team after St.John's critical comments). When we rejoin the action with a close–up of the Blackburn

'bench' (with the clock reading 40:14, a hiatus of seven minutes in actual playing time) the replay is shown again, this time with the appropriate commentary by Moore ("some good interplay by Jacobson"). In this instance, a narrative of no more than twenty seconds in television time is used to bridge seven minutes of actual playing time. In this way we can see how a fictionalised story of events is constructed to represent a supposedly factual representation of the action by a clever use of sound and image manipulation.

The development of the above forms of editing means that large tracts of the commentator's narrative are surplus to requirement, with an average of twenty minutes being used out of the possible total ninety. However, sometimes the selection process can create anomalies within the narrative, or even glaring mistakes. For instance, in convention, in order to maintain coherence in the coverage and not confuse the viewer, substitutions are highlighted by both the commentator and a graphic 'tag line' which carries the names of the players involved (that is, who is coming off and who is coming on). Within the match between Blackburn Rovers and Spartack Moscow (13.9.95.) the second–half coverage began two minutes after the kick–off, with Blackburn in possession. At this juncture the expert co–commentator, Ron Atkinson, makes a reference to a Rovers substitute. However, no prior reference to the substitution had been included in the highlights (within the 'live' coverage the information may well have been given before the second–half kick–off) which leaves the viewer in the position of not knowing for whom, when or why the substitution had been made. Such potentially vital information – given that dramatic and entertainment interest is frequently based upon the identification of star characters – negates any rhetoric of realism and the pretence that television highlights 'show the game as it is'.

This omission of detail has its extreme manifestation where key moments in a game are missing. In Chapter 4 I referred to one occasion where the use of film cameras in the 1950s resulted in the loss of coverage due to the film jamming. Similarly, in an interview with the author, Archie MacPherson recalled a recent occurrence during his work for Eurosport whereby he provided a commentary on some delayed edited highlights live on air from screen, rather than being present at the actual match. The only detail the commentator knew before providing his narrative was the score line, 2–1. As the highlights reached their climax, the score was 1–1 and MacPherson anticipated a last minute winner. However, the full–time

whistle blew and an astonished commentator had to inform the viewers that the final score was in fact 2–1 and that after the commercial break they would endeavour to produce the winning goal. MacPherson explained that the conspicuous mistake had occurred, in his opinion, because the editor of the programme was not familiar enough with the conventions of the televised sport genre – with its emphasis on slickness and teamwork mentioned earlier – and had been co–opted from the wider ranks of television production (which, while standardised was not responsive to the nuances of televised football).

Within football commentary itself, there are some important distinctions to be observed. The first relates to the extent to which the discourse of football commentary is immersed within the cultures of the sport, which are notoriously patriarchal and pervaded by masculine values. Notions of aggression, camaraderie and competitiveness, are metaphorically linked to traits of masculine performance in football. Commentary constructs various hegemonically situated masculinities in opposition to feminine traits linked to metaphors of weakness and under–achievement. This re–presents a patriarchal structure of power, which heavily reproduces social inequality within the sport. In British television, women are excluded from the institutional discourse of football commentary, and only rarely make an appearance as match reporters or analysts. Within the spectacle of televised football women quite often appear as adornments for the male gaze: either as pre–match dancers on the pitch as utilised by Sky Sports; or as pretty faces in the crowd. For instance, within the coverage of the last two World Cups it has been a noticeable trend among directors to pick out women within the crowd, to provide a moment's distraction from the game. This often acts as a prompt for commentators to make a statement reaffirming the patriarchal structure of the sport. An example is provided here by Barry Davies of the BBC in his narrative description of a section of female, Dutch fans which suddenly appeared on screen during a match from the 1994 World Cup:

> A good beauty contest going on amongst the supporters in this country too [meaning Holland], it's not only the Brazilians that catch the eye.
> (Republic of Ireland v Holland, BBC 1, 4.7.94.)

Within the context of contemporary football fan styles vivid displays of sexuality by women may be read with more complexity as part of a postmodern carnivalesque atmosphere which frequently pervades international football (Giullianotti, 1992). However, within the concentrated, patriarchal gaze of televised football production and commentary, the image of

female Dutch fans reinforces a stereotypical practice of portraying women (as spectators and athletes) in an overtly eroticised way, which emphasises physical differences through sensuous symbolism (J.A.Hargreaves, 1994).

The relations of gender are connected in some ways to the second order of distinction I wish to highlight within football commentary, which concerns national identity and ethnicity. This involves questioning the level of bias and impartiality within commentary and how professional ideologies attempt to manage and balance the appearance of objective distance on the one hand, with a display of sports fan credentials on the other. Metaphors of aggressive masculinity are frequently yoked with, or attributed to, the exploits of domestic clubs or the Home Nations when faced with international competition: for example, it may be characterised as a gritty, workmanlike, performance. Meanwhile, the opposition is more likely to face a barrage of insidious comments which can range from the description of their playing style as 'graceful' and full of 'finesse' (attributing classically feminine traits); lacking 'bottle' or 'steel' (perceived as masculine metaphors); or employing unsportsman–like (read ungentlemanly) methods (like feigning injury) which also denote a level of effeminacy (and may also be used to question a players' hetero–sexuality). Just how the critical judgments of British commentators deal with the tension of adhering to the journalistic codes of impartiality, and the subjective, partisan modes of address will occupy the remainder of this chapter with a case study taken from the 1994 World Cup Finals.

Football Commentary and Ideology

> I think football is a game of opinions. You and I could go and see a game tonight and we could argue for about an hour... and that's the lovable thing about the game.
> (Wolstenholme in interview with the author, July 1995)

While Wolstenholme's assertion is perfectly tenable, and is indeed a motivating principle within the multiple pleasures to be gained from watching the game, it is also evident that the conventions of commentary severely narrow the parameters within which opinion can be voiced on television. As I have noted already, this involves processes of selection and interpretation which have gradually established themselves within the instruction and practice of commentary from radio to television. The need to supply fluent, coherent narratives of football matches time and again, inherently demands some form of structured yet contingent, accurate

yet entertaining, version of reality. In other words, it is an institutional discourse which allows critical judgment within specific systems of belief and, therefore, in this respect, operates ideologically. This is never clearer than in the coverage of international football, specifically during the month–long gathering of nations during the World Cup.

How to understand the relationships between football, nationality and ideology is, however, complex and contradictory. The television coverage of the World Cup does not didactically produce its images and commentaries for passive consumption. Alternatively, television offers narrative systems and characterisations with which the viewer can engage and identify. As noted above, these are structured by specific professional ideologies which attempt to 'make sense' of a football match. For an event like the World Cup the easiest option of making the game intelligible to the widest possible audience is by recourse to national identities. This process has been highlighted within numerous studies of televised football (Tudor, 1975 and 1992; Nowell–Smith, 1979; Wren–Lewis and Clarke, 1983; and Blain, Boyle and O'Donnell, 1993).

Tudor (1992; 393) has illustrated that the television coverage of the World Cup in Britain invariably results in "the language of national identity", a central feature of which is "its referential base in a set of ethnic and cultural stereotypes". The use of stereotyping is taken from what Tudor calls a "reservoir of traits" which are then utilised to "invoke a particular paradigm or frame" in which narrative is contingently developed. The conceptualisation of nations and their styles of play "have predisposing rather than determining consequences" Tudor, 1992; 399). For his study of the 1990 World Cup, Tudor analysed the coverage of the England national team (and the characterisation of Paul Gascoigne within England's progress within the tournament) and of a nation with "no pre–established football identity," Cameroon. In telling the stories of these two national football teams British television relied upon four narrative conventions, which Tudor highlights as the following:

> Stories have to establish settings; they need casts of characters; they need to delimit the boundaries of plausible and acceptable action; they need to establish criteria for 'proper' story–telling. Without frameworks which meet these needs, stories could not be told sensibly at all.
> (Tudor, 1992; 395)

With this framework in mind, what follows is a case study of the 1994 World Cup Finals in the

United States, and British television's coverage of the Republic of Ireland, specifically concentrating upon the match commentaries of the BBC and ITV. This case study is made all the more interesting in the context of impartiality due to the failure of any British team to qualify for the Finals. The Republic of Ireland, therefore, became the British media's surrogate team, with many of their players having been born in England or Scotland (but qualifying through Irish parentage), and the majority of them playing in one or other of the British leagues. These points of reference proved to be crucial in British television's coverage of the Finals. Forecasts of the Republic of Ireland's chances at the Finals preoccupied any discussion among television pundits running up to their first match, all of which helped to set the scene for the actual event.

Setting the scene

As within all 'factual' narratives deployed by a variety of television genres, televised football utilises specific principles of organisation to provide a comprehensive scheme for the viewer. By setting the scene – from the promotional trailers a couple of days in advance, to the programme title itself composed of a musical montage of past World Cup action, from the welcoming address of the anchor, to his introduction of the panel of experts, from the previews and interviews to yet further montage sequences identifying individual teams and players – the programme seeks to condense the expectations of the viewer, affectively engaging their sensibilities.

Within the first element of this, now standard, use of expectation in the competition for viewers, the BBC drew upon a traditional Irish folk song in an attempt to both inform and persuade their prospective audience for their first 'live' coverage of the Republic of Ireland in their third and decisive group game against Norway. Utilising the clever punning techniques of modern advertising the trailer visually provided the following words to the song, highlighting them with a football in the style of the old cinema sing–a–long:

When Ir_ish eyes are smiling
Sure it's like a morn in Spring
In the lilt of Ir_ish laughter
You can hear the an_gels sing
When Ir_ish hearts are happy
All the world seems bright and gay
And when Ir_ish eyes are smil__ing
They'll be sure to beat Norway
[A shamrock now appears with Jack Charlton inside]
Tomorrow 5.25
(BBC 1, 26.6.94.)

The subtle comedy in the bastardisation of the lyrics – reminiscent of the way terrace chants re–use familiar songs – asks the viewer to identify the channel with the cause of the Irish, and attempts to set up some initial expectations. ITV also deployed similar rhetoric in their trailers. So for their coverage of the Republic of Ireland's second match against Mexico, the copy read: "They came, they saw, and they conquered. The boys in green have destroyed Italy now bring on Mexico" (ITV, 24.6.94.). This again suggests an affinity for the Irish by the channel, and uses symbols of common identity by placing emphasis on "The boys in green", which acts as both motif (references to green pervaded both ITV's and the BBC's coverage), and a point of entry for the viewer.

Similarly, the opening address of both ITV's and the BBC's World Cup programming attempted to whet the appetite of their respective audiences. ITV tended to use a musical montage of previous games as a way into their coverage. So for the Republic of Ireland's match against Mexico the programme began with clips from their opening match against Italy, interposed by large black and white words or phrases to add parenthesis to the images, all to a salsa beat as follows:

Words	*Images*
IRELAND	[Irish fans in green garb]
v ITALY	[Baggio of Italy]
DEFENCE	[shots of Ireland defending]
OFFENCE	[Houghton interview: "I just hit it"/ shot of his goal against Italy]
1–0	[shots of players and fans celebrating]
REACTION	[Charlton arms aloft/ post match interviews]
NEXT UP MEXICO	[shot of Mexican player]
THE FANS ARE MAD	[shots of Mexican fans]
THE GOALIES MAD	[shots of extrovert Mexican goalkeeper Campos]
and they CAN'T SCORE	[shots of Mexico's near misses against Norway]

BUT	[interview with Mexican fan: "Ireland, is nothing for Mexico]
BUT	[interview with Irish player Jason McAteer: "Jack's done his homework"]
HOMEWORK	[interview with Charlton: "We'll let them lie in bed, then we'll go and play the game at twelve o'clock]

ITV then cut to an image of the Citrus Bowl stadium in Orlando, and the anchor, Matt Lorenzo, provides a welcoming voice over:

Lorenzo And now it's high noon in Orlando!

This introductory narrative to the programme, with one minute of rapid fire sound–bites and football action, not only focuses the attention of the viewer on the purpose of ITV's coverage (the actual match), but also builds in the elements of drama (after their initial victory can the Republic of Ireland win their match against the Mexicans?) and entertainment (turning football into a music video) which have increasingly dominated television's coverage of the World Cup in order to generate new sensations and pleasures in the viewing experience of watching televised football.

From this initial opening, and the pre–match analysis from the panel of experts in the studio, viewers are invited by the anchor to join him in the coverage of the game, and are introduced to the match commentator. Invariably, what occurs in the initial address of the commentator is a further welcome, this time from the stadium, to emphasise its distinctiveness from the studio, and play upon the 'immediacy effect' of the 'live' broadcast. Within the coverage of both channels the following address for the Republic of Ireland's match against Norway by the BBC commentator, John Motson, stands as a particularly extreme example:

> It wouldn't be quite right to call it an Irish invasion because many of them live here anyway. But the Giant's Stadium at Lunchtime today on the West Coast of America is as green as the green, green, grass of home. They've come in their thousands this morning in a huge procession. From Manhattan, from the Bronx, from Queens, from Staton Island where they've all been staying, through the Lincoln Tunnel, across the George Washington Bridge, and along the New Jersey Turnpike to fuel an occasion which, with Norway also well supported but not as well as the Irish, promises to widen still further the appeal and ambiance of USA '94. Already being labelled as the best World Cup since 1978.
> (BBC 1, 28.6.94.)

Motson's verbal treatise on the travelling Irish fans is also inviting the viewer to engage with

the idea of travelling with them, on what the ITV commentator Brian Moore called "The Irish adventure". Here, not only are the Irish selected and portrayed as being significant, but also, in order to make sense of the World Cup in the British viewing context, the commentator engages with the experiences of the Irish fans as the nearest possible mode of identification available, due to the absence of the 'home nations'. Moreover, the motif of the colour green ("the green, green, grass of home") denotes a familiar reference to the Irish countryside, which within another commentary by Barry Davies of the BBC was referred to as "The Emerald Isle". The initial address of the commentator is, then, largely scripted and pre–empted. How the narrative continues to develop, and is then sustained becomes a continual problem for the commentator. For this he needs a cast of characters upon which to construct a coherent narrative.

Irish characterisation and opposition foibles

Tudor (1992; 396) suggests that characters are constructed from a "reservoir of stereotyped traits" and that a "classic narrative strategy is to attribute conflicting traits to a character and then, in the course of the narration, resolve the conflict". The attribution of traits to both the players and the team are historically situated, and with the Republic of Ireland there has developed a particularly strong identity within the media under the tutelage of their English manager Jack Charlton. Their style of play is perceived as being quintessentially British, with a predominant emphasis on 'route one' football which is supported by a strong defence and a tireless midfield. This representation of the team is influenced more by discourses drawn from within football culture than from those addressing national traits, and have equally been applied to English domestic clubs like Wimbledon. However, such stereotyping of football styles is embroidered with more traditional discourses of Irish identity quite often in a contradictory way. Take for example the next sequence of commentary for ITV by Ron Atkinson and Brian Moore from the Republic of Ireland's first match against Italy:

Atkinson I like Ireland when they play this way. Retain possession and don't constantly pump the ball up field, you know? They've got good players: Sheridan, Keane, Townsend, Staunton, Houghton. All good players with the ball.

Moore It's been a very relaxed Irish camp, I have to say. Their hotel where we're staying, its been full of supporters who've really behaved themselves well. Well wishers, sponsors, the lot. The Italians by comparison, this is their mentality:

took over a complete hotel, everybody else out, just the players and the officials.

(ITV, 18.6.94.)

Firstly, Atkinson classically attributes conflicting traits to the Irish teams' character. He plays off their pre–established football identity by highlighting the individual skills of the Irish midfield (who, it must be noted, are all longstanding members of the Irish team and historically recognised as part of the 'route one' style). Atkinson's comments about the Irish characteristics of play drawn from the 'world of football' then appears to trigger, intra–discursively, a comment from Moore regarding a stereotypical trait associated with Irish culture more generally. In other words, they appear 'relaxed' and, on another occasion, were described as being 'carefree'. In contrast the Italian 'mentality' – again drawing upon discourses of the 'temperamental Latin' – is chided by Moore for being reclusive, and one must assume reading between the lines, more professional in their preparations. This qualifying statement regarding the Italians places the perceived aspirations of the Irish in perspective. That is, they're glad to be there, but do not expect to do anything. However, this is at odds with ITV's intensive coverage of the Republic of Ireland within the tournament, and was placed in severe crisis after their 1–0 victory over the Italians.

The victory over the Italians appeared to invigorate even further ITV's expectations of the Irish. However, at the beginning of their commentary on the Republic of Ireland's next game against Mexico the terminology again reverted back to type:

Atkinson I get the impression today they're gonna play a more traditional game and try and pressurise the Mexican's in their own half of the field. I think there's a feeling in the Irish camp that the Mexican's will be weak against pressure tackling.

Moore Which won't be an easy tactic in this heat.

Atkinson Another thing that Jack's looking for early doors particularly – lots of corners. Because there's one thing that Mexico aren't, they're not very good at defending high balls. They have a problem with an offside trap. You know? They don't know whether they're coming or going. Trying to hold the line they've got a sweeper today. They do have a problem defending high balls.

Moore	Added to which the Mexican keeper I've been talking about is only five feet, ten inches.
Atkinson	He's got to have some guts to wear that outfit, hasn't he? You know, I was just thinking there when you said he designs it himself, I would have thought Ray Charles would have designed it by the look of it.
Moore	I think he should maybe just stick to goalkeeping don't you?
Atkinson	I'll tell you in a bit.

Once again, Atkinson works from the same reference point in his initial analysis of the Republic of Ireland team and the style of football he expects them to play, centred upon 'pressure tackling'. The masculine traits associated with such aggressive tactics are clearly evident. Later in the game Atkinson made further reference to this style of play, suggesting this time, that it has now gained the Irish "a healthy respect" which could give them an important psychological advantage in their attempts to "impose themselves on the opposition". The repetition of this stereotype is a standard narrative strategy. I shall discuss the contextualisation by Moore regarding 'the heat' in a moment, but will first analyse, in relation to the characterisation of the Irish team, the second subject of the above commentary: the Mexican goalkeeper, Campos.

As I have already illustrated when analysing the manner in which ITV set the scene for the match, Campos became an early figure of ridicule. The ITV anchor, Tony Francis, reiterated the theme of the introductory montage by suggesting, within a catalogue of puns, that "Mexico's peacock of a goalkeeper", "makes up in plumage what he lacks in height". Once the attributes of being a bit of an extrovert and 'mad' were established, both Atkinson ("they're not very good at defending high balls") and Moore (picking up on the goalkeepers stature) began to ridicule the player's character by making fun of his sartorial style. These non–footballing attributes were soon seen to be affecting his play, particularly under the "pressure tackling" of the Irish and their "new found reputation". In one instance, Campos attempted to dribble the ball out of trouble instead of kicking the ball immediately away to safety. Once he had managed to clear the ball into touch, very nearly losing the ball to the opposition, Atkinson remarked: "Oh he wants pressuring, he *wants* pressuring. I do not fancy him one bit". Soon afterwards

the Republic of Ireland were awarded a free–kick which prompted Moore to say: "lets see what the goalkeeper's made of". From the resultant free–kick Campos collected the ball competently, which led Atkinson to remark: "Reputedly, he's suspect on crosses. He's handled that one very, very well under the pressure from Coyne". Within these sequences of commentary we can see a firm structuring device for the judgments of the two commentators. As Tudor observed in his study of the 1990 World Cup:

> once a commentator has established a structuring device based upon individual attributes it can come to dominate the whole pattern of subsequent commentary. (Tudor, 1992; 396)

Even where the imposition of attributes to a player (or indeed to a team like the Republic of Ireland) are incorrect or contradictory to the actual events on the field of play, the stereotype is still maintained, and anything outside of its parameters is seen to be an exception to the rule. Therefore, once deployed, "the narrator has a considerable investment in its continued survival" (Tudor, 1992; 396). The discursive fate of the Mexican goalkeeper was therefore sealed before a ball was kicked, and was in stark contrast to the characterisation of the Irish goalkeeper Pat Bonner, who had been lauded before the tournament for his sustained and steady performances over a decade, but ultimately led to the Republic of Ireland's demise within the 1994 Finals against Holland, a fact which was summed up by Davies for the BBC when he commented:

> A sad story for Pat Bonner. Four years ago he made sure Ireland would go on to the quarter–finals. What a different half this might have been if there was only one goal between the teams. This sport is full of 'ifs'. (BBC1, 4.7.94.)

In all of the above cases – the Republic of Ireland's style of play, the extrovert traits of Campos, and the fall of a previous hero in Bonner – the opposed traits are kept in tension only to be resolved either at the end of the game or the end of the tournament to provide some form of narrative development (some indeed, are never resolved).

"Sweat soaked noon in Orlando's sauna"

As alluded to above with Brian Moore's comment about the heat, a preoccupation of both ITV's and the BBC's coverage was a concern for the Irish players and how their style of play would stand up in the high summer temperatures of New Jersey and Orlando. Ironically, it was the pressures of television which had forced FIFA to schedule midday kick–offs for the convenience of European audiences (in a similar vein to Mexico 1970). The heat, therefore,

became a significant element in structuring television narratives about the Finals, and enabled a binary framework within which the stereotyping of playing styles could be categorised: those countries who could cope (South American,Asian and African) and those that could not (European). Immediately within this distinction it is possible to recognise an opportunity for commentators to revert into racial stereotyping, if not overtly, then certainly by inference. Therefore, in a post–match interview with Jack Charlton after his side's defeat by Mexico, the comment that "The Mexicans haven't beat us, the weather's beaten us" went totally unchallenged by the pundits of both channels. The economic efficiency and skilful ball play of the South American side was conveniently overlooked, leaving the post–mortem to concentrate on the Irish performance and how their style was not suited to such conditions. The BBC pundit, David O'Leary, combined these two constraining elements in characteristically cliched 'footballspeak': "You've gotta give 120% and in that heat it's impossible to do that."

The issue of the heat became such a constant motif within the discourse of both the 'Irish camp' and the television coverage that soon it was being addressed as an official matter of complaint regarding the organisation of the tournament, in what became identified as "bureaucracy gone mad" (a phrase used by both Moore and the anchor Lorenzo). The chief concern was the dehydration of the Irish players and finding an appropriate method for them to access water during the games. Again, this disruption to the Irish chances of progressing in the tournament provided an excellent point of engagement for the television audience, as they were asked to empathise with the Irish invocation to FIFA to allow water on the field of play (Charlton was even reported as requesting small time–outs for drink in the middle of each half). FIFA, recognising that the health of players might well be in danger, accepted the Irish request for water to be administered from the side of the pitch from designated areas. However, complications arose once more as the Irish player Ray Houghton was booked for carrying a water bag while in possession of the ball in their third match against Norway. This was viewed as further persecution against the Irish – Charlton had by this time been banned from the touchline after an altercation with a FIFA official during the match with Mexico – and was met with dismay by Motson for the BBC and disbelief by ITV's commentator, John Helm, who described the decision as "utterly baffling" (ITV, 28.6.94.).

The issue of water and drinking also provided moments for 'punning gags' by the commentary

teams, again employing some standard stereotypes. A prime example of can be seen in this following exchange:

Moore	[The Irish] have brought with them something like thirty thousand litres of Irish mineral water from Limerick to help restore the body weight.
Atkinson	They'll also have other stuff won't they [laugh] for after the game which will restore it from Ireland?
Moore	Also from Ireland. A slightly different colour. Particularly if they can hold onto the lead Ray Houghton's given them.

(Republic of Ireland v Italy, ITV, 18.6.94.)

Another symbol of Irishness, whisky, is here utilised for comic effect in order to yoke football to the stereotyped trait Irish drinking habits. Similarly, the drinking habits of the Irish manager Jack Charlton and individual players like Paul McGrath were also subject to scrutiny but viewed as idiosyncrasies rather than failings or deviant forms of behaviour. This contrasts heavily with the treatment in the tabloid press and certain television news programmes of England's tour of China and Hong Kong, where a one night drinking session by a group of players threw English football into crisis before the 1996 European Championships. Therefore, the references to drink within football discourses are indexically linked, dependent on context and the individuals, groups or nations involved. The symbolism associated with Irish whisky and Guinness – the drunk but friendly Irishman – helps to establish a way of making sense of the potentially complex issue of sport and alcohol (drugs).

We're all 'Plastic Paddy's' now

There was a crucial difference between the construction of a narrative about the Irish team at the 1994 World Cup and the equivalent devices used when England are involved in such coverage: there was no explicit use of 'Them' and 'Us' – as in Italia '90 (see Tudor, 1992) or Euro '96 (see Chapter 9). However, as I have illustrated above, this is not to suggest any lack of partiality towards the Irish, and attempts to construct the Finals through 'Irish eyes'. The blatant bias in favour of the Irish reflects, in some ways, the inauthentic, commercial and often romantic discourses of the Republic of Ireland's 'second generation' supporters. The relatively recent success of the Republic of Ireland national side, has invigorated support for the game

from a multitude of 'second generation' Irish women and men, in an attempt to reclaim a form of Irish identity, for which they have been critically labelled 'Plastic Paddy's' by the indigenous supporters. Ironically, this imaginary identity does, according to Free (1996), allow some level of liberation from the stereotypically violent image of English supporters. Although both 'second generation' and British football supporters could share this imaginary discourse, their motivation for engaging with the Republic of Ireland side were quite distinct. For the English commentators and pundits the entrance into this temporary, imaginary identity was connection with and through any reference to English football that could be identified and comprehended.

The linkage between the Irish fans in the stadium and the television audience in England can be gleaned from the following commentary sequence, again, it is Moore and Atkinson during the game with Italy:

Moore	I think there's some taunts coming from the Irish fans: "Are you watching England?" Certainly they'll be watching in England in huge numbers. And not only Irish folk living there – I bet there's some terrific parties going on there – but in Dublin too. I gather the bartenders in Dublin are on strike today.
Atkinson	I can't imagine there being anybody left in Dublin looking round at this crowd, Brian.
Moore	Well, we hope you're enjoying it at home and that the Irish can keep this going.

(ITV, 18.6.94.)

Moore, in his first comment, seems to gloss over the taunt from the Irish fans, preferring instead, to interpret a more positive meaning (in terms of people watching in England) which positions viewers in alignment with the Irish cause, whether they be Irish or not. The second part of his first comment, Moore then returns to typecasting, with another reference to drinking ("some terrific parties"), which is qualified by quoting hearsay regarding Dublin bartenders who were using a strike on the day of the game as leverage in a long running industrial dispute. Atkinson's comment further accentuates the notion that the whole of Dublin is engaged with the game, to which Moore concludes by once again inviting the viewers in Britain to identify with the Irish team. The idea that British viewers would be supporting the Irish was also taken up by

the BBC's coverage of the Republic of Ireland's game with Norway. During the pre–match build–up the anchor, Desmond Lynam, asked the former England star Sir Bobby Charlton (brother of the Irish team's manager) what was important about the game. Charlton replied: "I think representing the British game really, and the British public are behind the Irish, and hope very much that they'll win". Once more, a general form of Irish national identity blurs into a specific reference to British, and more narrowly English, football style, which attempts to deprive the Republic of Ireland team of any distinctiveness.

Finally, one of the main points of identification which commentators frequently turn to within international football where there is no representative team from the UK is through a direct reference associating an individual player with England or English football. Therefore, when Ray Houghton scored in the Republic of Ireland's opening match against Italy, Barry Davies commented for the BBC:

> Well, he probably thought that the first goal he scored against England in the European Championships would prove to be his most important one. Well, he's bettered it now.
> (BBC1, 18.6.94.)

This comment firstly attempts to contextualise Houghton's goal in a frame of reference which English viewers (it excludes the Welsh, Scottish and Irish) can make sense of events. It also heightens the historical significance of the goal by taking the goal against England as its counterpoint (whether or not the player would make such a comparison is not brought into question). Similarly, individual players who were in opposition to the Republic of Ireland could also be identified and characterised by their association with England. For example, when Dennis Bergkamp scored for Holland against the Irish, Davies commented: "It's that man again... the man who unhinged England does it again" (a reference to the fact that Bergkamp had contributed to England's failure to reach the World Cup finals). Opposition players could be demonised in a similar fashion. Therefore, when the Dutch player Ronald Koeman committed a foul on the Irish captain, Andy Townsend, Davies lambasted: "A man who knows when to make sure someone doesn't go past him. As Graham Taylor knows to his and England's cost" (another reference to England's defeat by the Dutch in 1993, in which Koeman was seen to get away with a 'professional foul' which prevented England from scoring, and, ultimately, led to the resignation of the then England manager Graham Taylor).

Both the blurring of national identity with the characterisation of football styles, and the continual references to Britain or England which re–contextualise the Republic of Ireland's games worked to occlude any discourse on the politics of sport in the Republic of Ireland. The appropriation by British television of the Irish cause forewent any mention of the state of football in the Republic, particularly the weak status of its domestic league governed by the Football Association of Ireland (Sugden and Bairner, 1994). Moreover, the contemporary politics of a divided Ireland were conveniently ignored. How the coverage by the BBC and ITV network were received by the Protestant community in the North may well have been indicative of how that community has responded to attempts to forge closer cultural and political union, and therefore, be viewed as a further example of how the metropolitan centre of the British media has failed to understand their situation. These tensions are set up by the schematic split of sport and orthodox politics frequently practised within sports discourses, including on this occasion, football commentary.

Conclusion

What the above case study has illustrated is, as I mentioned in the first section of this chapter, that football commentary is very much part of a social process. It is also a crucial means by which television attempts to convey the dramatic form of expression which is intrinsic within football. Television commentary both ingests from and projects into a public discourse on football. As John Hargreaves (1986;12) has suggested, these forms of public discourse on sport constitute "some of the basic themes of social life – success and failure, good and bad behaviour, ambition and achievement, discipline and effort". What television had to develop, was a convenient discourse which addressed the need to inform and entertain both the fan and the family audience. Many of the techniques of addressing this tension had been carried over from radio, which has ensured that televised football retains a high level of talk based communication. To my knowledge, football in Britain has never been televised without commentary. Many fans criticise the often inane comments of the football commentator – seen most vociferously in the irreverence of many football fanzine skits on televised football (Haynes, 1995) – but, in order to escape this sports chatter, are left with the inferior alternative of turning the sound down. Digital television may change the possibilities available to the 'armchair supporter' in this respect. Games may still be mediated, but with more control as to what the viewer sees and, more importantly in this discussion, what they hear. Digital

television may make it possible for viewers to individualise their consumption to the extent that choosing from an array of commentaries on any one particular game may provide the ultimate means of identification with such a discourse: each team involved could have a commentary biased in its favour, and a third could attempt to be impartial in the classic tradition. Movements in this direction have already occurred at club level with the rise in pre–recorded video, which map the performance of individual clubs through a season from a partisan perspective. Of course, at international level, as I have illustrated with the case of the Republic of Ireland in the 1994 World Cup (and other studies have documented with regard to England and Scotland) bias can prove integral to the viewing experience.

CHAPTER 6

FAKING SOCCER HISTORY: MEDIA, SPONSORSHIP AND TOURISM AT WORLD CUP USA '94

Unless mankind is to embark some day on interplanetary exploration, there can never again be a geographical adventure like the discovery and exploration of the Americas.
John Barllet Brebner, 1933.

Everything that disappears in Europe is born again in San Fransisco.
Jean Baudrillard, 1988.

Introduction

The unimaginable has happened. The World's premier sport has held its premier tournament in the premier sporting nation. Held from 17 June to 17 July 1994, World Cup USA '94 generated contradictory emotions of both fear and loathing as a global football audience gazed upon a nation attempting to reconcile its commercial and organisational abilities with a tradition of ambivalence to an otherwise universal sport. The World Cup in the United States was both a financial and symbolic challenge to the social, economic and cultural history of the tournament.

This chapter is not concerned so much with why Association Football, the world's most popular sport, never established itself in the USA as a national, professional, spectator sport. This debate is well documented by Markovitz (1990) and Sugden (1994) who both trace their arguments back to the origins of modern sport in the nineteenth century as their starting point for divisions between the sporting practices of North America and the rest of the world, specifically Britain. Conversely, the theoretical and empirical study that follows analyses British discourses on this specific form of American exceptionalism, and how, since the 1970s, in a period of transition in the British game – physically, institutionally and culturally – commentators on football have gazed across the Atlantic, and reviewed the organising principles of professional sport in the United States, either for inspiration or, for those who

uphold "traditional" sporting values, with fear and loathing.

World Cup USA '94 as a televised spectacle provided an opportune conjuncture for the British football authorities and media to assess the 'American way'. It was a time to measure the process of modernisation undertaken in the British game since the tragedies at Bradford, Heysel and Hillsborough against either a real or imagined superiority of American sports organisation and economy.

One sub–text of this transatlantic gaze was a concern with the Americanisation of sport as popular culture in Britain, a concern which, in terms of intellectual discourses, has a strong tradition within British literary and cultural studies. As Dominic Strinati (1992) has argued, the recent turn to cultural theorists like Baudrillard and Jameson in the pursuit of America as an object of study (at once pervasive *and* elusive), 'represents a continuation of the concerns of critics like the Leavises and Adorno over the 'decline' of culture.' Moreover,issues of popular culture invariably demand a 'position about Americanisation', which has manifested itself in the crude distinctions of taste between populism and elitism. Where populist stances celebrate the influx of American popular cultural forms and images – for example, preferences among British cinema audiences for 'escapist' Hollywood films – elitist discourses focus their critique on the 'vulgarisation' of indigenous culture (high and low), Americanisation being from this perspective, 'the source of all that is bad and harmful, trivial and banal, unintelligent and undemanding, standardised and repetitive, showy and vulgar, manipulative and mercenary, commercial and barbaric' (Strinati, 1992; 51).

In the field of sport the spectre of the transatlantic flow of practices and images from America to Britain has focused debate on the level of commercialism within sport, accompanied by the inter–related issue of the manner in which the media influences, re–presents and intrudes into sport. For instance, while it has been acknowledged that commercial interest has been central to the configuration of Association Football since its professionalisation in the 1880s (Mason, 1980; Vamplew, 1982), there has also been a prolonged fear of elements of American sporting practices being assimilated into the British game. Fear of Americanisation among domestic administrators of the game became heightened in the 1970s as clubs began to experiment with practices usually associated with the American sports industry with the introduction of synthetic

pitches, electronic scoreboards, pre–match entertainment (a specifically exuberant kind being female cheerleaders), and a general sense that football was part of an entertainment industry, where previously it had been the pastime of the working–class man. Concern was heightened further by the migration of football talent to American shores into the then newly invigorated National American Soccer League (NASL) which by literally attempting to kick–start a professional league enticed a significant number of footballers from the UK on either a permanent or seasonal basis (ie during the British summer) with the promise of a substantial 'fast buck'. However, as subsequent tragic events at Bradford and Hillsborough in the mid–to–late 1980s illustrated, the patina of American razzmatazz in this country was often superficial and did not confront the need for broader transformations to modernise the professional game in terms of both comfort and safety for spectators.

More recently, the British game has undergone or embarked upon (depending on ones particular viewpoint) a series of transformations which have a resemblance with those earlier but half–hearted changes cited above. New all–seater stadiums, the 'breakaway' FA Premiership, subscription for televised football and, perhaps most significantly in this context, more sophisticated marketing strategies, all reflect a mode of organisation which is more akin to the established consumer–oriented configuration of American sport. This was a process the cultural critic Reuel Denney (1989) recognised within American sport during the 1950s in what he termed 'the decline of lyric sport' and the rise of 'spectorial forms' which function like 'rationalised industries' where the codes of spectatorship for sport and television are virtually one and the same. Such an argument leads us to ask if there is a difference, and if so how can we discern this difference?

One answer, theoretically, is to turn to recent debates concerned with the post–modern processes of globalisation (Featherstone 1990, Sklair 1991, Wallerstein 1991). I emphasise processes, simply because globalisation (a term by no means clearly defined) appears to operate in different ways, means and levels of effectiveness in socio–psychological, cultural, economic and political fields. In a synopsis of the 'competing models of globalisation' Leslie Sklair one of the leading protagonists within the 'global debate', points out that although the idea of globalisation is relatively new to sociology it must be recognised that "people who work in and write about the transnational corporations and international business have been using it for

some time." Essentially, what the study of globalisation means for the study of USA '94 from the position of relative isolation (metaphorically speaking in terms of British football) is that it, to use the words of Sklair, "cannot be adequately studied at the level of nation–states, that is, in terms of inter–national relations," but needs "to be seen in terms of global (trans–national) processes, beyond the level of the nation–state" (Sklair, 1993; 7).

In many respects this argument undermines the dialectical model of the conflictual (or hegemonic) relationship between Britain and North America within the field of popular culture. Yet, Americanisation is often synonymous with globalisation as an analytical tool for understanding the sort of processes we are talking about. Therefore, American hegemony stands in for the 'New World Order': American capitalism becomes global capitalism, and following this line of argument, American sport practices become global sport practices. Certainly, both the Americanisation and globalisation of sport appear to have similar aspects to their make–up. As Rowe *et al* (1994) have suggested in their study of 'global sport' focusing on the relationship between America and Australia there is a broad concern about erosion of cultural identity or distinctiveness as represented within sport. Furthermore, the indistinguishable nature of the two processes can be seen in the development of international sporting competition and the accompanying development of the mass media which under the processes of either Americanisation or globalisation:

> highlight the conflict between intensely particular/ parochial elements of sporting culture and the necessarily universalising pressures of international sports governance and media representation.
> (Rowe *et al*, 1994; 663)

It is the nexus between the particular and the universal, between the traditional and the modern, that the struggles over the degree of cultural transformation is played out. Therefore, in the context of sport, an event like the World Cup can be seen as the insertion of a specific commodity form (televised football and all its 'trimmings') into local cultures (the UK) that results in a type of consciousness which is particular and universal at the same time. In an appropriation of a broader theoretical argument by George Ritzer (1992), Ellis Cashmore (1994; 131) has argued that the immediacy of the televised spectacle has 'McDonaldized' sport, where "every dimension of our lives is in some way influenced by the efficient and controlled predictability of the world–famous restaurant chain, where customers always get the desired result, usually within seconds of ordering." Indeed, McDonald's, one of the official sponsors

of USA '94 (making their burgers the 'pseudo–official' food of the World Cup) has been one of the major commercial players in promoting television's intrusion into sport and therefore assisting the promotion of their own colonisation of global markets. However, some distinctions need to be made before we move on to consider in more detail the complexity of social, economic and political relationships and their meanings in the case study of World Cup USA '94.

Firstly, there is a need to acknowledge that while the transatlantic gaze from Britain to America before, during and after the World Cup finals does involve specific cultural exchanges that have a historical precedent which can be traced to the origins of modern sport in the Nineteenth Century and beyond, there is also a need to consider the transnational practices which operate within three non–state spheres, analytically distinguished as political, economic and cultural–ideological (Sklair, 1993). For instance, non–US based corporations which are Japanese, European and Australian in origin challenge the notion of a simple Americanisation of local popular culture, illustrated by the official sponsorship of USA '94 by transnational companies Canon, Fuji, JVC, Opel and Philips.

Secondly, it must be emphasised that the processes of Americanisation and globalisation do not at the moment of international economic and political predominance mechanically assume cultural ascendancy (Rowe *et al*, 1994; 663). For instance, it must be remembered that the televising of the World Cup was received by the majority of the UK audience through the mediating practices of the BBC and ITV, both of which operate in a global market but maintain distinctive national or regional characteristics.

Before deconstructing 'soccer's month–long global orgy' in the 'land of the free', based on a textual study of British and North American media (specifically terrestrial television) I will trace the political economic context of World Cup USA '94, emphasising the relationships between world football, the media and sponsorship which has been characterised as the 'sports/media complex' (Jhally, 1989). Put simply, the cultural experience for the vast majority of World Cup spectators is mediated, through television, radio and the press. And linked to this media audience, is the dependence of contemporary professional football on finance generated from the media, in terms of copyright and sponsorship. However, in the case of a 'mega–event' like

the World Cup there is a further variable in the equation: tourism. Tourism, both real and imagined, plays a significant role in the staging of the World Cup, and the appearance of the tournament in the USA, for many people in Britain a 'dream destination', adds further complexities to the relationship between football, the media and spectatorship.

The Media Marketing of World Cup USA 1994, Inc.

In February 1987 The United States Soccer Federation (USSF) first served notice to football's worldwide governing body FIFA, and therefore to the international football community, that it was considering a bid for the right to serve as the host nation for the 1994 World Cup. Other official candidacies were placed by Brazil, Chile and Morocco, the latter making a bid to become the first African nation to host the tournament. After an official pledge of assistance in February 1988 from US President Ronald Reagan to FIFA President Joao Havelange the United States was chosen in July 1988 as the host of the 1994 World Cup receiving more than half of the total votes from FIFA's Executive Committee.

World Cup USA '94 effectively began as soon as the last ball was kicked at Italia '90. Past disappointments were forgotten as the prospect of the next World Cup finals captured the imagination of the football fans dreaming of the moment when their nation's captain lifts the 14 inch gold trophy above his head in front of a heaving mass of patriotic supporters, echoed by mass delirium in their home country. Even before we knew who the 24 finalists would be, American Airlines had beckoned us to travel to our ultimate dream destination, a rendezvous with fate, a dream ticket to the World Cup Final.

No less than four months after the 1990 finals had reached their climax had FIFA announced a marketing structure from New York in readiness for the three and a half year countdown to USA '94. The strategy was jointly drawn up by International Sports and Leisure Marketing (ISL) a Swiss–based company established in 1982 by the FIFA President Joao Havelange and the late sports manufacturer and owner of Adidas, Horst Dassler. From its inception ISL secured itself a marketing partnership with FIFA for the foreseeable future of the tournament, a deal which now spans the last four World Cup finals (1982 – 1994).

The joint marketing strategy enabled the provision of an economic base upon which

international football, now being sold as a highly commercialised entertainment industry, could feed into the multi–national and trans–national corporate world represented initially by Adidas whose the three stripe logo has a certain global ubiquity in sports goods and leisurewear. Furthermore, the willingness of FIFA to market the game on a completely new level at the beginning of the eighties, a decision based on both Havelange's admiration of Dassler and the recognition that the World Cup was selling itself short in comparison to the Olympics, led to Dassler enticing further trans–national companies, most notably Coca–Cola, into sponsoring what was increasingly marketed as the 'world game'.

As Alan Tomlinson (1986, 1994) has highlighted, the dramatic changes in the marketing strategy of international football ironically have their roots outside of the historically powerful footballing nations of central Europe. By the 1980s both the established and developing football nations of South America, Asia and Africa were being led by the charismatic Havelange (with the technical assistance of Dassler) in a challenge to the advanced footballing world on the global, televisual, and commercial football field. However, the transference of political power to Havelange and his followers did have its broader and contrary ramifications as Tomlinson suggests:

> The Third World had been aroused and in footballing terms was on the ascendancy; in power terms, the alliances within FIFA combined the political and cultural interests of emergent nations with the market aspirations of multi–national and trans–national economic interests still based firmly in the first world of capitalism.
> (Tomlinson, 1994; 23)

The need for global marketing strategies had, of course, been recognised by the international governing bodies of sport before ISL became a major player in the marketing of mega–events. For instance, the rise of sports entrepreneur and agent Mark McCormack with his company IMG (International Marketing Group) had previously transformed the professional sports of golf and tennis in the early 1970's.

At this juncture it is interesting to note the inter–relationships and parallels that the marketing of World Cup USA '94 has with changes in the marketing strategies experienced by the Olympic Games: firstly, with regard to the 1984 Games in Los Angeles; and secondly, in terms of new marketing strategies introduced to the Seoul Olympics in 1988.

The 1984 Olympics were as Baudrillard suggests in the following aphorism, 'Totally sponsored, totally euphoric, totally clean, 100 per cent advertising event...In short, an image of an ideal world, for the whole world to see' (1989, 58). The financial success of the 1984 Games (with a profit of $235 million) relied heavily on the sponsorship role of McDonald's who exploited the symbolism of the Olympic Games within its extensive domestic market leading some commentators to nickname the event as the 'Hamburger Games'.

One contribution to the success of the 1984 Games was regarded both by the Organising Committee and the media to be the Olympic soccer tournament, in terms of match attendances (which drew the largest crowds of any sport during the Games), television audiences and merchandising. Moreover, the principle success of the '84 soccer tournament had been a significant factor in the awarding of the 1994 World Cup to the United States. Once again, the perception by FIFA that substantial commercial benefits could be accrued from holding the tournament in the USA cannot be overstated. Neither can the political manoeuvring for positions on the World Cup USA 1994 Organising Committee. Initially the bid to host the finals was headed by the then President of the USSF Werner Fricker in 1987. However, after disputes over the marketing strategy with ISL, Fricker made way for Beverly Hills lawyer Alan Rothenberg who, backed by FIFA, became the Chairman, President and Chief Executive Officer of World Cup USA 1994, INC. Rothenberg's soccer pedigree included the ownership of the Los Angeles Aztecs of the NASL, General Manager of the Los Angeles Wolves of the United States Soccer Association and most importantly his role as Commissioner of Soccer for the LA Olympics. Rothenberg was joined by other executives who had served on the Los Angeles Olympic Organising Committee (LAOOC) from 1984, most notably Scott Parks Le Tellier, Managing Director/ Chief Operating Officer of World Cup USA '94 (who had previously represented the LAOOC as an observer at the 1982 World Cup in Spain) and Eli Primrose–Smith, Managing Director/ Chief Administrative Officer (who had served as associate vice president of the LAOOC in 1984). All the officers appointed showed a track record in the marketing of sports events, with technical and creative abilities to sell the idea of the World Cup in the USA.

However, a significant difference between the 1984 Olympics and the 1994 World Cup in terms of marketing strategy was the commercial benefits to be obtained from the US domestic

market. Although the World Cup was to be marketed to the American public in the style of an 'Olympic happening' the organisers still had the cultural barriers to overcome, not least the changes that would have to be made to accommodate soccer on US television.

The dilemma of US television scheduling led to the controversial suggestion from FIFA president Havelange that the games could be split into four twenty minute quarters to allow more advertising space during the game. Not surprisingly, the proposition was met with contempt and ribaldry from both the football media and followers of the game in general who instantly laughed away any thoughts of tampering with the sacrosanct 90 minutes of play. But the mere fact that such an issue arose is testament to the difference with which North American sports are now organised; tailor made for television employing a different mode of address to an audience who are accustomed to (or socialised into) different 'rhythm's of reception' when watching sport. For example, the introduction of 'time–outs' within sports like American football and basketball not only allow 'the coach' to rethink tactical strategies which amount to a re–patterning of play during the game, but also generate increased levels of what Chandler (1978) celebrates as 'tension' and 'dramatic force' for the viewer by manipulating time, which while appearing inexorable is in fact wholly artificial in the sports context. Moreover, such breaks in televised sports–time instantly provide commercial advertising–time.

Chandler (1978) argues in her comparison of American football and soccer that the latter sport does not allow for such moments of 'dramatic force' which appear at times of 'game crisis' therefore rendering soccer an inferior form of televised sport. However, what this specific aspect of Chandler's analysis fails to understand is that soccer relies upon 'flow' as an integral characteristic of its appeal to an audience, whether the spectator is in the stadium or watching the game on television. While the rapidity of cutting from different camera angles and the statistical element of televising football have increased with BSkyB's coverage of the sport in Britain, the political economy of US sport and its relationship to culture (as it is mediated through television) remains different to European televised sport, and its 'symbolic economy' (Matterlart *et al*, 1984).

Accommodating soccer into the US system caused some considerable headaches, but eventually was resolved as television accommodated to the sport rather than changing the game.

US television and sponsors negotiated a system whereby the company logo of the official sponsor would appear by the graphic clock placed in the top left hand corner of the screen. The logo's would be rotated on an eight minute basis to allow on–screen equity. Furthermore, these primary sponsors would control virtually all the commercial time in the broadcasts. Instead of interrupting the matches the ads were to be aired in 'pods' before and after the games.

The unprecedented move of signing up only a handful of primary sponsors was an attempt to spread the financial risk of the finals and move FIFA's income away from an overdependence on revenue derived from television rights. The rights holders, the broadcast channel ABC and its sports cable station ESPN, were confirmed as the US World Cup networks in June 1992 after negotiating a deal worth $11 million, a relatively small sum given the escalating prices for large US sports events like the Superbowl, The Masters golf tournament, the US Open tennis championship, and the forthcoming 1996 Olympic Games in Atlanta, Georgia. The deal was struck only after support and assurances were given by three of the eleven official sponsors; Coca–Cola, M&M/ Mars (represented by the Snickers brand) and MasterCard International. In an attempt to capture the interest of a wide American public ABC was scheduled to air 11 live matches over weekends and on July 4th (Independence Day) and ESPN would pick up the remaining 41 matches in a mix of live and recorded coverage with a potential reach of 60 million US households, or 65% of all US TV households (source *Cable and Satellite Europe*, July 1992).

After two years of negotiation, ISL as the marketing partner of the Organising Committee had managed to find a commercial balance that suited not only FIFA but the primary sponsors and US television networks. Before the deals were finalised fears that the US networks would not be interested in covering the World Cup had posed a serious public relations problem outside of the States, adding fuel to arguments waged by European pessimists who could not foresee any merit in holding the Finals in a country without its own professional football league. But by claiming exclusive rights to sell all international sponsorship worldwide to a select few corporations (Canon, Coca–Cola, Energizer, FUJI FILM, General Motors, Gillette, JVC, MasterCard, McDonald's, Philips and Snickers) ISL provided a sponsorship package costing $15m per company which ensured that these 'blue chip' investors had the right to market their products worldwide on what was called 'a product–category–exclusive basis' (*World Cup*

USA '94 News Kit February 1994).

ISL had supplied a similar sponsorship package in 1988 through their administration of a marketing initiative called The Olympic Program (TOP). In an attempt to exert more commercial control over the sponsorship activities of the Games, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) retained the services of ISL as an agent to buy from the national Olympic committees around the world the copyright to the Olympic symbol and mascot for the Games in Seoul and Calgary (1988), and then sell the rights to a selected group of corporate sponsors who could guarantee a worldwide distribution for their goods and services (emblazoned with logo), therefore reaching a global consumer market (See Larson and Park, 1993). Therefore, where the likes of Coca–Cola previously had to enter protracted negotiations with the individual national Olympic committees, TOP provided immediate and relatively exclusive access to sponsorship rights. By securing deals with 'blue chip' corporate sponsors the IOC enjoyed a substantial increase of investment in the Games, supplementing television rights revenues, avoiding the cluttering of sponsors, and therefore guaranteeing a level of exclusivity.

It is clear that 'blue chip' companies, like Coca–Cola and McDonald's, now see sports sponsorship as an additional medium of persuasive communication within which they can integrate a marketing mix of advertising, public relations, sales promotion and personal selling. Sports sponsorship, while dependent itself on the media, is increasingly a part of marketing strategy for companies that traditionally have relied upon television, radio and newspapers to convey their symbolic messages.

The eleven 'Official Sponsors' combined to form one of six commercial levels in an overall marketing strategy deployed by FIFA, World Cup USA Inc., and ISL. Five further revenue sources were supplied by: i) eight Marketing Partners (Adidas, American Airlines, Budweiser, Electronic Data Systems (EDS), ITT Sheriton, Sprint, Sun Microsystems and Upper Deck Trading Cards) investing $7M each; ii) seven Official Product and Services companies, which included the Kellogg Company; iii) Equipment Suppliers who provided both cash and services in–kind; iv) Regional Supporters which provided exclusive localised commercial affiliation with the World Cup; v) more than one hundred Licensees registered to market and retail World Cup USA products worldwide.

Football Goes To Hollywood

Within the sports–media complex there is a connection between the political economy of the World Cup and its imagery, or symbolic order. Theoretically, we can conceptualise this by relating the transitory, 'mega–event' (Roche, 1992) to the more permanent, but evolutionary, 'theme park', as both a global industry and cultural form. This requires 'reading' the World Cup textually, as a medium of mass communication. The inroads of large corporate sponsors into sport, documented in the first section of this chapter, involves a synthesis of sport with entertainment, advertising, marketing and public relations activities, all of which actively create a matrix of symbolic meaning within which the experience of consuming the game of football symbiotically relates. In other words, the World Cup provides both a material and imaginary context through the global communication industries, for the construction and consumption of marketing and advertising messages. Whether these are geared towards the glorification of individual football heroes or the celebration of national identities through the sport, the point to be emphasised is that within these communication forms, "aesthetic production today has become integrated into commodity production generally" (Jameson, 1984; 92).

Davis (1996) has highlighted how theme parks act as 'nodal points' for global economic institutions and productive processes. Within Britain, the notion of the theme park is quintessentially North American, connoting Disneyland as its archetypal form. Indeed, for Baudrillard (1988; 55) "what is offered in Disneyland is a parody of the world of the imagination", a world which is dominated by the visual mass media of Hollywood and America, for as he recalls in his postmodern travelogue, "I was here in my imagination long before I came here" (Baudrillard, 1988; 72). In quoting Baudrillard I do not wish to infer that eating a McDonald's burger or drinking Coca–Cola automatically connect with the American imaginary, thereby transgressing more localised economies and cultures. Rather, it is to stress the omnipresence of such multinational corporations and their connection, through commercial communication processes, with sport, and football in particular.

In effect, there has occurred a de–differentiation between different spheres of cultural activity, in which it is more apposite to speak of an 'economy of signs' than an economy of goods and services (Lash and Urry, 1994). The World Cup, within this scenario, sees the intermingling of sport, television and tourism, so that football governs a commercial, tourism event both

materially and televisually. However, football does not only support these secondary and tertiary industries, it is also heavily supported by them. Rowe (1995; 119) points out that while sport, and particularly football, is enjoying its marriage with the post–Fordist, image–conscious media marketing practices, "the sheer scale of major global media sports spectacles (like the Olympic Games and the World Cup) and the highly rationalised exploitation of profitable opportunities surrounding them suggest that pronouncements of the demise of the Fordist sporting moment are somewhat premature." For example, we can see that the World Cup venues are not the only sites exhaustively commodified through merchandising, other domestic markets are umbilically connected to the mother event, offering further opportunities to generate commercial income, exponentially related to the millions of television viewers around the world.

England's non–participation in USA '94 was calculated by Trevor Phillips, then the commercial director of the FA, as denying the governing body a chance of earning up to £12 million income from sponsorship, television rights, travel clubs, and what he termed "the trash and trinket trade" (quoted in Hamilton, 1994). Despite England's, and the other home nations, omission from the finals the theme of the World Cup soon materialised in Britain across a plethora of media: from McDonald's 'quiz cards' to adverts for Energizer batteries; from special offers on a 'four pack' of World Cup Budweiser to the launch of simulated football video games (including the officially sanctioned 'FIFA Soccer' from Electronic Arts). This latter incarnation within football related merchandise possessed a particularly ironic quality. It gave football fans the opportunity to simulate a British entry into USA '94 with no less than fifteen new 'football carts' being released for what *Game Zone* (Issue 17, March 1994) called "the official non–event that is the World Cup." This new interactive football media offered the post–modern possibilities of electronically linking up to a simulated global spectacle, a cybernetic connection to a virtual football environment. Football video games present a mediatized allegory of the game, where mimicry of the televised spectacle – through the use of crowd noises, football commentary and action–replays – is used to authenticate the illusion as well as provide a narrative structure to the play. Although the perspective or point–of–view created for the player is often beyond that offered by even the most intrusive television cameras in football coverage, there is a sense that football video games are in some senses a pastiche of the televised event (with more of the cinematic illusion of immersion). The analogy with

tourism is also apt, as the spatial fiction allows a form of virtual wandering in a digitised world. Following Benjamin's writing on allegory, Stallabrass (1993; 99) suggests, "Like tourism, computer gaming is largely based on spatial exploration." If virtual worlds are available through the video game, can we also see similar simulated tourism in the less interactive media of televised football?

Opening Shots to USA '94

During the extraordinary moments of televised sport – like the Olympic Games or the World Cup – British viewers are invited to enjoy the spectacle from a heightened perspective. In other words, television creates a mode of 'celebratory seeing' (Corner, 1986). Repetition of previous action, stars and places helps to ground this perspective, elevating to mythological status certain moments in television's consumption of sport. I have previously mentioned, in Chapter 5, how this operates in the discursive history of commentary with regard to Wolstenholme's last minute narrative of the 1966 final. This process is no more evident than in the title sequences for the World Cup programming of both the BBC and ITV.

As with all television genres, televised sport utilises music to cue viewers to engage with the programme. Within the televising of the World Cup, both the BBC and ITV integrated music as a key organising element. Music is introduced to both intensify the viewing experience and, as part of the professional ideologies of drama and entertainment, help play a distinguishing role in the house styles of the competing broadcasters. More often than not, the music is chosen (in genre, lyrics or arrangement) to evoke predictable connotations to compliment the television image. But the choice of music may also reflect the idiosyncrasies of editorial and production staff, with vague, tendential or arbitrary relationships to the football action, characterisation or setting. Music becomes the combining element of otherwise discrete images – much like a music video or an advertisement – to broadly evoke a mood or make an association with specific places, individuals, events and sporting mythologies (which are themselves self–reflexively constructed from the stars and narratives of televised football). The music (most often through the use of lyrics) often acts metaphorically in the service of football discourse (the song 'Don't cry for me Argentina' is frequently trotted out to evoke Scotlands and specifically manager Ally Mcleod's, dismal performance in the 1978 World Cup). Similarly, title music may work more ambiguously through orchestration which less

didactically associates moods and themes to football by the process of metonymy (the BBC's generic use of opera for its title sequence during the 1990 World Cup in Italy is a case in point).

For USA '94 the music of the opening titles felicitously created an economical method of coupling images of American icons with archive footage from past World Cups. Viewers were carried through television time by the music as the images asked them to recall past stars, events and places from previous tournaments – re–affirming within a familiar lexicon of televisual moments in the history of the World Cup – and also to identify with a host of iconical elements which include national flags and motifs, landscapes and cityscapes, and other associative material related to the competing and host nations. The titles construct a totalizing effect, much like the theme park, to provide a form of programme (and channel) signature as part of its identity. Therefore, the BBC used an orchestrated version of Leonard Bernstein's 'America' from the musical *West Side Story* as its main theme. The edited sequence of images used for the titles complemented the rhythm of the music, producing an overall effect of a chaotic journey through time (in World Cup history) and space (across the USA). The title sequence for the BBC's *World Cup Grandstand* consisted of the following fifty–seven elements:

> The Statue of Liberty / the Whitehouse / Brooklyn Bridge / a cityscape of skyscrapers / the Golden Gate Bridge / a mirror image of a building within the windows of a skyscraper / the Chrysler Building / an aeroplane passing some neo–classical columns / 'hopping Cadillacs' / main entrance to the Rose Bowl stadium / a young boy silhouetted against the sunset / widescreen, pillar–box framing of Lothar Matthaus (Germany) scoring at Italia '90 / Jurgan Klinsmann (Germany) celebrating a goal at Italia '90 / Roberto Baggio (Italy) shooting / Dino Baggio (Italy) celebrating / Roberto Baggio (Italy) being congratulated by his teammates / a Brazilian goal from Italia '90 / Dennis Bergkamp (Holland) scoring against England at Wembley in the World Cup qualifying round / Roger Milla (Cameroon) scoring against Colombia / Cameroon players celebrating / the Republic of Ireland's crucial equalising goal against Northern Ireland in the World Cup qualifying round / Republic of Ireland players celebrating a goal / Television graphic of the stripes from the US flag / palm trees in Beverly Hills / Cacti silhouetted against the sunset / palm trees / young man rollerblading / action from a rodeo / life–size 'Mickey Mouse' / a man on stilts dressed in stars and stripes / life–size mascot of USA '94, 'Striker' inside a football stadium / neon Coca–cola adverts and bright car lights / a yellow New York taxi / a crossing signal flashing from "Walk" to"Don't walk" / Soldier Field, football stadium / Television graphic of stars / a boy cradling a football on his foot / Jack Charlton (Republic of Ireland) smiling to camera / Diego Maradona (Argentina) is fouled and rolls / a referee makes a signal to indicate a player has 'dived' / action from Argentina against Romania at Italia '90 / goalkeeper Andoni Zubizarreta (Spain) / goalkeeper Bodo Illgner (Germany) / goalkeeper Packie Bonner (Republic of Ireland) / an Irish player's boot strikes the ball / Irish fans from Italia '90 / an African fan playing a trumpet / a South Korean fan / a Mexican fan with sombrero / Brehme scores the winning penalty of Italia '90 / a

> graphic of a revolving football within which Bobby Moore holds aloft the World Cup / the same graphic is filled with similar shots of captains holding the World Cup aloft: Carlos Alberto (Brazil) in 1970, Dino Zoff (Italy) in 1982, Diego Maradona (Argentina) in 1986, and Lother Matthaus in 1990 / the graphic of *World Cup Grandstand* assembles itself / the flag is then wiped from the screen to reveal the studio which is positioned in the window space and then moves to fill the whole screen.

This televisual montage occurs in less than one minute. Images are not only juxtaposed at ferocious velocity, integrated to the pronounced beats of Bernstein's music, but their meanings gravitate towards a fusion of Americanism and sporting spectacle. Furthermore, a continual procession of ghostly stars (denoting both the stars of the US flag and the glitz of the spectacle) appear to glide over the surface of the screen, blurring the images and adding further to a sense of chaos. The editorial governors of this excessive phantasm are the bricoleurs of televised sport. The organisation of the images to the up–beat music awakens the senses to a heightened level of expectancy, made all the more pertinent by the flashes of football history the montage reveals. In his analysis of the BBC's opening titles for the 1984 Olympic Games Corner (1986; 59) observed, "our celebration of the processed present was to take its cue from an already celebrated, processed past." Similarly, within the title sequence for USA '94 the viewer can identify with their pleasure of watching the previous World Cup in Italy through star players (Klinsmann, Baggio, Milla, and Maradona), significant action (Brehme's winning penalty against Argentina), insignificant action (all the moments of celebration by numerous players) and an array of supporters from different nations. There were also poignant moments from the qualifying round of the 1994 World Cup which cast an illustrative reminder of England's demise before reaching the finals (Bergkamp's goal at Wembley) in contrast to the Republic of Ireland's successful progression (with the goal against Northern Ireland). Finally, the graphic sequence at the end reminds the viewer of what is at stake: the World Cup. Here, the title sequence provides a focus for World Cup mythology and metaphors of 'greatness' (it is interesting to note that the partial history of champions provided begins with Bobby Moore, as if this was the beginning of television taking the tournament seriously).

Moreover, some of the elements which the BBC positioned within their titles reappeared in ITV's initial opening titles which for its first programme ran for a mammoth three–and–a–half minutes, with close to ninety constituent elements (although this was hard to discern as the images were more fluid than the BBC's). ITV highlighted the same stars: Matthaus lifting the

trophy; Milla doing a celebratory dance; Maradona on his knees praying to the heavens; and Baggio celebrating a goal from Italia '90. ITV also illustrated England's failure (instead of Bergkamp it was Ronald Koeman scoring the goal which sealed Graham Taylor's ignominy) and announced the presence of the Republic of Ireland (with a similar shot of Charlton smiling and the Irish celebrating a victory over Romania from Italia '90). The images of the previous World Cup within the celebratory gaze of the title sequences would later be replaced by action from the 1994 finals. These changes act as indices to the state of the finals (winners and losers) and re–establishes the narrative structuring television imposes on the event.

The chaotic aesthetic which Bernstein's music established for the BBC's opening titles – which juxtaposed images with an array of acute angled shots, rapid zooms and whip pans – contrasted with the slower rhythm of ITV's choice of music: the official theme music to the finals by Darryl Hall, entitled 'Gloryland'. ITV were more prone to include slow–motion action within their title sequence. For instance, an opening shot of Lothar Matthaus (Germany) lifting the World Cup was replayed in slow–motion and accompanied by the original commentary by Brian Moore. This produced a moment which was both attached to the original mediation of the event by ITV, and conversely, takes the image out of the analytical context in which the technology of action–replay is commonly used within televised football. Here is an attempt at producing a poetics of the sporting moment, a form of sports representation first achieved by the German director Leni Riefenstahl (Downing, 1992). As Corner (1986; 60) has observed this use of slow–motion is a displacement of the sports performer from 'normal time' and permits the viewer "to contemplate the person, and, as conveyed by the face, the personal" in the manner of a "moving icon".

While the BBC chose orchestrated music (evoking the lyrics "I like to be in America"), ITV's choice of Hall's song created a direct lyrical address. Therefore, the repetition of the lyrics "You're here in Gloryland" reiterates the invitation to the World Cup, and that the viewer is travelling televisually to a mythical place. The song acts as a testimonial for the World Cup, the semantic link between the USA being the site of the World Cup and sporting 'glory' and, at a more general level, the idea that their country is a place of 'winners', are important sentiments within this communication.

Other motifs were also replicated within the BBC and ITV titles, most notably, the use of national colours. ITV used a sequence of young children dipping their fingers into face paints and daubing the make–up on their faces in the colours of various national flags. Towards the end of this sequence a graphic banner appears perpendicularly from the top of the screen upon which the phrase "Great shots of the World Cup '94" appear, closely followed by the name of the programmes sponsor, the electronics company, Panasonic (sponsorship of ITV's football coverage has been a feature of their programme titles since the 1990 Broadcasting Act). For Panasonic, this form of sponsorship provides instant association with the World Cup, but without the expense of being one of FIFA's official sponsors which included their rivals Canon, JVC and Philips. The procession of coloured faces mimics the sartorial style of international football fans and associates ITV (and Panasonic) with the carnivalesque atmosphere of the World Cup. The motif of national colours was repeated later in the titles, not with painted faces, but with computer–imaged flags which appear to blend into one another,complementing the illusion of flow within the montage of images.

It was the emphasis on place – where the World Cup was to be held – which most strikingly distinguished the 1994 World Cup to those of the past. ITV announced the beginning of the programme with the ITV Sport logo incorporating stars and stripes to iconically represent the USA. The BBC began their sequence with a montage of monuments and landmarks which are immediately recognisable as American icons. Aerial shots of cityscapes provoke the aura of size, and the adage that Americans do things 'bigger and better' is evoked by such rhetoric. Therefore, cities become visually consumed as sites of spectacle. Natural elements, like Monument Valley, are also televisually consumed and are deployed as artifice: a reminder of 'the Western' and the vision of America as seen through the tracking shot of John Ford. Where the BBC used the World Cup logo at the end of its titles, ITV used another natural icon, the Bald Eagle, the national emblem of the USA. Through the eagle ITV established the opening shot of each edition's coverage.

The opening titles of both the BBC and ITV display the places and activities the World Cup in the USA has to offer. They thereby pre–empt the viewers experience much like a holiday brochure has the proclivity to capture the imagination of the tourist. The titles initiate a theme from which the rest of the coverage is premised. Just how the main programme reproduces and

maintains these themes, as it attempts within its selective reportage to cope with the contingencies of something as unpredictable as the World Cup, is the focus of the final section of this chapter.

Imaging USA '94

Reportage from USA '94 blended the professional ideologies of sports journalism with the formal elements of television travel shows. The previews of star players, national teams and World Cup venues were presented like sporting travelogues. To achieve this illusion it was important to establish a place, within television space, from where the viewer could be televisually transported in both time and space. Where the BBC chose to base their studio and anchor in London, ITV moved their entourage to the World Cup media centre in Dallas. Ironically, the viewer could not really tell the difference (unless they recognised the gradual development in the sun–tans of the ITV panel or the anchor moved out of the studio space). The BBC's studio was far more intimate (using blue hues in mellow tones) compared to the brash white light and expanse of the ITV studio (the anchor seemed so remote from the panelists that the viewer rarely saw them together on the screen). The difference in style seemed important because both Des Lynam and Bob Wilson, the two BBC anchors, managed to maintain a very informal air within their address, both to the viewer and intra–discursively with the panelists. In turn, when the BBC studio linked to their outside broadcasts in the USA, they appeared to be sharing in the 'transatlantic gaze' of the viewer. ITV, meanwhile, attempted to gain cultural capital out of the immediacy effect of being situated in the USA. However, because of the sterile nature of the studio their address was often remote and struggled to draw the viewer into the televisual, discursive space. This critique is important because it illustrates the vital role of identifying space and place within televised football, specifically regarding the coverage of major tournaments like the World Cup. At USA '94, this was most evident within World Cup previews and the initial address of match commentators. Moreover, a positioning in time, as well as in space, is also a crucial element in orienting the viewer within the narrative structure of televised football.

In the BBC's inaugural programme, before engaging with the transatlantic gaze from London to one of their many reporters (agents) in America, they travelled in time, to re–establish the viewers knowledge of World Cup mythology. The following catalogue of players and dates are

enough to evoke the paradoxical nature of television memory, which is both particular (that is, from a British or BBC perspective), and global (that is, communicatively transcending national borders): Pele in 1958; Eusabio in 1966; Carlos–Alberto in 1970; Haan in 1978; Muller in 1974; Charlton in 1966; the Mexican Wave in 1986; Falcao in 1982; Hurst in 1966; Moore in 1966; Lineker in 1986; Milla in 1990; Pele in 1970; Banks in 1970; Cruyff in 1974; Maradona in 1986; Beckenbauer in 1974; Gemmill in 1978; Schillaci in 1990; Maradona in 1986; Gascoigne in 1990. My shorthand description of this montage clearly does not have the resonance of the actual television images or, as Corner (1986) terms them, 'moving icons'. But the names and dates will still connote, to the most casual viewer of televised football, certain images and performances by these individuals, some of which are most likely to gravitate towards the actual televised footage. What this quick–fire montage of players establishes is a temporal and spatial beginning for the tournament in time (1994) and place (USA) in a much longer narrative discourse of televising the World Cup: metaphorically, it is the World Cup 'hall of fame' with the next frame yet to be filled. Once more, it is television attempting to order football's inherent contingency.

Once this historical premise is set, the BBC coverage began its travels "Stateside". The first American preview established the role of their roving reporters within a further musical, touristic montage (there had also been pre–tournament programmes which further anticipated this travelogue style) which incorporated the silhouetted image of a cowboy twirling his lasso, complemented by the following punning aphorism from the BBC correspondent Gerald Sinstadt:

> The World Cup long ago roped in most of the globe, now, it tackles the last frontier.
> (BBC 1, 17.6.94.)

The metaphor is clear, and it echoes two key concepts of the 'tourist gaze': discovery and exploration. The World Cup preview continued along similar themes: Ray Stubbs investigated how the American media's perspective on soccer; Hazel Irvine examined soccer in comparison with established American sports (baseball, hockey basketball, and American football); and Garth Crooks surveyed the suitability of American stadia. The BBC's report, not only structured the viewer's perspective about the meaning of the World Cup in the USA, but also disciplined the gaze of the television tourist, through a discourse on people, places and popular

culture. While journalistic ideologies maintain the factual detail to educate and inform the viewer, dramatic and entertainment ideologies ultimately take over to incorporate the peripheral, myriad pleasures of the World Cup in the USA.Therefore, the incorporation of certain landmarks, people and texts became an essential ingredient within the reportage.

Each report is like a postcard (or video diary) from the set of a Hollywood movie. The cinematic nature of the whole country means that the audience is always already familiar with the setting for the outside broadcasts. As Baudrillard (1989; 56) has suggested when approaching America: "To grasp its secret, you should not, then, begin with the city and move inwards to the screen; you should begin with the screen and move outwards to the city". A complex discursive matrix on players, teams, venues, and miscellaneous World Cup trivia were narratively structured, intermingled, and imploded, into a transatlantic, cinematic and tourist gaze of British television reportage.

The major preoccupation of BBC and ITV reportage focused upon the relationship between the host nation and its appropriation of football as a major spectator sport. On the eve of the World Cup semi–finals, ITV reviewed three weeks of football in their preview programme *LA Brunch* from the perspective of the Americans themselves. This included a clip of an American television presenter explaining the rudiments of 'soccer', an interview with Duncan McKenzie (previously a Football League player) who was acting as a corporate entertainer, and finally, an advertisement for ESPN to promote the World Cup which starred the English actor and provocateur Keith Allen. This last feature analytically presents an interesting paradox, and for this reason, merits further investigation.

The advertisement itself presents Allen within one of the World Cup stadiums from where he begins a dialogue which rapidly turns into a manic rant, as follows:

Image: Allen in the stands
Dialogue: *To understand the World Cup you have to understand the stature of the men that are going to walk on that field.*

Image: Allen on the pitch in front of a goal
Dialogue: *To the rest of the world they're bigger than captains of industry, presidents of country's...*

Image: Allen in the middle of the pitch

Dialogue:	*...third world fascist dictators...*
Image:	Allen in the stands
Dialogue:	*...award winning actors...*
Image:	Allen in the goal
Dialogue:	*...the front fender of an old Cadillac.*
Image:	Allen in the stands
Dialogue:	*They're even bigger than...*
Image:	Allen in the goal
Dialogue:	*...rock stars. They're not even rock stars, no, they're bigger then that, they're gods, yeah...*
Image:	Profile of Allen on the pitch
Dialogue:	*...like gods, rock stars.*
Image:	Allen walking towards camera on the pitch
Dialogue:	*But they're even bigger than that, but I can't think of anything bigger than GOD'S ROCK STARS!!*
Image:	Graphic – ESPN WORLD CUP 94
Image:	Long shot of Allen on the centre circle
Dialogue:	*IT'S JUST SOMETHING YOU HAVE TO SEE TO UNDERSTAND!!*

While it is impossible to gauge the effectiveness of this marketing rhetoric, and it does not directly tell us much about the position of soccer in American popular culture, it does, in the context of ITV's framing of the advertisement, and the discursive structure of the advertisement itself, reveal something about the transatlantic gaze, from both Britain and the USA. If we take on board Tunstall's (1977) assertion that 'the media are American', it can initially be suggested that the internationalisation of advertising under the hegemony of American media was, ironically, the vehicle for selling soccer to the USA: of which ESPN's advertisement was one case among many. American advertising discourse, therefore, underwrites the discourse of Allen, an Englishman, who is attempting to sell an increasingly 'Americanised' sport, using a metaphorical language associated with measuring the size and importance of the sport, to enable a soccer–illiterate American audience to identify with specific codes of sporting endeavour they can understand. The religious metaphor (*they're like gods*), commonly associated with football, emphasises the heroic nature of the modern sports star system which is 'hyped' by the media. The trait of being a pop star (*they're GOD'S POP STARS*) further emphasises the heightened level of display, glitz and entertainment values now incorporated within modern

football; characterisations often levelled at American sport.

How does this relate to Anglo–American, transatlantic cultural flows? For Baudrillard, the American's lack of 'culture' (in an elitist sense) is what makes them 'original'. Moreover, he suggests that there are certain products which cannot be imported or exported between the USA and Europe. The conclusion to this 'fatal strategy' is, why bother trying to export football to America? The actual existence (or need) of the ESPN advertisement, and ITV's use of it within their feature, would initially suggest that Baudrillard's assertion is correct.Similarly, the binary oppositions of America / Europe, populist / elitist, uncultured / cultured also littered British and American journalist discourse with such oversimplified assertions as: "It is not what football can do for America, but what America can do for football" (McIllvanney, 1994); or "The world is now going to America, but bringing its own ball... we will gather on American soil for a profoundly un–American activity" (Simon Barnes, *The Times*, 15.6.94.); or finally, "It's football – but not as we know it" (American journalist George Vacsey, *The European*, 3–9 June 1994). However, the advertisement does present an anomaly here, for as Strinati (1992; 76) has argued, rightly in my opinion, "The presence of America is not in question, Americanisation is". In other words, the cultural flow of media, and in this case mediatized sport, goes both ways at a level which is now transnational as much as international. The ESPN advertisement alerts us to the cross–fertilisation of cultures within the World Cup (with a continued footballing influence of South American nations and an increasing one from African nations) and further, that the political economy of international football is indelibly global, and that differences in class, gender and ethnicity are more likely to regulate the transnational flows of popular culture as any dominant model of American media.

Within the World Cup coverage, the British gaze upon the American media was motivated more out of amusement than actual interest. Therefore, the weird and wonderful aspects of American cultural life were celebrated within the BBC and ITV reportage with more alacrity than events or issues which warranted more serious attention. For instance, ITV introduced several extrovert performers as light relief between the football much to the amusement of the studio panelists which included: a black, middle–aged, rapper called 'Dr Geek', who, after his first appearance, went on to perform several customised raps to promote the ITV coverage; and a woman from Dallas called 'The Singing Psychic' who was asked to predict the winners of the

World Cup. Furthermore, a bizarre circumstance or happening would often displace the usual sports news stories of fame and glory. So when a young Irish couple on their honeymoon at the World Cup were caught out by a dodgy tour operator they soon received the sympathy of the BBC who provided the couple with free tickets to Ireland's final group game against Norway, with a reminder to the audience that "for those still without tickets the match will be exclusively 'live' on BBC TV". One serious news headline from the USA which did provoke British interest was the arrest for murder of the black American sports hero, turned actor, OJ Simpson. But even then, the news story was initially placed in the context of sport, with the concerned observation that the CNN coverage of Simpson's arrest (including an infamous car chase) had distracted the American public away from the World Cup.

Essentially, the reportage of the BBC and ITV teams placed emphasis upon an interpretation of American popular culture and (post)modernity. Invariably, judgments fell either side of the classical binary codes on America mentioned above. This was no more evident than in a discussion of World Cup stadia, specifically the Pontiac Silverdome in Detroit. Introducing the game between the USA and Switzerland, the first ever World Cup match to be played in an indoor stadium, the BBC commentator John Motson announced:

> Welcome to what the locals here in Michigan are calling the World's biggest sauna bath, because it's ninety–degrees or more in the Pontiac Silverdome. Home of the Detroit Lions American Football team normally, but today making history, and the atmosphere inside the stadium is quite fantastic. I've not experienced anything quite like it, I don't think, in a World Cup setting before. (BBC1, 18.6.94.)

Motson then proceeded to mention Detroit's innovative history (as the home of the Ford Motor Company and the record company Tamla Motown) a trait he then applies to the playing surface; a patchwork of hexagonal plates of grass which had been grown in California and pieced together within the Silverdome. Indoor stadiums remain a utopian pipe dream within Britain, so it is ironic that Motson's discourse on the Silverdome is both celebratory of its extraordinariness, and derisory of the playing conditions, which caused the suffocating heat (the stadium is only used by American Football during the Detroit winter and designed to maintain a temperature around sixty–eight degrees Fahrenheit, so there was considered no need to incorporate some form of air conditioning along with the Dome's heating system). While in awe of the post–Fordist, hyper–modernity of the architectural and engineering innovation, Motson reaffirms a conservative football discourse which maintains that the game is not suited

to such artificial conditions, perhaps suggesting that the sport is somehow being compromised or sanitised.

Conclusion

Throughout British television's discourse on the World Cup was a stress upon the colourful nature of USA '94: the varied locations, the extrovert individuals and the extraordinariness of the World's premier football event being held in a nation which has traditionally practised a form of football exceptionalism. Until USA '94 the World Cup had developed a form of 'locational stasis' (Bale, 1994) as the staging of the Finals alternated between the sport's historical homes of South America and Europe. With the inroads of global television and corporate sponsorship sport has had to become increasingly mobile. This mobility is illustrated within American sport itself, experiencing what Bale (1994) calls 'locational flux', where sport has reflected the broader socio–economic and geographical shifts of white, middle–class, suburban populations (so that sports teams are removed from their traditional roots within the community). Similarly, the movement of World Cup football into the high–modern stadia of America also represented a level of 'locational flux', reflecting changes in global markets, and their association with the global communication systems of late–twentieth century capitalism. In this respect, the World Cup has become a transnational entity (specifically given that future World Cups will be held in Asia and Africa). Although much of the economic power base of the large corporate sponsors of football (Coca–Cola and McDonald's) are based in the USA, their operation, both economically and culturally, is definitely global.

Television is central to this process, but the thesis that American imperialism dominated the 1994 World Cup (and future tournaments) needs to be qualified. Not least, because the global television spectacle is also heavily localised by different perceptions and appreciation of the game. It is the sport that ultimately dictates our identification with such an event, with all the social, cultural and political differences imbued within such judgments of taste. In new territory, the 1994 World Cup became the focus of British television's transatlantic gaze combining the imaginary, the symbolic and the real. Crucially, through the localised vernacular of programme structure and discourse British television was able to appropriate some elements of the 'American way' and reject others. Some of the criteria were populist, while others were more historically cast in the shadow of cultural elitism. Therefore, a wry, knowing smile or

quip from the BBC anchor Des Lynam revealed as much about the British (or more specifically English) perspective on USA '94 as any lengthy discourse on the tournament's merits, or lack of them. Moreover, because the USA was the site of the World Cup, it appeared to open up the possibility for an excess of inter-subjectivities: between television genres, marketing, film, popular music and tourism. Much of this discourse (from British television) on a discourse (America as text) took on a paradoxical position, both as a transatlantic gaze upon the USA's modernity in the organisation of sport and a mocking, pastiche and parody of that nation's popular culture. This suggests moments of reflexive consumption by television, albeit itself a part of the commodification of football in the sports–media complex.

CHAPTER 7

THE SKY REVOLUTION: SELLING ENGLISH FOOTBALL IN THE 1990s

Introduction

This chapter seeks to analyse the general malaise of English football during the 1990s. It is a period of dynamic shifts in the televising of the sport, due in large, to the relationship between the satellite broadcaster BSkyB and the FA Premier League. More specifically, the chapter is comprised of a set of narratives on key issues which have preoccupied the mediation of football in the mid–1990s. Therefore, the study moves out of a strict concern for televised football – although it remains a central structuring feature – to document and critically appraise the shifting configuration of football as a popular cultural industry. Two key questions underpin the following investigation. Firstly, how have the recent changes within televised football effected the organising principles of the sport? In other words, there is a need to address the motivating philosophy engendered within professional football, which in many respects, reflects a concern for the sports' moral economy. Secondly, in what way has the image of football changed in the 1990s, and how do these representations of the sport reflect broader social, economic and political changes in popular culture? These questions suggest broad themes which cannot wholly be addressed within the limited space of this chapter. Therefore, these themes will be re–addressed in the concluding Chapter Ten, which summarises some of the effects of the political economy of televised football and the cultural transformations signalled by some of the processes analysed below. These paradigmatic changes to the culture of football include: the rising influence of football agents and the repercussions for the transfer market of EC employment law; the media focus on football corruption and, its moral and philosophical repercussions; the increasing encroachment of television into the social and legal regulation of football; and, the complexity and contradictions of television's role in the star system. All of these themes are, in some way, directly or indirectly, interconnected by economic and cultural transformations in the football and television nexus, in which the presence of the media mogul Rupert Murdoch, through his forty per cent share and controlling interest of BSkyB, is ever present.

This chapter, therefore, breaks down the initial stage of these processes in the interaction between the television industry and football. In many ways, this merely develops the historical narrative of Chapter Three, bringing it up to date in the 1990s, with the analysis of new satellite delivery systems, which acted as the catalyst for change for televised football in the UK. However, of more particular concern, is the significance for the game of BSkyB's inroads into the coverage of sport which has been at the centre of a political struggle over the importance of televised sport in relationship to national culture. Finally, the chapter investigates the hyper–commodification of English football and the new market imperatives which have emerged in conjunction with new television deals and formats. Of interest,are the integrative strategies which attempt to achieve economies of scale through a combined effort to market the playing aspect of a football club, with other sport, leisure and media realms.

The New Media Order and the Defence of Football as National Culture

Attempts to soften the ideological importance of public service broadcasting, embodied within the organising principles and licensing of the BBC, were first signalled by the Thatcher government's *1984 Cable and Broadcasting Act* which set out a regulatory framework for the introduction of non–terrestrial broadcasting in Britain, building upon previous enactments which sought to change the dynamics of British television culture; towards an entertainment based technology firmly rooted in the private sector. The 1984 Act was later replaced by the *1990 Broadcasting Act*, which abolished restrictions on overseas ownership and removed any obligation to local broadcasting obligations included in the earlier legislation. One consequence of this relaxation in the law was the investment of American cable operators in the deregulated British telecommunications industry, converging with new computer and broadcasting industries (for instance, from the American company Nynex). Similarly, satellite television was also marked by a retreat from public service criteria. The almost concurrent launch of two satellite television operators, Sky in 1989, and British Satellite Broadcasting (BSB) in 1990, saw the most costly launch of a television innovation since the beginning of the medium, which soon hit financial problems and led to a merger, only six months after the launch of Britain's first direct broadcast from satellite (DBS), to create the Murdoch controlled BSkyB (Chippendale and Franks, 1991). As Graham Murdock (1994; 164) ironically states:

> A government initiative, which had begun as a planned extension of the BBC's operations, had ended up accepting a commercial monopoly relaying

> transnational programming from an 'offshore' satellite under the strategic direction of an American citizen.

Projections that half of the UK would be enjoying non–terrestrial television, by wire or dish, were proved wildly wrong by the mid–1990s as only an estimated one in five households received such a service. Nevertheless, the view that a 'public culture' could be engendered by organising broadcasting production and consumption through a licensing system was steadily being overhauled by free–marketeers whose ideology denied the notion of a 'public', by insisting that there were only individual consumers who must be made to pay for cultural services, such as television.

These changes within UK broadcasting were part of a process constructing a 'new media order' (Schiller, 1991), where a small number of 'global players', most visibly seen in the UK by the dominance of Murdoch's News Corporation, were transforming the delivery systems, generic formats and forms of payment for television. Sport, and most crucially football, has played an instrumental role in effecting this change. For football, one corollary of this upheaval in the technological and economic structure of television was a wider potential market for the sport and, hence, a higher price tag on its exclusivity. In effect, satellite television, with its narrowcast sports channels, smashed what was left of any duopoly between the two terrestrial broadcasters, who had virtually practised a cartel on televised football. Just why this is important for the football industry, the broadcasters, television viewers, advertisers and sponsors, requires a brief recap of the state of televising English domestic football in the 1970s and 1980s and how it related to the 'health' of the game.

The Flight to Sky

As documented in Chapter 3, a pattern of broadcasting from football (on radio and television) had been greatly influenced by the relationship between the football authorities and the BBC, who had taken the Reithian principle of 'public service' to the core of its activities. Even after the introduction of commercial television in 1955, the notion of a shared corporate culture endured, and was enshrined in the concept of the 'listed events'. From the late–1960s, ITV made valiant steps towards televising football, by securing rights to recorded highlights and developing a regionalised system of broadcasting localised football packages within the ITV network's Sunday afternoon schedule. The first signs of discord with the cosy duopoly

emerged at the end of the 1970s as ITV successfully broke the BBC's dominance of Saturday evening highlights, by now institutionalised in the programme *Match of the Day*. A compromise was established, whereby the BBC and ITV alternated their respective football programmes in the traditionally allocated slots on Saturday evening and Sunday afternoon for a four year period (from 1979/80 to 1983/84). In 1983 the terrestrial channels agreed a new £8 million deal with the Football League which allowed both channels to screen seven 'live' matches per season. This saw the first movement of fixtures from the traditional Saturday afternoon to accommodate television; the BBC chose Friday evenings and ITV adopted their more familiar slot on Sunday afternoons. The move to more extensive coverage (previously, the FA Cup Final and European ties had been the jewels in a very thrifty diet of 'live' football) reflected changes in the sport itself, with the increasing introduction of sponsorship of clubs (with shirt sponsorship) and competitions (with the 'Milk Cup' being the most oddly named). Therefore, sponsors mobilised increasing influence on the acceptable quantity of football on television, eager as they were, to utilise sport as a useful medium for their promotional activities. However, in the summer of 1985 negotiations for new contracts between the League and the broadcasters collapsed as the game itself plunged into crisis. Disasters at Bradford and Heysel Stadiums at the end of the 1984/85 season had tarnished the game, and under the authoritarian populist policies of the Thatcher government, football became the focus of a strident law and order campaign. With its image devalued, the BBC and ITV could not see their way to meeting the asking price of the football authorities who, by now, had begun to recognise the cartel being operated by the broadcasters. As negotiations faltered, football was 'off the box' for five months of the League season, before an interim settlement was agreed and *Match of the Day* returned in January 1986.

With the prospect of broadcasting deregulation on the horizon towards the end of the 1980s, the competitive bidding for television rights to football built up force. The BBC severed its ties in the coverage of domestic football with ITV once and for all in July 1988 when it launched a joint bid for exclusivity with BSB, which at this stage was attempting to gather finance for its inauguration, believing a high profile deal for League football would entice investment. ITV's reaction, under the tutelage of television impresario, Greg Dyke, was to harness the idea of a 'super league' proposed by the so–called 'Big Five' (Arsenal, Tottenham Hotspur, Manchester United, Liverpool and Everton), which would concentrate money to the upper echelons of the

game, hopefully, with the view of creating a better spectacle which was more likely to attract audiences, sponsors and advertisers. The fear that BSB could not deliver the mass audiences demanded by sponsors and advertisers persuaded the League Management Committee, with strong backing from the larger clubs, to accept an offer of £44 million over four years for exclusive 'live' and recorded football on ITV. Concentrated coverage on the larger clubs, secured ITV's Sunday afternoon football programme *The Match* average audiences of seven million (peaking at around ten million) and brought a return of £22 million from advertising revenue in its first year (repaying half its initial outlay). In an alternative deal with the Football Association, the BBC/BSB partnership signed a deal worth £30 million over five years for the exclusive rights to the qualifying rounds of the FA Cup (the Cup Final was still among the 'listed' events, but the non–exclusivity clause had now been dropped, which ended many years of intense competition on the day of the Final between the rival channels) and England internationals.

Despite this new influx of money, and a more comprehensive style of coverage by *The Match*, English football's crisis reached its nadir in April 1989, with the deaths at Hillsborough. The fallout from the shock and grief which crippled the spirit of the game in the late–1980s and early–1990s, had wide ranging ramifications for the sport, for better or worse. One immediate consequence, was the need to modernise both the environmental and human aspects of football. The final recommendations of Lord Justice Taylor's report on Hillsborough, endorsed by government legislation, led to a huge programme of stadia redevelopment at British football grounds (see Duke, 1994). With the demand for finance paramount, English football received a welcome fillip from the England national teams' relative success in the 1990 World Cup. Allied with a return to European competition in 1990 after five years in exile (further boosted by Manchester United's successful bid to win the 1991 European Cup Winners Cup, without any repercussions of violent behaviour by English fans travelling on the continent), and a changing mood on the (still remaining) terraces, prompted by the fanzine movement and a more carnivalesque atmosphere at domestic games, English football appeared to regain some respectability (see Redhead, 1991, and Haynes 1995). Movements to restructure the game continued apace with the publication of the FA's *Blueprint for the Future of Football* in June 1991. It was a clear move on the part of the FA to finally take control of the 'top flight' English game, by wrestling power away from the Football League; a feud which had lasted over one

hundred years (Tomlinson, 1991). Under a pretence that a reduced league structure would concentrate football talent and, therefore, improve the chances of the English national team, the plan to create a Premier League was approved in February 1992. Amid fiery complaints from the Football League, the PFA and the FSA, the FA's attempt to unify the game as a 'prerequisite of success' appeared to ring hollow, in a somewhat blurred vision of the future (see Fynn and Guest, 1994). However, under the guidance of the FA's chief executive, Graham Kelly, and the Premier League's newly appointed chief executive, Rick Parry, a new product emerged for sale to television, with ITV's exclusive deal with the Football League having elapsed.

In Bed With Murdoch

The protracted negotiations for television rights to the newly formed Premier League in 1992 have been documented elsewhere: Fynn and Guest (1994); and Haynes (1995). In a total deal worth £304 million over five years BSkyB gained exclusive rights to televise up to sixty Premier League matches 'live' per season, with a minor share (£4.5 million) in the cost being covered by the BBC who would carry recorded highlights on a relaunched *Match of the Day* on Saturday evenings. The contract was viewed with suspicion by independent broadcasters and media analysts, who could not find any economic reasoning behind the BBC's decision to collude with the Murdoch media empire. In taking the wind out of ITV's sails by pinning its allegiance with BSkyB, the BBC was viewed to be paying a costly price in its attempt to impress the Tory government by acting competitively in the growing television market. As the chief executive of Channel Four, Michael Grade concluded, it was "a short–term gain to be measured against long–term suicide" (*The Guardian*, 23.5.92.). From another perspective, certain groups within football also feared that television was now governing football: a case of the tail wagging the dog. In particular, the prospect of matches being played on Monday evening was seen to be causing too high a level of interference with the traditional football weekend. However, one aspect of the deal which appeased previous critics of television (notably Ken Bates, the Chairman of Chelsea) was the promise of more evenly distributed coverage throughout the Premier League and, therefore, a spread of the money.

By the middle of the 1995/96 season, in its voracious quest to fill its growing programme schedule for sport, BSkyB stepped up its negotiations for the remainder of English football

competitions (the satellite company had by this time added Scottish football to its portfolio, see Chapter 8). The FA Premier League which had acrimoniously split from the Football League in 1992, attempted to jointly sell the rights to the FA Cup, England internationals and the Football League, all of which were due to renew their television contracts for exclusively 'live' football by 1997. The joint project was designed to maximise the value of the competitions to television, with the FA's then commercial director, Trevor Phillips, estimating the deal to be worth £200 million. However, the old political rivalry appeared to dissuade the League from entering the partnership and, instead of 'bundling' its competition with the FA's product, it negotiated a separate deal with BSkyB worth £125 million over five years, to commence from the 1996/97 season. In buying the rights for the three divisions of The Football League (now sponsored by the building society Nationwide) the deal also gave BSkyB the rights to televise the League (Coca–Cola) Cup. This effectively removed any 'live' coverage of domestic football held by ITV, whose previous deal with the League had been worth £10 million per season. The deal not only secured an income large enough to pacify the critics of the Leagues' previous negotiations with television but, further, ensured that League matches would receive national coverage (by subscription), where under the ITV contract, 'live' games had been screened on a regional basis pushed to the outer limits of the schedule with inferior commentators and pundits. The deal, under a 'merit system' which distributed fifty per cent of the money to First Division clubs, also ensured the Football League maintained its autonomous position from the FA.

The price paid by BSkyB for the Football League and Coca–Cola Cup far outstripped the money ITV were prepared to pay for what many would view as second–rate competitions when compared to the Premiership and the FA Cup. However, ITV did manage to secure a highlights package with BSkyB, plus a 'live' semi–final from the Coca–cola Cup from the 1996/97 season. Still rankled by the loss of top flight football, and the role the BBC played as an accomplice in securing BSkyB's deal for the Premier League, ITV teamed up with BSkyB for the first time. ITV had attempted to boost its quality of 'live' broadcasts from football by luring Bob Wilson from the BBC, after he had showed well as an anchor during the 1994 World Cup. Although the network received a considerable blow when the controller of ITV Sport, Trevor East, defected his post to join BSkyB as the satellite station's head of acquisitions, in July 1995. East's arrival at BSkyB did, however, provide a useful contact and, in December

1995, ITV announced another joint contract worth £115 million with BSkyB (who invested £55 million) in a four year deal for exclusive rights to the FA Cup Final, plus 'live' matches from the third round onwards on Sunday afternoons. Sky Sports would also televise 'live' Cup ties from every round, including replays (with highlights on ITV), but excluding the Final. This dealt a major blow to the BBC who had covered the Cup Final since 1938, and had literally been dealt a reciprocal strike from ITV, three and half years after the contract for the Premier League. Their one consolation, was the continued presence of *Match of the Day*, which retained the rights to FA Cup highlights on Saturday evenings, costing the BBC a comparatively small sum of £15 million. Constrained by the money available from the licence fee, the BBC had to content itself with the highlights packages available from joint deals with BSkyB. In June 1996 the joint deal for Premiership television rights was renewed from the 1997/98 season to the year 2001 at a cost of £670 million to BSkyB; the BBC once more picking up Saturday evening and midweek highlights.

As the 1992 deal entered its final season, in 1996/97, BSkyB's investment in the Premier League (soon renamed the Carling Premiership once the brewer stepped in as sponsor) appeared a phenomenal commercial success given the unprecedented sums of money it paid to capture exclusively 'live' football. After initial losses, BSkyB's pre–tax profits grew apace from £78 million in 1993/94, to £155 million in 1994/95 and a six month figure of £106 million midway through 1995/96. Along with the Movie channels, a large proportion of this money has been generated by new subscribers to the specialist channel Sky Sports, within which Premiership football is a significant jewel. The initial outlay for subscription for Sky Sports in 1992 averaged out at £5 per month. This figure has risen to around £26 per month in 1996, with the added enticement of two more sports channels – Sky Sports 2 (which commenced during the 1994/95 season to operate at weekends providing an extra fifty hours of programming) and Sky Sports 3 (which commenced at the beginning of the 1996/97 season transmitting daily) – which introduced extended hours of televised sport. The extensive, uninterrupted hours of television coverage afforded by these dedicated sports channels, has proved a major inducement to football's administrators and consumers of subscription sport alike. For instance, on the deciding afternoon of the Championship run–in between Manchester United and Blackburn Rovers during the 1994/95 season, Sky Sports and Sky Sport 2 were able to show the matches involving both clubs simultaneously so that viewers could keep apace

with events at both games. However, with the fragmentation of audiences caused by the rapid growth in channels available,Sky Sports and its sister channels have struggled to attract average audiences above one million; for the matches above, 1.2 million tuned into watch Blackburn, and 851,000 to watch Manchester United (*Cable and Satellite* July 1995). This low share of the potential UK audience (just 0.9 per cent for the combined viewing figures above) does not, at the moment, appear to overly concern BSkyB's advertisers (who only provide twenty per cent of the satellite company's total income) or the Premier League's sponsors from investing money in or around the game.

One major reason for this sustained upturn in BSkyB's fortunes has been its monopolisation of UK pay–television market. As with its forced merger with BSB, Sky, by being the first major non–terrestrial operator, and buyer of exclusive rights to major sport, has established an unrivalled position before the competition has had a chance to bed in. Backed by the press arm of Murdoch's media empire, BSkyB managed to sell enough satellite dishes to warrant the attention of advertisers, but not enough to seriously challenge the position of the terrestrial channels as the UK's leading broadcasters. This has meant that cable operators, now BSkyB's major competitors, without an established audience base find it difficult to outbid for the attractive sports events, like domestic English football and, therefore, have to negotiate with BSkyB from a distinctly inferior level. This uneven relationship, antithetical to the original government policies designed to open up competition, has a further aspect in that the encryption system of BSkyB is so ubiquitous that a rival network would find it too expensive to establish an alternative. In effect, Murdoch controls access to non–terrestrial audiences.

A stark illustration of BSkyB's monopoly was witnessed in May 1995, when a rival consortium of six cable operators, backed by American owners, failed in their bid to establish a new sports channel, SportsWire. SportsWire was set to be launched after signs that a separate cable channel could acquire key sporting events. Cable operator Wire TV had previously bought the rights to several sports events which included: Heavyweight boxing with Lennox Lewis for £5 million in 1994, selected matches from Wimbledon tennis in 1995, the first football match exclusively to cable with Chelsea's Cup Winners Cup tie against Real Zaragoza in March 1995 and, finally, had obtained the UK television rights for the cricket World Cup from India and Pakistan in 1996. However, this latter deal collapsed along with the hopes of

SportsWire when BSkyB agreed a tripartite pact with two of Britain's leading cable companies, Nynex and TeleWest (who cover forty per cent of the UK's cable homes), two of the key backers of the competing sports channel. The deal proffered by BSkyB effectively meant that the two cable operators would receive the satellite station's channels for a ten year period at a discount rate, with the provision that Nynex and TeleWest would not establish rival programming, including the genre of televised sport. With the loss of funds from the two cable companies SportsWire was scrapped and the original £10 million deal for the 1996 cricket World Cup fell into the lap of BSkyB at a reduced price.

Having secured a stake in all domestic football competitions in England and Scotland, BSkyB, by blocking the attempts of a rival sports channel have no effective competition for football rights in Britain in the foreseeable future. Given this monopoly in televised football (and other sports) and the subsequent complaints by the remaining cable operators who were eager to create rival multi–channel programming (including sport), the Office of Fair Trading (OFT) and parliamentarians began to investigate the situation, to establish if there was a case for further regulations on non–terrestrial practices.

BSkyB, Football Monopoly and National Culture

In the week that BSkyB announced its deal with the Football League in December 1995 OFT began a six month review of the satellite companies operations in the pay television market. Specifically, the review focused upon two separate aspects of BSkyB's operations: the supply of programming and related services at wholesale level, which included the practice of 'bundling' of channels at a set fee to cable operators which reduced the latter's flexibility in the market (as seen above with Nynex and TeleWest); and the level of exclusive deals to broadcast sport, to determine if the deals between BSkyB, the BBC and ITV, infringed the Restrictive Trade Practices Act.

BSkyB's defence of its position rested upon the fact that they had been the first to pioneer the new distribution system of (DTH) satellite broadcasting, and that the Astra satellite, and others on which channels could be launched, were not owned nor operated by them. This reply did not answer the conditional access to technology used to unscramble (encrypt) BSkyB's television signals, which in the eyes of cable operators constituted an abuse of a dominant

position. On sport, and specifically football, BSkyB's position is much stronger. The competition for television rights has injected more money into football than could have been dreamt of in the mid–to–late–1980s, when English football, in particular, faced a deep crisis in confidence and finance. That BSkyB's money has transformed the domestic game in England (as I will discuss below), although disproportionately through the leagues, cannot be disputed. However, several issues remain unresolved regarding BSkyB which will radically affect the position of terrestrial broadcasters, football administrators and clubs, and the viewers for televised football.

A key issue relates to the place of televised sport in national culture. Chapters 2 and 3 documented the interrelationship between broadcasting and the sporting calender, specifically, the symbolic importance of shared moments in sporting history witnessed during the FA Cup Final. With the increasing monopolisation of 'live' football by BSkyB one major fear is that this sense of being part of a national audience will be lost. While complaints were always likely from terrestrial broadcasters as they attempted to maintain their presence in a market they created in the 1950s, a less likely backlash to BSkyB's dominance of televised sport came from a cross–party National Heritage Select Committee in 1994. As a "logical follow–on from its inquiry into the Future of the BBC" the Committee's review, entitled *Sports Sponsorship and Television Coverage*, identified "television rights, television coverage, and the availability of specific events to the viewing public", as one of its key concerns (HMSO, 1994; viii). Within its summary of recommendations, the following are of importance to the debate on televised sport and national culture:

> The Committee recommends that exclusivity in transmission of listed sporting events should be prohibited not only for pay–per–view services but also for subscription services. (Para 140)
>
> The Committee recommends that the 'listed events' should be kept under regular review by the Department of National Heritage with the criteria for listing relating to events which, because of their national or traditional significance, attract interest and attention from a public wider than sporting devotees. (Para 141)
>
> The Committee recommends that changes in technology which may eventually widen the range of subscription services, including even the BBC, should also be taken into account in the regular review by the Department of National Heritage which it has recommended. (Para 142)

The Committee directly addressed what it saw as an oversight in the 1990 Broadcasting Act

whereby subscription channels were still able to exclusively buy the rights to any of the 'listed' events. Amazingly, the Minister responsible for drawing up the 1990 Act, David Mellor, later admitted that he had made a mistake, and that some sort of regulation should be put in place to prevent satellite broadcasters like BSkyB from bidding for all sports events. This was a clear change in his belief that to deny the governing bodies of sport the opportunity to sell their product to the highest bidder was a form of "empty populism"; a point emphasised by David Elstein, BSkyB's head of programming,in his rebuttal to both the Committee's recommendations and Mellor's reservation about his policy (*The Independent*, 13.7.94.).

In February 1995, eight months after the publication of the report, the Labour MP, Bruce Grocott, introduced a Ten Minute Rule Bill entitled the 'Television Sport (Access Bill)' which echoed the above recommendations. Grocott suggested that sporting moments like the 'Matthews Final' of 1953 are remembered "even generations after the score" (*The Observer*, 26.2.95.). However, when playfully asked the score in the House of Commons, the MP, clearly not having done his homework, replied, "three–two", when it fact the result was four–three, which significantly undermined his claim.

The Bill got no further than its initial hearing, but the issue resurfaced after the BBC began to lobby the Government in the autumn of 1995 to check the advancement of BSkyB in the market for televised sport. In particular, new bids from BSkyB for Rugby Union's Five Nation's Championship rallied cross–party support from back bench MP's as the Government position on the issue appeared to be increasingly unclear. The Prime Minister, John Major, stated that he was taking a close personal interest in the developments, and broadly agreed with his fellow Chelsea supporter, David Mellor. Both had previously been of the opinion that the net effect of new television channels was "that there is more and better coverage of sport on a wider number of channels" (John Major quoted in Hansard, 1992). As the debate moved higher up the political agenda at the beginning of 1996,the Department of National Heritage, headed by the minister Virginia Bottomley, maintained the free–market stance which had allowed BSkyB to develop such a dominant position in the first place. Lord Inglewood, the junior national heritage minister, confirmed this position when he was reported as saying:

> The Government believes that the organisers of events and the holders of broadcasting rights should be able to sell those rights to obtain what they believe to be the best advantage for themselves and their sports. The Government is not

persuaded, therefore, that there should be any change to the legislation.
(*The Scotsman*, 6.1.96.)

This view was further endorsed by the sports administrators themselves during a seminar on the future of sport organised, in a welter of public relations, by BSkyB. David Dein, vice–chairman of Arsenal, and a key mover in establishing the Premier League and its negotiations with BSkyB in 1992, questioned the position of those MP's attempting to regulate how sport sold its television rights, asking, "isn't their role that of a watchdog after sporting bodies have made their own decisions?" (*The Independent*, 18.1.96.). At the same event, Trevor Phillips of the FA recalled that BSkyB had broken the cartel operated by the BBC and ITV, which had kept the price of television rights well below what he saw as the market value. Finally, to re–emphasise the satellite broadcaster's position, David Elstein argued that any list of protected events was, "an anachronism, a relic of the 1950s, of an era of rationing and austerity" (*Financial Times*, 18.1.96.). This challenge to regulatory legislation, from clubs, football administrators and the television company concerned, was plainly motivated by self–interest and greed and only served to charge the situation, as the debate continued.

As documented in Chapter 3, the 'listed' events were born out of a compromise prompted by the Postmaster General in an attempt to appease the differences of broadcasters and sporting authorities. The result had been to place televised sporting spectacles as secular rituals at the heart of a shared 'national culture'. In the present transnational and diverse climate of the new media market, BSkyB presented an historic conciliation between television interests and the economic concerns of the football authorities. In other words, money from television had reached a level which more than compensated for loss of revenue through the turnstiles, which had been the perennial fear for the administrators of the game.

In this changing context, with sporting events slipping from its grasp, the BBC has been faced with the need to clarify its conception of what public broadcasting is and, at the same time, enter into the television marketplace to raise additional revenue to help fund the escalating cost of televised sport to maintain a presence of the genre on its core channels. While the Major government has (so far) checked the BBC's wholesale slide towards privatisation, a policy previously advocated under the Thatcher government in the 1980s, the Corporation's forays into merchandising its programme archive (including the sale of great sporting moments from

the BBC on video and subscription channels) has led to renewed calls from ITV and Channel Four executives that the licence fee should be shared, or even scrapped altogether. In a move to counter claims that the BBC's public sector values were somehow being compromised or undermined by these activities, the Corporation commissioned a survey to gauge public opinion regarding the desire to watch large sporting events on terrestrial channels. The survey claimed that nine out of ten people believe the major events are part of the 'national heritage' and should, therefore, be available to all. However, the notion of 'national heritage' remains problematic. The celebration of national sporting occasions can also produce chauvinistic, nationalist sentiments, which clearly do not meet modern, democratic, public service criteria of representing citizens of an ethnically diverse population. Therefore, it must be asked whether television technology should be seen as a vehicle for the renewal of a British public culture, in which football, with all its prejudices, is an integral part?

The defence of the 'listed' events would suggest that it is; at least for those who dissent from a hardline market–oriented view of the medium. This ideological position on broadcasting also has repercussions for the moral and philosophical discourse on sport. In relation to football, what is being struggled over are the commonly recognised principles, ethics and spirit of the game. It was this deeply held discourse on the meaning of sport which prompted the House of Lords, in February 1996, to defeat the Government during the passage of the 1996 Broadcasting Bill through the Upper House, over the issue of television rights to 'listed' sporting events. Led by the former Labour Minister for Sport, Lord Howell, the House of Lords delivered one of the largest defeats the Tory government had received in years. The Lords amendment meant that subscription television channels would not be able to buy exclusive 'live' rights to the events, extending the previous laws of the 1990 Act which only restricted pay–per–view television. In sponsoring the amendment, Lord Howell argued:

> I have a profound belief in the social purpose of sport. In essence the social purpose of sport is best expressed through spirit, commonly known as sportsmanship. These precepts are being increasingly undermined by the total domination within sport of financial considerations above all others.
> (*The Times*, 7.2.96.)

This intervention, however, which critically bemoaned the process of commercialisation, only addressed a peripheral aspect of the effect the new media order has for the future of sport. In safeguarding the 'listed' events from subscription television, nothing of any actual significance

had changed. None of the events had moved to BSkyB, nor were there any plans to remove them from terrestrial television in the near future. The FA Cup had been lost by the BBC to ITV, but would still be available to all (at least in England and Wales). The belief that this was a major blow to the tradition of watching the Cup Final with the BBC (which some MP's believed to be the case), says more about the devalued position of ITV as a public service broadcaster, than it does about the politics of broadcasting access. Moreover, even if Murdoch had been successful in his bids for the rights to the two major 'listed' events, the Olympic Games (for which he offered £1.2 billion) and the World Cup (which have since gone to a Bavarian media baron, Leo Kirch, from 2002), by outbidding the EBU to broker the events to European broadcasters through the News Corporation group, there would have been little chance of him placing the events on subscription channels; both the IOC and FIFA demand that coverage should reach the maximum potential audiences, which in Britain, only terrestrial broadcasters can provide.

For their part, sports organisations are equally concerned that the level of regulatory legislation on televised sports rights is not too excessive, due to the opinion that old cartel practices would begin to resurface. Furthermore, they would argue, by restricting the market for televised sport by determining to whom and where rights may be sold, legislators would be ring–fencing the prized events. Nevertheless, this would not prevent wealthy television companies, like BSkyB, from establishing a monopoly or, indeed, their own, television led, competitions, which would offer richer rewards to either individual clubs or players. Similar processes have already occurred in sport. For example, the Australian media mogul, Kerry Packer's alternative cricket leagues during the 1970s, which rationalised the sport to suit the desires of television audiences (including the innovation of floodlit cricket, now a feature of mainstream international cricket). To dismiss the notion that British football could be fragmented and transformed by a similar action, is to ignore the commercial history of the sport which, since the 1880's, has adapted itself to the economic imperatives of its day, reflecting the maxim: play up and pay up. These rationalising processes can be seen, in part, with the creation of the FA Premier League which was tied to the purse strings of television. However, this is not the whole story, for in actuality, it was as much a move by the FA to reinvent itself as it attempted to adapt to the post–Fordist economics of the 1990s in order to survive as an administrative presence within the governance of the English game.

The need for many of the arcane institutions of British sport, with their roots firmly planted in the nineteenth century philosophy which created them, to transform their structure, boost their income and maintain a semblance of authority, has required the Government to forgo any further legislation – from that relating to the 'listed' events – that might impinge on the ability of sport to negotiate with television. But, the issue of sport as part of a national culture, and the sense of responsibility that governing organisations of sport have for maintaining sport's future well–being (whether for participants or spectators) remains. It is for this reason, that in April 1996, the Government asked the quango charged with stewarding a prosperous future for British sport, the Sports Council, to draw up a voluntary code of conduct for sports bodies and broadcasters. Through this 'hands off' approach to state intervention in sport, the Tory government maintained its commitment to a free–market ideology (by convincing rights holders of their autonomy when engaging with television), while ensuring that British televised sport serves what it considers to be a modified version of public service broadcasting which identifies citizenship with consumer rights: this equates broadcasting with the mechanisms of accountability and redress encompassed in John Major's Citizen's Charter.

However, as Murdock (1994; 158) has argued, this notion of cultural rights and citizenship does not identify with, "*the right to participate fully in existing patterns of social life and to help shape the forms they may take in the future*" (his emphasis) which a more complex, political version of citizenship would embody. Such a multi–dimensional form of citizenship relating to television, professional football, or the representation and communication of the sport, are unlikely to emerge within the current and foreseeable structures of broadcasting in Britain. Rather, economic and technological advances are more likely to further fragment the market in order to provide consumers with a more selective choice of what they want to watch at a price television operators feel is reasonable.

The portents of where televised football is heading are already emerging within other European countries. In August 1996, Canal Plus in France introduced a pay–per–view scheme for televised football: this move has been mirrored by similar plans in Italy (by Telepui), Germany, the Benelux countries and Scandinavia. Canal Plus is showing one exclusively 'live' match on a Friday or a Sunday to those viewers with a subscription, and the remainder of the League

games on Saturday on a pay–per–view basis, allowing viewers, at an extra cost of approximately forty francs (£6), to opt for a match of their choice. Telepui in Italy, are expected to charge around £8.50 for a Serie A match or, in a complete package, a season ticket to view a single club for the whole year for £130. The notion of being able to pick and choose which match to watch (and quite possibly how the game is mediated through interactive control by the viewer over the selection of camera positions and action replays) is a mark of how far television has intruded into the formal structure of football in the way it is organised and consumed. Under its current contract with the Premier League, BSkyB cannot introduce pay–per–view until the 1997–98 season. This gives the satellite operator an opportunity to evaluate the success of other systems across Europe, and wait for digital technology to fully establish itself in the television market before introducing their own scheme (a restriction on pilot pay–per–view schemes in Europe has been that they have run off an analogue system). One problem BSkyB may face, particularly from present owners of satellite dishes and cable systems, is the justification for charging viewers extra money after tempting them to part with their subscription fee in the belief that this payment would cover access to myriad football treats. This point was picked up by sports journalist, Kevin Mitchell, who critically commented:

> To persuade people to subscribe and then, once having them hooked, to charge them again would seem to go against the basic tenets of fairness. Not that fairness has ever been a preoccupation of the Murdoch empire.
> (*The Observer*, 21.1.96.)

This view was vindicated when BSkyB introduced the UK's first ever pay–per–view television, with exclusively 'live' coverage of the heavyweight championship fight between Frank Bruno and Mike Tyson in 1996. The fee of £10 to watch the bout did not prove value for money when the fight was stopped within the first round. While Bruno walked away having lost his title, but with a handsome purse for his retirement, many of BSkyB subscribers refused to pay the tariff which was seen as totally unjust.

However, the success of pay–per–view, like any form of televised sport, will depend largely on the popularity of the different sports, and the size of the aggregate viewing figures over a year or season. The prospect of football fans being able to watch a whole season of the club they support from the comfort of the living room, may prove too great an enticement for many who have previously been unwilling to part with their money for a BSkyB subscription.

Moreover, the historical fears of football administrators – of a drift away from the public arena of the game into the privatised world of televised football consumption – could return to haunt them in a previously unimaginable way. One prophecy, from the Italian media mogul, politician and owner of AC Milan, Silvio Berlusconi, argued that with the onset of total television access to football, clubs would have to start drastically reducing the price of tickets to matches to lure fans to the stadium, the ultimate corollary of this process being that fans would be allowed into the stadium free of charge to provide the 'on–camera' audience and atmosphere required for the television spectacle. However, with the current demand for tickets to matches in the Premiership, and the growing force of corporate hospitality generating large sums of money for the clubs, Berlusconi's scenario would, at present, seem remote. One final aspect of this market fragmentation, could be the investment in cable operations by football clubs themselves. Manchester United have already begun a reconnaissance into developing their own television channel for subscription, which would challenge the Premier Leagues contract with BSkyB.

The satellite broadcaster's grip on the sport is unlikely to relinquish. For terrestrial broadcasters, the rights to sporting events will continue to move out of reach. One remedy, which both the BBC and ITV seem resigned to pursuing, is the continued 'unbundling' of any particular sport or competition which would prevent one operator buying complete television rights. Sir Christopher Bland, chairman of the BBC, has argued for clear divisions between permission for news coverage, 'live' relays, same day edited highlights, repeats and video sale. This would ensure a spread of available outlets for the different formats, from which consumers of televised sport could make a voluntary choice.

Selling the Game: its Clubs, its Managers, its Players, its Soul

As much as football needs television, television also needs what was once lauded as 'the peoples game'. That broadcasters need football in this symbiotic relationship, was recognised as early as the 1930s when the medium of television was first introduced. Unlike the select upper–middle–class homes which first played with the idea of owning the 'little box of tricks', the demand for satellite technology when it was launched in 1989 was expected to emerge from the skilled working–class, whose new found affluence towards the end of the Thatcher era was waiting to consume new forms of privatised leisure (Tomlinson, 1990). This market profile presented an ideal marriage between BSkyB and exclusive coverage of football. Therefore, the

new media system could be sold as an exciting centrepiece of home entertainment. That the selling of dishes was targeted at men is significant, because advertisers had been searching for the appropriate vehicle to reach the otherwise impenetrable pocket of the eighteen to 'thirtysomething' male. There was always, of course, something for the wife, and Sky had acquired a Hollywood studio to ensure that her fantasies were catered for by subscription.

Integrating Football With Television

Murdoch had seen how football could revitalise the fortunes of a commercial television station when Canal Plus rescued itself by buying exclusive rights to French football. BSkyB copied this operation, initially with coverage of Italian football on Sky Sports. Inroads into rights for the English game were not acted upon before an initial investigation into the possibility of actually owning a football club. Murdoch had, in fact, placed a bid to buy Manchester United, in competition with his British media rival, Robert Maxwell. The idea was to televise all the games of the club by subscription as an example of how pay–television could transform the fortunes of club football. As a former employee of Sky, Jonathan Miller, recalled on the Channel Four current affairs programme *High Interest*, that Sky believed that the football stadium was merely a "television studio in disguise". However, Martin Edwards, the chairman of Manchester United, turned down an estimated offer of £10 million, a decision from which he has never looked back! Murdoch ditched his attempt to get into football from the inside, preferring instead to think of a much bigger picture. Maxwell, continued to pursue a 'big club' and competed for the ownership of Tottenham Hotspur against the electronics entrepreneur, Alan Sugar. Spurs had become financially vulnerable after its failed attempt to transform the club's fortunes through becoming English football's first public limited company. The club had placed more effort in off field activities than it had on gaining sustained success on the pitch. Sugar, who had made his million's with the discount electronics company Amstrad (who were the main suppliers of satellite dishes for signals from the Astra satellite), had teamed up with the then Spurs manager, Terry Venables, who was seen as capable of putting the playing side of the club in order (with signings like Chris Waddle, Paul Gascoigne and Garry Lineker). While this provided Sugar with football credibility with the fans (who were eager to see the back of the then chairman, Irving Scholar) he could not generate the same public relations as Maxwell who attempted to mobilise broader faith in his abilities to turn the club around through his control of Mirror Group newspapers and his mouthpiece at the *Daily Mirror*, the sports

columnist, Harry Harris. Murdoch, not wanting Maxwell to gain influence at such a large club, put the weight of his tabloid newspapers *The Sun* and *Today* behind Sugar's bid to save Spurs. For instance, *The Sun* conducted a phone poll of its readers to ascertain which party should win the bid for Spurs: Venables received an overwhelming 5205 votes compared to a mere 236 votes for Maxwell. This double mobilisation, from within football and the press proved successful and, in June 1991, Sugar became chairman, while Venables, the minor investor, became chief executive. Once installed, there was an understanding between Sugar and Murdoch that the Spurs chairman would move within Premier League circles to influence other clubs of the benefits to be obtained from a contract with satellite television. Moreover, the deal would also increase the demand for Amstrad's dishes, and it was no surprise that the company's stock market value rose by £7 million the day the rights to the Premier League were delivered to BSkyB.

After an initial honeymoon period, relations between Sugar and Venables deteriorated rapidly. This was mainly due to a battle for where the interests of Tottenham Hotspur plc actually lay; that is, in the broader economics of the company or the success of the football team on the field. Sugar mobilised support from other directors, and Venables was sacked as chief executive in May 1993, much to the chagrin of the Spurs supporters who vilified the club chairman in his public and private life. The volatile relationship had been compounded by rumours that Venables, in generating the funds to buy his share of Spurs, had illegally arranged a fraudulent loan based on assets which were not his to sell. Moreover, Venables was also being accused of instigating a 'bung' to the then Nottingham Forest manger, Brian Clough, in the transfer of striker Teddy Sheringham to Spurs. Sugar assisted in the media's assassination of Venables once sacked, including articles in the *Financial Times*, and the widely publicised investigative journalism of the respective BBC and Channel Four programmes, *Panorama* and *Dispatches*.

These allegations, casting doubt on the business probity of Venables, prompted a formal enquiry by the Department of Trade and Industry, and investigations by the Serious Fraud Office. In his defence,Venables issued writs against Sugar for unfair dismissal, the *Daily Mirror* and *Panorama* for libelous claims of financial malpractice, and provided his own account of events in his ghosted autobiography, in which he claimed:

> Enough evidence exists in statements, tape recordings, affidavits, and

> documents, to prove my innocence. The result is not in doubt: my good name will be restored.
> (Venables, 1994; 416)

In the event, 1994 proved another beginning to the saga that was now being billed by the tabloid press as 'Telgate'. Believing that Venables no longer had any skeletons left in his closet, the FA appointed him as the new England national team coach in January 1994, amid broad approval from the English football fraternity of managers, players and fans. Nevertheless, the media storm raged on as 'Telgate' was beginning to detract attention away from what Venables, as coach, was trying to achieve for the national game on the pitch. A second programme on Venables 'dodgy dealings' by *Panorama*, and the ongoing DTI case, led to suspicions from the England international committee that the England coach could not combine guiding the team through to the 1998 World Cup and defend his reputation in the courts. With pressure mounting, Venables signalled his intention not to renew his post as England coach after Euro '96. He was to be replaced by Glenn Hoddle.

The key to this entire episode is that efforts to integrate commercial television interests with those of football – a model pioneered in Italy by Berlusconi – was always fraught with danger because the economic methods of the two industries were in conflict. Sugar had seen how sport was marketed and packaged in the United States, as a profitable, sponsor supported, media spectacle and set about creating a similar model of 'sportsbiz' without any historical knowledge of English football and how it operated. To initiate this strategy of integration, Sugar turned to Venables, to share the financial burden and, more importantly, bring a highly respected level of football knowledge into the equation. Venables, through experience, knew that a football club was not simply a business within the leisure industry, but was heavily invested with emotional energy and significant meaning, connected, in part, to the performances and results of the team. As Venables put it in his autobiography: "No one can put a value on that aura that surrounds a club, the hardest thing to create and the easiest thing to destroy" (Venables, 1994; 362).

That the relationship between Venables and Sugar should turn sour, develop into a courtroom battle and, ultimately, lead to the resignation of the England coach, is an illustration of how the political economy of the sport manipulates, fashions and conflicts with football as a popular cultural form. There is a temptation, here, to view Venables as a pawn in the economic

negotiations for control over Spurs, and its related consequences in the mobilisation of football's key decision makers to turn towards BSkyB as the main television carrier of English football, furthering the interest's of Sugar's chairmanship of the electronics company Amstrad. While his record in football management, as a motivator and tactician, is not in doubt, Venables motives as a businessman must remain suspect, even if this is the result of legal or financial naivety, related to the codes and conventions of the business world outside of the football domain.

There's No Business Like Football Business

> Chablis and salmon en croute; blazers and bottle blondes: football has never been like this.
> (Alex Spillius, 1995)

This is one of the observations journalist Alex Spillius made during a tour of Newcastle United's newly refurbished St. James's Park, where corporate entertainment included the facility of the 'rooftop restaurant' with panoramic views of the pitch from the front, and of the city centre from the rear 'sky lift'. In the era of the 'super–chairman', as the article by Spillius illustrates, it is not only Sugar who has seen the profitable possibilities from the integration of new football business practices with sponsorship and television. At the height of football's crisis over hooliganism and falling attendances in the 1980s Margaret Thatcher, from a hardline realist economic discourse, proclaimed that if football could generate enough money for million pound transfers of players, it could certainly use some of this money to put its own house in order without any assistance from government. While the Taylor Report put paid to the extreme manifestation of this rhetoric (due to the 'football friendly' John Major), in 1995 football faced another potential crisis, again, seemingly of its own making, this time caused by the skullduggery of managers and players rather than the fans. Ironically, the men consigned to deliver some semblance of order to the game were the benefactors of Thatcherite economics, and it is their ideas and money which will decide the sport's future. As John Williams (1994; 248) has argued, the key question to ask of the changing dynamics of sport, and in particular football, towards the end of the millennium is: "Who in these days of 'globalisation' is the customer for sport?" Part of the answer can be gleaned from the following characterisation by Spillius of football's *corps d'elite*:

> The modern chairman is more an entrepreneur and a hands–on sort. Property development is still a likely background, only on a grander scale. He may well have streamlined his board of directors, relying on a couple of trusty lieutenants

> to run things while he holidays in Marbella or the West Indies. His Rolls or top–of–the–range Mercedes testifies to a career which as often as not has culminated in a lucrative sell–out. With money in the bank, he has diverted his attention to the sport that has obsessed him since youth.

While Sugar may not fit the last description, many of his peers in the higher ranks of football certainly do: Jack Walker at Blackburn Rovers; Sir John Hall at Newcastle United; David Dein at Arsenal; Bill Fotherby and Richard Thompson at Leeds United; Matthew Harding at Chelsea; Sir Jack Hayward at Wolverhampton Wanderers; Lionel Pickering at Derby County; David Sullivan at Birmingham City; and Peter Johnson at Everton. Unlike the historical tradition of philanthropist chairman from professional football's formative existence, these men are not only compelled by loyalty to the on field activities of the club, they have invested their money with the expectancy of receiving some financial reward. Here, is the link to the money to be had from sponsorship and television deals.

In an annual survey of football finance, the accountants Deloitte and Touche revealed that the total income for the Premiership, from all activities for the 1995/96 season was £323 million, of which £41 million came from television (*The Observer*, 18.8.96.). Moreover, the accountants estimated that this percentage of the total income from television was set to rise by the 1997/98 season to £173 million out of £450 million. While the size of these sums of money are reaching such astronomical proportions as to render them unintelligible to many supporters, the clubs are queuing up to exploit such large pools of money. At the end of the 1995/96 season Newcastle United received over £3 million pounds from their appearances on BSkyB alone, eclipsing the £2.9 million returned to the Premiership Champions, Manchester United. In the context of Newcastle's transfer deals – in particular, Alan Shearer's world record £15 million transfer from Blackburn Rovers – the income from television may seem insignificant, but it indicates the amount of money now at stake. Most importantly, television coverage adds fuel to the iconography of the leading clubs, and sets up the tertiary activities of merchandising which can supply even larger riches for the clubs concerned.

To stay with the example of Newcastle United, it can be seen how a substantial, but measured, influx of money from a wealthy individual, Sir John Hall, can position a club, with a 'naturalised' groundswell of support, into a higher stream of money that now flows from television and sponsorship investment in the sport. Success breads success in this scenario,

which attempts to occlude the inherent unpredictability of sport by achieving a financial win/win situation. It is on the foundation of sound business investment and planning that football, as a central cog in a much larger enterprise, is used to create what Hall has referred to as 'added value' (Spillius, 1995). Modelling the club on already established successes like Real Madrid or Barcelona in Spain, Newcastle United not only play football, but also incorporate professional rugby union club and ice hockey (plus sponsoring a Daytona racing car). Moreover, these sporting riches also feed into a wider economic and urban regeneration of the Tyne region, attracting overseas investment from companies like Samsung, impressed by the corporate hospitality received at Newcastle United as much as by the skilled labour force. Hall, himself, calls this a symptom of "enterprise with responsibility, capitalism with a social conscience," which sounds like an aphorism for New Labour's 'stakeholder society'.

Football's new enterprise culture has found a new type of fan, who will voraciously consume for their club. The apotheosis of this football related consumer boom saw the opening of Manchester United's superstore in 1994: making shopping an integral part of the football experience. With turnover from merchandising rising from £2 million in 1994, to over £14 million in 1995, income from this sector within the Manchester United plc now accounts for up to one third of the total income of the company. Manchester United, the most successful club in the English Premiership during the 1990's (both on the field and by economic performance), rather than being equated with the European model adopted by Newcastle, mirrored North American professional sports organisations: its popularity has long since transcended localised boundaries which draw upon traditional, generational, cultural formations of place within Manchester, Lancashire, or even the UK, to mobilise a wider spread of support (indeed, the club has more supporters clubs dotted around the world than any other in the UK). While the techniques and systems of merchandising the two clubs are in many ways similar, their significance to the articulation of place should, I believe, be viewed as qualitatively different forms of attachment. Essentially, the difference revolves around the fact that Manchester United have an increasingly globalised identity: they are not trying to sell Manchester, merely the iconography of attachment to the club. Newcastle United, on the other hand, as suggested above, are all about projecting an image of the city to a wider public: it is a different style of globalism, one which is steeped in local identity, seen most clearly in either the shirt sponsorship by Newcastle Brown Ale or, the significance placed on the 'coming

home' of the Newcastle born superstar Alan Shearer (as the editor of the Newcastle fanzine *The Mag* puts it, Shearer is "The Geordie Michael Jackson")..

Perhaps the most visible manifestation of the interaction of football, television and merchandising is seen with the sale of replica kits. Retailing at an average price of £40, these polyester symbols of belonging, have seen a renaissance in popularity to become the profligate cornerstone of the 1990s football fan. That football shirts are personalised with the name of the player on the back is not simply a mechanism to aid commentators and supporters to identify the man on the ball, it is a marketing tool which plays on the supporters identification with their heroes: some things in football may change, but dreaming of being a figure like Alan Shearer scoring for your club or country has long been part of supporters' fantasies. Identification at this level is at the centre of the pleasure fans receive from football; now it is more rationalised as a wealth of commodities become the dominant mode of communicating such feelings.

However, for those football supporters who follow a club which is not one of the elite within the elite, the prospects of their club competing in any of the major domestic competitions is becoming a remote one, eliding any dreams of success they might be able to muster (with the proviso that success in football remains relative). The signs are clear in Europe, where UEFA have structured their premier tournament, the Champions League, to suit television whose money keeps finding its way to a select band of clubs who qualify for the competition year after year, growing richer and richer, and stronger and stronger in their domestic leagues. That clubs like AC Milan, Juventus, Real Madrid, Barcelona, Bayern Munich, Hamburg, and Manchester United cannot win their domestic championship every season, has led to a move to secure their presence by allowing the runners–up (which most of these clubs are if they are not league champions), of the more powerful countries, access into the European pot of gold, which is the Champions League.

That a huge disparity exists between those clubs at the top of the Premiership and those scrapping for survival in the lower leagues is nothing new. What is different, is that this process of distinction is on the verge of becoming institutionalised. In September 1996, it was rumoured that the FA Premier League were investigating the prospect of structuring the flow of football talent from Football League clubs which were operating in the shadow of a large and

powerful Premiership neighbour. Despite denials from chief executive, Rick Parry, the scheme would attempt to overcome the poaching of talent by large clubs, by somehow twinning clubs within a particular region so as to regulate the 'breading ground' of young players. Therefore, a club like Stockport County (in the Second Division of the Nationwide Football League) would, feasibly, provide training and apprenticeships as a surrogate member of Manchester United's squad system, unable to entertain links with any other Premiership club. The idea is, one suspects, a method of spreading money from television and merchandising down into the lower leagues. Yet, not only would such a scheme ensure that the smaller club would consistently lose its best young players, but further, would appear to be another restraint of trade within EC employment law (an issue I shall return to in Chapter Ten).

Conclusion

Televised football is no longer merely about relaying the latest championship race, relegation battle or cup tie (if it ever was?). It is now a carrier of marketing information, personalised for increasingly fragmented audiences. For those who doubt the inroads of commercial imperatives into the 'peoples game', the news that FIFA have accepted a proposal which allows the televised graphic projection of a sponsors logo onto the centre circle, so as to give the impression that it is actually marked out on the turf, is evidence enough that televised football is a vehicle for advertisers to reach audiences. As already identified, football players themselves, are also part of the marketing strategies clubs now employ. An indication of what is at stake was provided when Manchester United ditched what the manager and players saw as an unlucky kit during half–time in a game with Southampton in April 1996. The repercussions of this whim was that some fifty thousand replica kits, distributed among hundreds of retailers became virtually unsalable, at an alleged cost to the manufacturers Umbro of £2 million. Any sense of retribution from football fans tired of the endless introduction of new kits for sale, must be tempered by the thought that the cost of this incompatible mix of sports design and sports superstition would ultimately be passed onto the consumer through some other sports garment.

These developments in the interaction of television, sponsorship, advertising and football, have brought fears that the game has 'sold its jersey'. The ethics of the game are in confusion, and part of the problem is that football supporters are among the most loyal consumers there are.

Sponsors are concerned with exposure levels and the audience profiles television can provide. Clubs are eager to cater to the demands of these paymasters at the expense of those fans not willing to pay a price for their entertainment. While some of the money from the heightened commodification of football has found its way back into the game for the benefit of the supporter (modernised stadia, improved catering and safer environments) there is a danger that too many supporters of the game will be either priced out or become disillusioned by the overt showbiz ethic which is required to attract audiences in a competitive entertainment environment. However, the unpredictability of sport (already alluded to in Chapter Five), which may often bring the occasional 'giant killing' cup upset, or a simple moment of pleasure from a poetic performance, offers a symbolic transcendence to the increasing commercial imperatives which have colonised the game.

CHAPTER 8

'FITBA ON THE TELLY': TELEVISED FOOTBALL IN SCOTLAND

> There has always been a weight around the neck of football in Scotland which has influenced the development of the game north of the border. It is, quite simply, the proximity of the English.
> (Fynn and Guest, 1994; 173)

Televised Football and Identity in Scotland

As the above quote infers, this chapter is concerned with the relationship between football and Scottish national identity. More specifically, it is an analysis of how collective identities of 'Scottishness' are constructed within televised football, and sustained by a duel process of inclusion and exclusion from a range of perspectives and competing discourses. Several studies on football have illustrated the significance of the sport to Scottish national identity as both a cohesive and divisive force (Murray 1984, Moorehouse 1991, Giulianotti 1992, Bairner 1994, Boyle 1994, and Finn 1994), but few have addressed the role of televised football within this process (Blain, Boyle and O'Donnell 1993, being a notable exception). As Blain, Boyle and O'Donnell (1993; 27) point out, terrestrial broadcasting in Britain has "evolved discursive habits and traditions in relation to the (broadly speaking) national–political dimensions of sport" (see also Chapters two, four and five). As they go on to suggest, the politics of national culture can be implicated in television through sport. As I have illustrated in Chapters Two and Three, the history of broadcasting football in England converged with other aspects of civil society (for instance, the Royalist sentiment during the Cup Final) to produce an image of a corporate national life. However, this has not developed without a cleft emerging between broadcasters and football administrators born of a tension arising from public service broadcasting ideologies and the protection of attendances at football.

In Scotland, the negotiations between television and the football authorities have proved equally problematical. However, there is an added symbolic significance to televised football in Scotland, which relates both to the position of football and the development of separate, or semi–autonomous, broadcasting systems within a stateless nation. In terms of nationalist

politics in Scotland, football has been considered to be a benign force, merely creating a groundswell of "ninety minute patriots". As Jarvie and Walker (1994; 2) stress:

> It is a thesis which implies that the passion aroused by sport is in a sense misleading; that it does not reflect a people with enough pride in their nation or confidence in themselves to press for independence. This, we would argue, is too simplistic: it elides the different kinds of Scottish nationalist and patriotic feeling and overlooks changing expressions of nationalist sporting fervour."

From this perspective, football can be seen to reflect political and social moods, specifically, as I will discuss later, during confrontations with the 'Auld Enemy' England. Divergence from Scotland's southern, British, counterparts is symbolised within football by a separate league and cup system (which emerged from a split in 1887), which thereby joined the administration of the sport to other separate aspects of civil society in Scotland including the Church, local government, education and the legal system (Bairner, 1994; 9). As Bairner (1994) points out, in the confusion of a dual identity, of being Scottish and British, football presents an outlet of emotional energy against the political ascendancy of the metropolitan south, by taking on the English at their own game.

The extent to which the institutional organisation and discourse of televised football in Scotland is a central arena for the expression of Scottish national identities, in both domestic and international contexts, and how this effects the position of BBC Scotland and Scottish Television (STV) within the structure of broadcasting in Britain is discussed in more detail below. But first I will briefly sketch the historical importance of the genre within Scottish broadcasting.

Opting Out and Devolution

As in England, football was more than well established in the urban, industrial centres of Scotland when radio broadcasting began in the late–1920s. Running commentaries began from Glasgow and Aberdeen on the BBC's Third Programme, with the regular protagonists behind the microphone being Masson Roberts, the football administrator R.E. Kingsley, and an Edinburgh sports journalist who went under the pseudonym of OMPAX. Where 'live' commentaries were not possible or blocked by some impasse from the SFA, BBC Scotland provided a results service with recorded 'sound pictures' compiled from commentaries and eye–witness accounts on a Saturday evening within a programme called *Sportsreel. Sportsreel*

continued after the war and was produced by BBC Scotland's first Head of Sports Broadcasting, Peter Thompson. When television arrived in Scotland in August 1952, via a transmitter at Kirk O'Shotts, outside broadcasts dominated domestic programme output as the service awaited the completion of new studio facilities in Glasgow, which was viewed by the controllers in London as less important than the extension of the service from England (McDowell, 1992).

However, football struggled to form part of BBC Scotland's initial television programming and, after the first game to be televised in Scotland between Scottish and English Universities, the SFA proceeded to impose a ban on broadcasting Scottish League and Scottish Cup matches, deciding to defer any further decision, and choosing to monitor the perceived effect television was having on English football (*The Times*, 10.12.53.). From the formative years of televised football in Britain during the 1950's, the SFA cautiously negotiated television contracts and policed the transmission of football from 'foreign' fields (including England) mindful of the potential threat live broadcasts could have on football attendances. Nevertheless, English football, both amateur and professional, domestic and international, was being broadcast to Scottish audiences and, as I have documented in chapter three, included a growth in televising floodlit matches some of which involved recalcitrant Scottish clubs (much to the chagrin of the SFA). It was not until 1955 that the SFA gave permission for the BBC to broadcast 'live' the Scottish Cup Final, subject to the prior ticket sale of eighty per–cent. The Final, between Clyde and Celtic, presented a rare opportunity for Scottish audiences to see their sporting heroes, albeit with an interpretation from a English commentator, Kenneth Wolstenholme. As Keevins and McCarra (1985) note, regional dialects were at this time "anathema to the Corporation", and after a further ban in 1956, Wolstenholme returned from London to commentate on the 1957 Scottish Cup Final. That Wolstenholme had no detailed or parochial knowledge of Scottish football did not appear to matter to the producers of these early 'live' broadcasts, and just how an English accent commentating on a Scottish Cup Final was received by Scottish audiences can only be imagined.

With the producer Peter Thompson as the Head of Sport's Broadcasting at BBC Scotland, *Sportsreel* was transferred from radio to screen, not only allowing an opportunity for television to cover Scottish football, but also to develop and promote indigenous broadcasting talent. One

of BBC Scotland's first television commentators was George Davidson, who was eulogised for one commentary from Celtic Park by his successor, Archie MacPherson:

> This was a close observation of a new technique and a new power. I certainly wanted a bit of this. I especially liked the way he had developed a rapport with the crowd, some of whom detested him, whilst others loved him. I saw him then not just as a commentator but a catalyst.
> (MacPherson, 1986; 24)

This empathy with the Scottish football fan was clearly seen as an important trait within the television coverage of the game in Scotland. *Sportsreel* was broadcast on Saturday evenings in conjunction with the sports programme from England, *Sports Special.* The programme was usually thirty minutes long and consisted of two filmed highlights from the afternoon's games and continued into the 1970's before being replaced by *Sportscene: Match of the Day.*

BBC Scotland's sports output was soon joined by ITV's new franchise north of the border, Scottish Television (STV) in August 1957. STV introduced their own sports programme *Scotsport* in its first year, again mainly due to the lack of studio space and a reliance on outside broadcasts. STV's sports coverage was part of its adherence to the public service remit of the Independent Television Authority (ITA) which oversaw the Government's stipulation that at least fifteen per–cent of the programmes appealed specifically to regional tastes and outlook (McDowell, 1992). When *Scotsport* was combined with the televising of football by BBC Scotland, *Sportsview* (Wednesdays) and *Sports Special* (Saturdays) from the BBC in London, and the occasional – but rare – football programme from the ITV network, Scottish audiences enjoyed a surfeit of football compared to their English counterparts, even from the late–1950s.

A degree of patterning developed for scheduling 'opt–outs' within both BBC Scotland and STV. However, these so called 'Regional' items – a label denoting 'outside London' and totally unsuitable for what were in effect national television stations – had a problem in how they were perceived with regard to technology, design, and production values. Scottish television items were,by implication, second–rate and overly parochial when compared to network programming. For example, within the BBC, Scotland's relative freedom was constrained by both finance and the programme controllers in London who sat on the Broadcasting Council for Scotland (BCS). The BCS had considerable power within the BBC network, overseeing both production standards and the taste of programming made for

Scotland (McDowell, 1992).

Although sport, and particularly football (which still takes up seventy percent of sports programming), offered one of the most independent domains within BBC Scotland programming (along with news), during the 1960s and 1970s it suffered severely through underfunding and, therefore, increasingly outdated OB technology. Where colour was introduced to *Match of the Day* in 1970, Scottish viewers had to wait another three years before *Sportsreel* changed to the new video technology. Although BBC Scotland had obtained a colour OB unit in 1970 they claimed that football stadia were too gloomy for their cameras to pick up a clear colour image. Criticism flooded the sports editors desk during the 1970s as viewers complained that camera work and editing were not on a par with the coverage of English football. Ironically, as Archie MacPherson pointed out in his autobiography, many of the cameramen were English and had worked on *Match of the Day*; the equipment was to blame:

> Whereas we normally covered a game with two cameras, network had the luxury of double or treble the number. They could place cameras behind the goal and at pitch level whilst we were lucky to hoist a couple on to a central platform on the half–way line. We were two dimensional by comparison and it showed painfully.
> (MacPherson, 1991; 128).

With regard to the outlook of BBC Scotland, the arrival of Alister Milne as the controller in January 1968 had brought a challenge to any remaining legacy of Reithian ideology, with the commitment to concentrate resources on 'quality' programming which could be fed back into the network (Milne, 1988). This change of philosophy also influenced the values of sports production in BBC Scotland, which began to lay more emphasis on a more stylised presentation. Strangely, the change came from an unexpected source. As one of Milne's successors, Alastair Hetherington, recalled, "it took an Irishman [Malcolm Kellard] recruited from Belfast in 1974 to revolutionise BBC Scotland sport" (Hetherington, 1992). Kellard's management reflected the emerging triangular relationships between television, sponsorship and football. By co–ordinating television coverage with sponsorship, securing large Scottish audiences for big games, extra money began to filter into the sport. Furthermore, where other departments of BBC Scotland still held a general mistrust for London, Kellard encouraged a stronger relationship with London through his contacts with previous Heads of Sport, Alan Hart and Bryan Cowgill. He therefore knew the details of network scheduling and,

accordingly, was able to plan his own strategy around this. Links with London also led to Scottish sports personnel developing relationships with network programmes. A ground breaker in this respect, was MacPherson who regularly began to appear on Bob Wilson's *Football Focus* within *Grandstand* during Saturday lunchtime. This was the first time Scottish football was reviewed to any significant level on network television, albeit delivered in less than five minutes. It also paved the way for more recent 'exports' to network from BBC Scotland like Dougie Donnelly and Hazel Irvine.

More recent policies of devolution for BBC Scotland have been in tension with the introduction of 'producer choice' since the 1990 Broadcasting Act. Sport currently takes £5 million out of BBC Scotland's local, yearly, budget of £45 million, the majority of which is eaten up by football (see below). 'Producer choice' has enabled BBC Scotland to supplement their own sports camera crews with independent OB units from England (including Grand Slam and Chrysalis). However, BBC Scotland's in–house OB unit has come under increasing pressure from plans for putting the production televised football out to tender. Because of BBC Scotland's public service remit it has been able to justify its sports output. However, its relatively stable position as a form of independent, Scottish production, has been occluded within other departments of BBC Scotland which have seen large redundancies and over a thirty percent cut in resources (*The Herald*, 16.3.95.).

Within such a changing, volatile broadcasting climate, the survival of sport as a feature of BBC Scotland is strategically linked to Scottish football's continued existence as a separate league and cup structure from England. Given this context, the protection of Scottish football's distinct identity has become of increasing importance. However, technological developments in media production and delivery, most notably the introduction in Britain of Rupert Murdoch's satellite television station BSkyB,have made any protectionist stance increasingly problematic. As the following case study of the 1993/94 and 1994/95 Scottish football seasons highlight, at issue is the level and penetration of televised football from England and Europe into the Scottish market place and, secondly, what bearing this has on the renegotiation of contracts for televised coverage of the Scottish Premier League and the two Scottish cup competitions. Within this context the importance of 'live' football within prime–time television scheduling cannot be overestimated. Moreover, it emphasises the central place that football occupies in

Scottish popular culture (particularly of men in the urban, industrial, central belt of Scotland).

At the specific conjuncture under analysis, the 'defence' of the nation's passion for football is explicitly articulated in several contradictory and competing discourses which emanated from one or more of the following sources: the SFA, BBC Scotland, Scottish Television (STV), the numerous sponsors of Scottish football (including Bells Distillers and Coca–Cola) and the Scottish press. These discourses are governed by forces which seek either a form of cultural protectionism or an expansion of consumer choice. Of particular interest here is the mediation of these discourses within the Scottish press who, in reporting the negotiations and disputes between the broadcasters and the football authorities, eagerly assumed the mantle of 'common sense' popular opinion in seeking to represent Scotland's football viewing public.

"The Godfarry" – Gatekeeper of the 'national interest'?

During the 1993/94 football season Scottish Television (STV) the major independent terrestrial television company in Scotland, came into conflict with the Scottish Football Association (SFA) regarding the screening of English domestic and European cup football to Scottish audiences. At issue was the flaunting of the Article 14 of the UEFA statute on televised football, which seeks to avoid disruption by providing "that a football association in one UEFA country would authorise the broadcast into another UEFA country only if the association of the "receiving" country did not object to the transmission". Before going on to talk about the specific instances of conflict we will briefly sketch the recent context within which the wrangles over televised football have taken place within Scotland.

The television deal between the newly formed English FA Premier League and the satellite broadcaster BSkyB in May 1992 (combined with a highlights package for the BBC) earned the football authority £304 million over five years and the satellite company access to approximately sixty 'live' games per season (Williams, 1994. Haynes, 1995). The Premier League constituted the bulk of 'live' televised football in the UK, and turned around BSkyB's financial performance from an operating loss of £40 million to an operating profit of £61.3 million after one year of the contract (Fynn and Guest, 1994. pX) (see Chapter 7).

BSkyB's multi–million pound contract emphasised, more than anything, the importance of

football to television and that along with movies, sport has proved the largest attraction to new subscribers to the emergent non–terrestrial broadcasters. However, because BSkyB's transmitting signal to the UK emanates from one source, in contrast to the regional transmitting systems within which both the BBC and ITV have developed, they could not exclude Scottish audiences from English football. In the context of televised sport in Scotland, the Premier League has proved highly marketable to Scottish audiences, both within domestic and public domains. This has obviously caused concern among the Scottish football authorities. Indeed, no sooner had Sky screened their first 'live' game from England in August 1992, than the SFA sought in vain to veto the transmissions.

In the changed climate of European deregulation in the television industry Scottish football's position in the European marketplace was put starkly into perspective. Where the 'strong' national leagues in England, France, Germany, Italy, and Spain could attract substantial audiences for domestic games, thus luring major sponsors, Scotland's domestic league by comparison was a 'minor' attraction outside of the nation itself. Things were further compounded when the independent sports production company Chrysalis bought the rights for Italian football and sold them to Channel 4 for a meagre £1.4 million.

The apparent 'open doors policy' of the English FA was in clear contravention of Article 14, but reflected the increasingly competitive marketplace for 'live' football within which they were operating; a market place which now included Scotland.

Ironically, Scottish football's own dalliance with satellite television in a deal struck with the fledgling BSB in 1988 unwittingly contravened UEFA's statute, and faced opposition from the Irish Football Association whose own domestic game saw a noticeable drop in attendances when Scottish Premier games between Rangers and Celtic were transmitted (see Sugden and Bairner, 1992 for an analysis of support for the 'Old Firm' in the north and south of Ireland). The SFA defended their decision to go with BSB by pointing to the tiny audiences who at that moment in time were subscribing to satellite television.

After the collapse of the BSB deal the Chief Executive of the SFA, Jim Farry (nicknamed "The Godfarry" by some of the Scottish media, because of his authoritarian grip on SFA policy)

guided Scottish football away from negotiations with satellite broadcasters, and pursued (or was obliged to follow) a policy in line with the UEFA statute. In giving evidence to the National Heritage Committee on 'Sports Sponsorship and Televised Coverage' in May 1994 Farry laid down his opinion as to why satellite coverage of football had disrupted the domestic game in Scotland:

> Article 14 functioned reasonably well in an environment where the majority of broadcasts across a frontier were bilateral matters involving terrestrial transmissions affecting only two or three national football associations. However, it was evidently ill–adapted to the world of satellite broadcasting in which the 'footprint' of a satellite may extend to the territories of a great many different football associations. The location of the satellite company headquarters can evade relevant Government legislation.
> (National Heritage Committee, 1994; 218)

With a specialised, single genre channel, Sky Sport, the 1992/93 season saw an emphatic, comprehensive coverage of English football, all available to Scottish football enthusiasts with access to satellite television or the inclination to frequent one of the many bars in Scotland which broadcast the 'live' games on Sunday afternoons and Monday evenings. In the eyes of Farry, this amounted to a saturation of 'live' football broadcasts within Scotland and he was fearful of its effect on attendances. Again, to quote from his memorandum given to the National Heritage Committee, he highlighted that:

> ... with the population of England being much larger, the volume of live football broadcasts can be absorbed more readily and therefore any effect on matches is less obvious... it is very important for the Scottish game that there be at least some mechanism for supervising television transmissions, particularly of English matches.
> (National Heritage Committee, 1994; 219)

Farry's, and hence the SFA's, position appeared in no doubt at this stage in time. He had consistently criticised the behaviour of any television company or 'foreign' football association who attempted to cross his protectionist path. As we shall discuss later, the economic pressures that television has increasingly brought to bear in its quest to supply a 'live' football spectacle to eager armchair audiences and sponsors would soon lure Scottish football towards what one Scottish tabloid newspaper, *The Daily Record*, later called "a telly treat". But first our analysis turns towards STV's decision in 1994 to broadcast 'live' games from England during peak viewing times.

English Invasion? – STV in the ITV Network

The above set of competing discourses established the context within which hostilities between the SFA and ITV companies during the 1993/94 season were premised. The conflict was specifically concentrated upon the transmission of matches from the English Coca–Cola Cup and the European Cup Winners Cup.

As part of the centralised ITV Sport network based in London, STV had decided in February 1994 to screen 'live' coverage of the English Coca–Cola Cup Semi–finals involving Aston Villa versus Tranmere Rovers and Sheffield Wednesday versus Manchester United and subsequently the final in March 1994 which saw Aston Villa versus Manchester United. After losing the contract for the Premier League, the English Coca–Cola Cup was the only competition where ITV could provide coverage of the top flight teams like Manchester United, Liverpool and Arsenal. Therefore, it is not surprising that ITV wanted to optimise their audiences for these specific 'live' broadcasts to help bolster a somewhat deflated sports portfolio. Moreover, for the sponsor Coca–Cola the screening of the English Semi–finals provided a second marketing opportunity within the Scottish market without any supplementary cost. The Scottish Football League's equivalent competition, the Scottish Coca–Cola Cup, had by this stage already run its due course, with the Final being played before Christmas 1993. Typically, it had not been shown in England, even within a highlights package. Finally, for STV it provided an opportunity to capture a larger share of the Sunday afternoon television audience in Scotland, in competition with other terrestrial channels.

Furthermore, STV had access to 'live' coverage of England's representative, Arsenal, within the European Cup Winners Cup, a contract negotiated by Trevor East, then Head of ITV Sport, for the whole ITV network. Rather than produce an alternative programme, or show a film as is often the practice when filling a 'slot' in the TV schedule, given the present climate of open cross–border trade and their membership within the ITV Sport network, STV had taken up the less costly option of 'live' football from their sister company in the south.

STV's decision in overriding the UEFA directive Article 14 brought a swift series of complaints from the SFA. As a matter of procedure the SFA reported the English Football League (the overseer of the Coca–Cola Cup) to UEFA (which it did on at least twelve

occasions in 1994) accusing their southern counterparts of not approaching them for approval and endangering attendances at Scottish League games. Unamused, Jim Farry, candidly pronounced:

> The Football League don't own our territory in Scotland any more than they do in Bolivia... In Scotland we are accustomed to English organisations mistakenly thinking that they represent Britain. This is another one of those cases. The matter rests in the hands of the FA to ensure the UEFA's rules are observed. (*The Scotsman* 23.2.94.)

The weight of British football's political history and cultural rivalry falls behind Farry's accusing finger. His defence is not only against the economic threat to Scottish League clubs of televised football from England, but also the broadening of English football's nomenclature to represent the whole of the UK where, for instance, Arsenal's progress in Europe comes to represent the whole of British football, therefore subordinating the distinctiveness of Scottish club football. Countering the contention that television in the UK is one marketplace Farry suggested:

> the [English] FA and its affiliates have "sold" UK rights at UK prices without the prior knowledge and necessary consents of Scotland. (National Heritage Committee, 1994; 219)

If television in the UK is one marketplace why then, Farry asked, do we have: distinct boards of governors; separate management structures; regional and national franchises; competition for advertising clients; and the withdrawal of multi–national advertising brands from selected regional Independent Television Companies (ie. Unilever in Scotland)?

Scottish broadcasters also received the sharp edge of Farry's tongue for their stubborn persistence in televising matches from the south. Railing against STV's decision to transmit 'live' action from Arsenal's European Cup Winners Cup semi–final clash with the French club Paris St. Germain in March 1994, which ignored the domestic Cup semi–final replay at Hampden between Aberdeen and Dundee United, Farry lambasted STV who, he suggested, were becoming no more than "an anglicised outpost of ITV, rather than a distinctively Scottish station" (*Scotland on Sunday*, 17.4.94.).

Farry's accusations were met with indifference from the English football authorities. Faced with a possible fine of up to £1 million for the breach of Article 14, the English FA responded

to criticism through their commercial director, Trevor Philips who in a blase manner commented: "Short of blowing up the transmitters, there is little we can do to stop ITV" (*The Scotsman* 23.2.94.).

The television companies were not so reticent. Denying the SFA any jurisdiction over their broadcasts, representatives of both STV and ITV Sport were vehement in their retort. STV provided evidence of what they called a 'courtesy letter' sent to the SFA in January 1994, which outlined the matches they had intended to screen 'live' (*Daily Record* 23.2.94), which, they claimed, gave the football authorities time to reschedule any fixtures where attendances may be significantly threatened. More pointedly, against Farry's staunch defence of Article 14, STV suggested that the UEFA ruling was far from clear in the context of broadcasting within the UK. Under the headline 'ITV WILL BROADCAST AND BE DAMNED' an STV spokesman was quoted as saying:

> The rules have been changed so many times that no–one seems to know any more what is allowed and what isn't.
> (*The Scotsman* 23.2.94.)

Furthermore, STV's position was specifically reiterated by ITV's head of legal affairs, Andrew Chowns, who claimed that the SFA's position was neither valid nor enforceable in law. He argued:

> Our contract with the Football League gives us UK rights and we feel it would be a restriction of trade if this game was not shown throughout the ITV network... This guerrilla war isn't helping football or television.(*The Scotsman* 23.2.94.)

Scotland's best selling newspaper *The Daily Record* also joined in the rebuttal against Jim Farry. Attacking the premise of the SFA argument – that 'live' games were a threat to gate receipts – the newspaper took a more ironic view by arguing that if the Coca–Cola Cup semi–finals were transmitted they would hardly affect attendance at Scottish League games scheduled to be played on the same evening as the Manchester United versus Sheffield Wednesday semi-final. The games in question involved Meadowbank Thistle and Alloa, and Cowdenbeath and Montrose. Under the damning headline "STUFF THE SFA" *The Daily Record* (22.2.94.) argued: "If they drew 1000 fans between the two games, it would be a surprise to all four teams."

Neither case is easy to substantiate, largely because there is not enough evidence to prove that television coverage is the main reason why people do not attend a specific football match. From ticket prices to the state of the weather there is a whole series of possible reasons and circumstances. Even where attendances are exceptionally below what could be expected, and common sense points towards television as the major culprit, any measurable correlation is elusive. For example, when STV showed the European Cup Winners Cup tie Arsenal v Paris St. Germain in March 1994, Aberdeen played Dundee United in the Tennants Scottish Cup semi–final at Hampden (Glasgow) where the crowd of 13,936 was way below what might have been expected for such a fixture. The televised match would appear to have been the main culprit. However, the fact that it was a mid–week game, played within a stadium well over two hours drive away from both Aberdeen and Dundee is an equally powerful reason why fans would stay away –also remembering that local and national radio would provide running commentary on the match. STV's actions were clearly motivated by economic pressures and the need to supply advertisers with audiences. As the Head of News, Sport and Current Affairs for STV, Scott Ferguson, proclaimed in defence of the 'live' coverage of Paris St. Germain versus Arsenal:

> For that game we had 48% of the peak time audience in Scotland. It's what the viewers want to see. When we showed Arsenal versus Torino in the previous round 10% more people watched the match compared with in England. (*The Herald*, 4.3.94.)

Such figures resonate strongly with the desires of advertisers. Add the relatively cheap production cost of televised football in comparison to other television genres and by their own account STV were getting value for money. However, it would be misleading to suggest that financial considerations were the only criterion upon which STV made its policy decision, a subject I will return to in due course.

Renegotiating Contracts for Scottish Football

When the SFA's contract with satellite television ended in 1992, they negotiated a two year deal with the two terrestrial channels, BBC Scotland and Scottish Television. The contracts consisted of Scottish Premier League highlights plus highlights of the preliminary rounds of the two cup competitions and 'live' coverage of the finals: 1993 and 1994 Scottish Cup (BBC), 1993 League Cup (STV) and 1994 League Cup (BBC). These contracts were due for renegotiation from the end of the 1993/94 season.

In June 1994, only one month after Farry had submitted his evidence to the National Heritage Committee which emphasised his commitment to Scottish League highlights on terrestrial television, it was clear that the SFA were considering a complete volte–face regarding the merit of 'live' televised football.

Rumours abounded within the Scottish press that the SFA's commercial manager, Bill Wilson (dubbed 'Mr Moneybags' by the *Scottish Sunday Mirror*), was in the process of securing an exclusive £20 million deal for 'live' coverage with cable television operator Wire TV. The SFA's interest in Wire TV had been aroused by the television company's projection that by 1996 there would be five million households in the UK connected to cable. As for Wire TV's interest, as a new player within televised sport they were eager to increase their meagre football output which in 1994 consisted of non–League matches from the English Vauxhall Conference League. Therefore, Scottish football would prove a jewel in their crown which would help develop subscriptions, just as English football had for Sky.

The idea of the return of 'live' football also captured the imagination of the Scottish press as the following headlines hit both the front and back pages: "£20M FOR SFA – MR MONEYBAGS PLAYS A BLINDER" *The Sunday Mirror* (12.6.94.); "FOOTBALL TO LAND A TV TONIC – CABLE GOES CASH CRAZY" *The Sunday Post* (12.6.94.); and "TV STATION IN £20M BID TO SHOW LIVE SCOTS GAMES" *Daily Express* (13.6.94.). In the event, the press headlines proved no more than hyperbole, providing the SFA with a suitable amount of leverage with which to approach other television networks, including Sky.

Part of the undoing for Wire TV, who struggled to compete with Sky and were eventually taken over by the Murdoch's satellite station, was a third player within the sports–media complex. At the time of negotiating with Wire TV, the SFA secured a four year sponsorship deal with the Scottish distillers Bells worth £6 million. After two years without a sponsor for the League Championship the Scottish League had decided to restructure its system of three divisions into four. This process streamlined the Premier League down to ten clubs in the belief that a smaller, elite group of clubs would be more marketable to sponsors and television. Bells had moved their interest to football after the collapse of their most prestigious sports

sponsorship deal with the Scottish Open Golf Tournament. Their investment in golf ended abruptly as audiences for Sky's exclusive coverage plummeted below one million, a figure substantially less than when the event was covered by the BBC. Therefore, Bells decided to sponsor the Scottish Premier League with the provision that Scottish football must be shown on terrestrial television.

However, Bells must have been anxious with only two weeks to the opening games of the 1994/95 season as there had not been a deal struck between the SFA and television. In the week before the season began domestic coverage in Scotland was secured with the BBC for £2 million (28 games in edited highlights and the Coca–Cola Cup Final 'live') and with STV for £3 million which would see the return of 'live' Premier League matches (7 per season)and 21 games in edited highlights. The BBC also negotiated deals to cover Scotland in the European Championships and STV struck a deal with UEFA for 'live' coverage of Glasgow Rangers in the European Champions League (who were to be knocked out during the preliminary round). The contracts for four years appeared cheap at the price, which suggests that Bells' stipulation regarding terrestrial coverage lessened the bargaining power of the SFA. However, the SFA were still in negotiation with Sky who were interested in 'live' coverage to help fill the schedules of their two sports channels.

Sky's cause was aided by the relaxation of UEFA's statute on cross border television before the start of the 1994/95 season. In an attempt to supply the largest possible European wide television audiences to advertisers and sponsors they decided to run their three club competitions – The UEFA Cup, the Champions League and the Cup Winners Cup – on distinct nights of the week, so that the above competitions would be played across Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday respectively. This effectively increased the potential level of 'live' televised football from Europe threefold. It must have been this thought which led the sports journalist Ian Paul of *The Herald* to suggest that the Scots fan could potentially see one hundred 'live' matches per year. He commented:

> It all adds up to saturation coverage of a sport which for many years argued that it would never sell the jersey to television.
> (*The Herald* 10.8.94.)

With UK football enthusiasts enjoying the mushrooming of access to 'live' matches, the SFA

sold even more rights to Scottish football to Sky for £10.5 million in November 1994, four months into the season. The SFA's protectionist stance towards the Scottish game proclaimed when giving evidence to the National Heritage Committee seven months earlier now rang hollow. Not only would there be twenty five 'live' games a season, sixteen of these matches would be switched at the behest of television, including the traditional New Years Day fixture (Ne'erday game) between the 'Old Firm' which was moved to 4 January to accommodate Sky's scheduling.

With complaints from supporters regarding the movement of the Ne'erday game, Farry attempted to contextualise the decision, as can be witnessed by this selection of quotes which appeared in the flurry of newspaper articles that appeared after the Sky deal:

> The climate has changed... UEFA has liberalised its approach to international games.(*The Herald* 1.12.94.)

> There are many overheads in maintaining first class professional football these days. We are hopeful that Sky will help us to promote Scottish football and that it will have an impact beyond Scotland.
> (*The Herald* 1.12.94.)

> This agreement means our football will have an impact beyond Scotland and that is important.
> (*The Scottish Sun* 1.12.94.)

The Head of Sky Sports, Vic Wakeling, followed Farry in the belief that the extensive 'live' coverage on satellite would expand the appeal of Scottish football when he suggested:

> This deal is a major investment in Scottish football we will now be able to show the changing face of football up here to an English audience.
> (*Daily Express* 1.12.94.)

However, others within both the television and football industry did not take such a sanguine approach to the BSkyB contract. Mike Abbott, Sports Editor for BBC Scotland, suggested that the Scottish game, with only ten clubs in the Premier League, was not large or spectacular enough to warrant so much television coverage. On weekends where both BSkyB and STV selected 'live' matches, the BBC would be left with only three less appealing ties to choose from for their Saturday evening highlights programme *Sportscene: Match of the Day.*

The Scottish Premier League cannot provide the same scope and permutations as its English equivalent. Clubs play each other a minimum of four times within a season, which can lead to a monotonous scenario. Which leaves us to question whether the Scottish domestic game will

have the same appeal and allure south of the border which its governing body and Sky television appear to assign for it? Scottish football does have its unique attributes and peculiarities, not least the rivalry of the 'Old Firm'. One thing seems assured, that television was always going to win the war of attrition originally fought by the reluctant SFA.

The alliances and relationships between terrestrial and satellite broadcasters appear to signal the future market structure of televised football in Scotland and the UK. Both global (BSkyB) and local (BBC Scotland and STV) broadcasters will continue to forge partnerships to provide a comprehensive mixture of 'live' and 'recorded' football. As will be discussed below, broadcasters lay emphasis on 'Scottishness' as a distinctive way of mobilising audiences for ideological and commercial reasons. For their part, BSkyB mobilises signifiers of the Scottish character, seen in their aggressive advertising campaign to recruit new subscribers by laying emphasis on the 'passion' of Scottish football. This presents a partial, simulated view of the nation, and is synonymous with an increasingly 'themed' Scottish heritage industry and culture. On the other hand, terrestrial broadcasters emphasise distinctive Scottish traits through their actual football coverage. It is towards the image and rhetoric of 'Scottishness' within public service and commercial broadcasting in Scotland that I now turn.

Television and Scottish Football Discourse

Any economic determinism which the above analysis of broadcasters' negotiations with football may suggest, must be tempered by an analysis of the specific mode of address employed by both STV and BBC Scotland towards Scottish audiences for televised sport. As discussed above regarding the renegotiation of contracts for televising Scottish football, the realm of sport offers, along with regional news programming, a degree of autonomy within the schedules of terrestrial television in the UK.

It is crucial to note, therefore, that within STV's coverage of the English Coca–Cola Cup, for example, only the pictures were taken from the 'live' matches. Instead of the English presenter, panelists, and commentary team, STV's programme *Scotsport* framed the 'live' action within their own indigenous production style, using their own personnel and football pundits. The decision to frame the English games within the context of Scottish comment and analysis proved an important device by which STV could maintain an element of 'Scottishness' within

its mode of address. Scottish audiences have notoriously been critical of English commentators and, in particular, its football presenters: Jimmy Hill is one such figure who receives no mean level of condescension from Scottish football supporters (a familiar chant on Scottish terraces being: 'We hate Jimmy Hill! He's a poof, he's a poof!'). The familiar faces and voices of the STV sports team could therefore be seen as a stronger point of entry for Scottish viewers, producing a presentation style with which a Scottish audience can identify, specifically where the match analysis turns to issues related to Scottish football. For example, before STV decided to over–ride the UEFA statute they were only allowed to broadcast the second–half of Aston Villa against Tranmere Rovers first leg tie in the Coca–Cola cup semi–final (Sunday 27.2.94.). To compensate for the loss of the first half, *Scotsport* between 3.00pm and 4.00pm conducted a lengthy debate on the then unsettled politics concerning the struggle for control over one of Scotland's most successful clubs, Glasgow Celtic. This device sought to capture the mid–afternoon audience and act as a lead–in to the main match from England.

It might be argued that elements of the male popular cultural tradition of 'talking about the fitba' within the industrial West of Scotland can be traced within STV's policy to produce its own 'spin' to the events on the field of play in England. As the highly acclaimed Scottish sports journalist Hugh McIlvanney has cogently suggested:

> Having given the world countless outstanding players and... a richer crop of remarkable managers than any tiny corner of a tiny country was ever entitled to produce, we are convinced that a basic feeling for the game's true values is bred in our marrow.
> (McIlvanney, 1995; 9)

While the acumen of the contemporary practitioners of 'football punditry' on *Scotsport* may be a matter of debate, satire or even ridicule within Scottish football sub–culture (for instance, the BBC Scotland satirical comedy programme *Only An Excuse?* is an irreverent critique of the at times inane, self–importance of the Scottish sports media), the point to be emphasised is the distinctiveness of Scottish discourses about football which have their own social history and motivation. Although the English and other domestic club football within Europe is admired within Scotland, both within the media and everyday discourse, it is a different proposition entirely to suggest that the Scottish domestic game, and in turn, Scottish national culture is being eroded by the pressures of any 'sporting global media circus' (Blake, 1995; 49).

The 'Auld Enemy' at Euro '96

The final case study of this chapter, therefore, provides an analysis of the BBC's coverage of probably the most significant match played in recent years north and south of the border: England against Scotland at Wembley during the 1996 European Championships in England. Both BBC Scotland and STV had taken the opportunity to opt out from their respective networks to provide a purely Scottish perspective of Scotland's performance in the tournament. Scotland's first game against Holland had been 'live' on STV (with commentary from Gerry McNee and Joe Jordan) and later shown in edited highlights within a special edition of BBC Scotland's *Sportscene: Euro 96* (with commentary from Jock Brown). In the week of the Scotland's game with England, the *Radio Times* published a distinctive Scottish edition with a different front cover (Scotland's Captain Garry McAllister replaced Paul Gascoigne from the English edition) and a pro–Scottish blurb to promote the BBC's *Grandstand Euro 96.* The rhetoric of the promotional material left no doubts as to which audience it was addressing:

> Since the European Championship draw was made last December this is the day all Scotland has been waiting for – it's the big one, it's Wembley and it's England.
>
> The Tartan Army hasn't marched on Wembley since 1988 – the last match between the two old foes was at Hampden 12 months later – and for many this match will be as important as the final itself. And ignore the formbook, because when a Scot is kitted out in the famous navy blue and England are the opponents anything can happen.
> (*Radio Times*, Scotland ed, 15–21 June, 1996)

One feature of all Scottish media – apparent in the above excerpt – is a discursive claim to 'common sense' opinion about what a match between Scotland and England signifies. Scottish sports journalists address their audience by recourse to particular local idioms and discourses, many of which are quite specifically and self–reflexively anti–English. How these anti–English sentiments are mobilised, however, is dependent on the specific media. BBC Scotland's public service imperative, therefore, allowed a certain level of bias to reflect the desires of its audience, but also demanded adherence to professional codes of impartiality where necessary (for instance in the appraisal of the English team).

The 'Wembley Weekend'

In setting the scene for the match there were a number of themes which anchored the pre–match discussions and established the key criteria from which the remainder of the televised coverage would proceed. The most prominent theme was the notion of tradition, which was continually

reinvented throughout the BBC's coverage, both in Scotland and England. The lengthy history of the longest running international fixture (which began in 1872) provided the basis for a review of key eras, matches, and players. This included an extensive report by Gerald Sinstadt (who provided the only discourse shared by the productions in Scotland and England) which provided a potted history from the BBC archives. There was particular emphasis on place: that is, who won where, and why it was significant. Therefore, any Scottish triumph at Wembley was given particular credence, including the following 'high' points: the 'Wembley Wizards' (1928); the defeat of England as World Champions (1967); and the invasion of the pitch in celebration (1977). This meta–narrative of encounters was given an extra, individualised, gloss by interviews with ex–players. Jim Baxter, who played in several victorious Scotland sides against England (most notably in 1967) recalled that he always liked "to do them a turn" in front of his friends who had travelled down for the fabled 'Wembley Weekend'. Similarly, ex–England international players also recalled their feelings regarding the fixture. Billy Wright, who had captained his nation during a successful period for England against the Scots during the 1950's, remembered:

> I used to roll my sleeves up that one more inch to play against Scotland. And to beat them was always a great thrill.
> (BBC1 network, 15.6.96.)

The relish for the challenge expressed in this quote was reiterated by Bobby Charlton when he reflected on the mood of the Scots when they came to Wembley, with specific reference to 1967:

> You never need to motivate Scotland against England, especially at Wembley. I didn't lose any sleep over it when they said they'd won the World Cup, you know [laughs] It's what you would expect, but.
> (BBC1 network, 15.6.96.)

The national stereotyping and dismissive rhetoric deployed by Charlton, clearly addressed to an English audience, was reflective of broader discourses emanating from the English media which frequently produce a reactionary response from Scottish football fans and audiences. Moreover, the inclusion of Charlton's interview within BBC Scotland's coverage conflicted with both the general mien of their framing of the match and, specifically, with anchor Dougie Donnelly's tongue–in–cheek reference to 1967 (within the review of famous victories) as being "the year Scotland became World Champions".

As I have suggested above, Scottish discourse on football produces a symbolic anti–English sentiment which in itself constructs a distinct, innate identity, albeit a mythological one. As Bairner (1994; 12) observes, "the image is what matters for many Scots and the image suggests that Scottish football differs from English football and, by implication, that the Scots are qualitatively different from the English". While this 'difference' usually refers to styles of play, it may also be seen in terms of the 'affective sensibility' (Grossberg, 1992) of Scottish football media and fans. In other words, the intensity of engagement with football, specifically during a match between the 'Auld Enemy', is perceived as being greater among Scots, and the absorption in to the 'Wembley Weekend' and their investment with the symbolic nature of place (Wembley) and events (either pre–match or post–match revelry) are central within this characterisation. For example, within BBC Scotland's pre–match analysis the panelists Eamonn Bannon and Willy Miller discussed the possibility of a Scottish victory and, more generally, what the fixture meant to them. Miller, in response to the specific question from Donnelly about the Scot's tradition of getting carried away with minor success (referring to a 0–0 draw with Holland) replied, "Well, we're Scottish aren't we Dougie, we've got to get carried away". This ironic response, is part of a wider application of self–knowledge which has been most visually present among supporters of the Scotland national team (the Tartan Army) since the mid–1980s (Giulianotti, 1991), and it would appear significant that Scottish television pundits should also interact with such self–mockery based on a realisation that Scotland are not a supreme footballing power (a delusion still prevalent among discourses on English football). A further aspect of this 'affective sensibility' was revealed when Miller discussed the nostalgia for the black and white images of Scotland's successes in the 1960s. When asked about his first memories, Miller replied, "I don't have any specific memories. It's just a feeling, isn't it? It's a feeling, back home. It's a feeling amongst the supporters about the fixture". This infers a heightened connection between ideology and pleasure inscribed within the fixture which are part of broader systems of meaning associated with Scotland and football.

Within the BBC's network coverage the analysis of the fixture was on a totally different plane. The anchor, Des Lynam, positioned the match as a spectacle on a European stage, and as a form of 'shop window' on British football. The concern was to judge the quality of the British game – by implication twinning English and Scottish domestic football – which led to Lynam to ask the 'neutral' panelist, the former Dutch international, Ruud Gullit (then newly installed

manager of the English club Chelsea): "Are we a bit second rate at this game?" Gullit, drawing upon one year of experience as a Premier League player, proceeded to characterise the game in England as involving a rushed, fast and exciting style, concluding that, "The English want action all the time". Scotland, and Scottish style, immediately disappeared from the equation. With many of Scotland's players representing English clubs in the Premiership, it was a small step to conflate their talents to an English style (which was further conflated into a British style). This sleight of hand (also seen with the Republic of Ireland during the 1994 World Cup, see Chapter 6) is another element of network coverage which produces consternation among Scottish audiences. It also provides further reason, on the part of Scottish broadcasters, for an opt out to domestic Scottish analysis.

Another major theme of the BBC's coverage, which I have already alluded to above, was to lay emphasis on the importance of the fans and, in the case of BBC Scotland, to openly identify with their symbolic presence at Wembley, and in the Capital more generally. The fans also featured in the BBC network coverage right from Lynam's opening address: "It is a big occasion down on the pitch. but it's also, as far as the fans are concerned, a time for having a 'good time' time". There then followed a sequence of recorded shots of English and Scottish fans making their way to the stadium, unusually, for this type of montage, without music or narrative from a reporter. BBC Scotland also had a 'roving eye' accompanied by a reporter Dave Nesbitt, who was "out and about with the 'Tartan Army'". The gregarious nature of the Scots – dressed in kilts and other tartan regalia – was contradictorily seen as both a form of 'ambassadorial bonhomie' (Guiliannotti, 1991; 504) with their hosts and, at the same time, a marker of distinctiveness from the traditional media perception of England fans as chauvinistic. This form of public relations or impression management by Scottish fans is both a reaction to the panoptical gaze of increasing police activity at international football tournaments, and also, due to the increasing reportage of football fan behaviour by the mass media. By actively seeking the attention of the media, through a playful, non–violent, exhibitionism, the 'Tartan Army's' expression of the carnivalesque has been theorised as a culture of evasion and re–empowerment (Giulianotti, 1991). What emerges from the televised coverage of Euro '96 from Scotland is both an empathy with, and celebration of, this Scottish fan discourse and symbolic invasion as a means of expressing the broadcaster's own identity with which the viewer at home can engage.

Patriot Commentary

Needless to say, the match commentaries continued these main themes throughout the length of their narratives, and seemingly diverged in their perception of events on (and off) the field of play as the game neared an end. The tradition of the event, and the style of football we were expected to see, was immediately laid out by John Motson in his commentary for the BBC network, with all the familiar metaphors of war:

> The Scots took the lead at Bannockburn, the English equalised a couple of centuries later at Culloden, and then, in 1872, they decided to settle it by playing football.

He continued:

> There's no doubt about the intensity of the battle ahead... it is more a collision of wills, really: pride, passion and, no little prejudice.
> (BBC1 network, 15.6.96.)

The inaccurate, insensitive, inanity of Motson's opening remarks, conjuring up embattled images of two nations at war, contrasted with the more reasoned, initially less emotionally charged commentary from Jock Brown for BBC Scotland. After passing comment on England fans outnumbering the Scots (audibly heard during the singing of the Scotland team's adopted anthem, 'Flower of Scotland') Brown, with his co–commentator Billy McNeill, settled down to a studied appraisal of Scotland's early performance, with a well struck shot by McAllister and attacking moves by the two full–backs, McKimmie and McKinley, viewed as a promising start to the match. For BBC network, these same events were viewed quite differently. On McAllister's shot, Motson placed emphasis on Seaman's save, interpreting this early action as a confidence booster to the goalkeeper.

Motson's co–commentator, Trevor Brooking, viewed Scotland's positive start more as a negative opening by England. Brooking suggested that, "Scotland can't hope to just sit back and pinch a goal", intimating that the Scots were a defensive force, while recognising several minutes later that England were, "not threatening as an attacking force" and that "we [England] had a better opening half against Switzerland". As Tudor (1992) has shown, and I illustrated in Chapter 6, once a team or player has been characterised the commentator has a vested interest in maintaining this stereotype throughout his narrative, in spite of any contradictions. This clearly applies to Brooking's perception of play, as Scotland defied their defensive trait, and England

failed to live up to their new mode of attacking football under coach Terry Venables. Also within these excerpts, taken from the first twenty minutes of the game, creeping into Brooking's discourse is the objectification of 'us' (England) and 'them' (Scotland) with the use of the pronoun 'we'.

This identification with the national team also began to appear more frequently within BBC Scotland's commentary, particularly by McNeill during his moments of analysing the tactical arrangements of Scotland. In defending a cross which resulted in a header on goal by England's forward, Teddy Sheringham, McNeill berated the Scottish defence by saying, "Really, we [Scotland] can't allow that sort of space to develop", and similarly in attack, "We've [Scotland] been a little bit too respectful of them [England]". McNeill's (and Brooking's) discourse displays an eclipsing of journalistic ideologies of impartiality, historically built into the technique of commentary, but also opens up an empathy with the anxieties of the Scottish viewer, and increases the likelihood of identification with, and pleasure of, the television narrative.

Half–time Analysis

However, McNeill's patriotic commentary was relatively muted compared to the half–time analysis by Donnelly, Bannon and Miller. Clearly elevated by the 0–0 scoreline at half–time, the panelists' hopes now appeared reinvigorated. Unlike BBC network, BBC Scotland did not have a non–British pundit, but appealed to the impartial viewer all the same when Bannon said, "We've surpassed our expectations. If you were a fair–minded neutral you would say Scotland were the better team in the first forty–five minutes" This statement was then endorsed by the anchor, Donnelly, "We're certainly causing them more trouble than they're causing us". There then followed a series of replays which highlighted three Scotland attacks and one England attack, from which the panel anticipated what the England manager, Venables, would change tactically in the second–half. Miller and Bannon both produced what in actuality became a profound piece of analysis, as they suggested that Venables should change his midfield to counter Scotland's attacking full–backs, McKimmie and McKinley. Donnelly, summarising the half–time analysis, chastened any rampant optimism the first half may have brought by asking, "We seem to have spent a lot of time talking about England's problems, which is probably quite nice to talk about at this stage, but I come back to the point that we still haven't scored, so

we're back to square one. All the good work in effect has gone for nothing, and we've got to start over again and get that goal, haven't we?" Anxiety over Scotland's failure to capitalise on their first–half performance, in narrative terms, brought a new sense of disruption, to once more heighten the drama of the occasion.

The half–time analysis on the BBC network stressed the dismal performance by England rather than attribute any sense of superiority by Scotland. Gullit showed surprise at what he called "England's lack of mobility", while Hill castigated the physical and emotional state of Paul Gascoigne, the England midfield player. Moreover, Hill's critical discourse appeared to have been fuelled by pre–tournament attacks on the England players from the tabloid press (specifically related to incidents on an England tour to Hong Kong one month before the finals). Wagg (1991) has illustrated, in his study of the treatment of England managers by the media in the 1980's, how much of this critique is based on the 'atavistic fantasy' that England are a supreme footballing nation, which is propagated by the tabloid press, who chastise managers and players for not realising the nation's potential dominance. As Wagg (1991; 237) says, "This, then, is another British disease: hunting the Guilty Men". Although not as overtly racist in its rhetoric, Hill's and Lynam's disgruntled synopsis of the first–half reflected this broader media critique of the England team, endlessly searching for a scapegoat. Hansen, for his part, attempted to stress that Scotland had performed well, but could not see them scoring for lack of 'firepower'. Following England's lacklustre first-half performance, Lynam's final comment before the second–half commenced returned to the theme of tradition to reinvigorate anticipation and a sense of drama: "It's not a classic, but it's a classic occasion".

Agony and Ecstasy

As predicted by the BBC Scotland panelists England changed their midfield pattern by introducing the substitute Jamie Rednapp whose passing began to free the previously subdued attacking forces of McManaman and Anderton. The dynamics of the game appeared to shift considerably as England began to press upon Scotland's defence, prompting Brooking to suggest this was a "promising start" to the second–half. A shot by McManaman was seen by Motson to give England, "a spring in the step all of a sudden," a fillip to morale which led to the first England goal scored by Alan Shearer. As Shearer scored, Motson's commentary, half drowned by the roar of the Wembley crowd, became increasingly euphoric, singing the praises

of Rednapp, McManaman, and Neville who had instigated the goal. A litany of superlatives ensued connecting the goal with the "exultation around the ground" and linking his narrative historically to the last England player to score a goal against Scotland at Wembley, "another Geordie, Peter Beardsley." This was now "a different England" with a changed style of play, where, "everything's going England's way," sending "Wembley all a buzz." After three minutes of incessant euphoria, Motson recoiled to judge Scotland's position in the game with the following statement: "Now, being strictly neutral, as we are, what do Scotland do in this situation?" By this time, however, Motson's bias was all too clear, and he illustrated his lack of any real concern for Scotland a couple of minutes later when he said, "There's an assurance now about England's passing. A refreshing edge to their football that was never there in the first forty–five minutes. It's important they keep it there now."

The Scottish commentators, conversely, only saw "bad times" for Scotland. McNeill, in particular, regressed out of any notion of impartiality, and into a heavily partisan discourse, albeit a frustrated one, of which the following is a sample (my emphasis added):

> *We've* got to get to grips with the midfield. *They've* got far too much room there. It's changed so much from the first–half when *we* denied *them* any space whatsoever. But, at the minute, now, *they're* getting all sorts of space. *We've* really got to start encouraging *our* own midfield players to get there and pay a bit more close attention. Once *we* get the ball in that area *we've* got the players that can create something, as *we* showed in the first–half. But, at the minute, England certainly look half a yard quicker.
> (BBC Scotland, 15.6.96.)

As the second–half progressed Scotland reimposed themselves on the match, and were awarded a penalty with fifteen minutes to go, after a sustained period of attacking play. Once more, Motson contextualised the penalty within a broader narrative, it being the second successive penalty England had conceded in the tournament. However, Scotland's captain, McAllister had his spot–kick saved by England's goalkeeper, Seaman. As the director provided a close–up of the forlorn Scotland captain, Brown interjected, "McAllister can't believe it, nor can the Scottish fans" and McNeill in shock replied, "What a chance for us."

The commentary, in many respects, could not possibly hope to summarise the mixed emotions involved at such a moment, which were thrown into further turmoil as Paul Gascoigne ran onto a long pass, flicked the ball over an advancing Scotland defender, Colin Hendry, and volleyed the ball into the net. Motson was beside himself as his commentary melted into the Wembley

tumult. A metaphor for his euphoric state could only be a sexual climax. As Gascoigne flicked the ball over the defender, Motson could not restrain his excitement: "Oh! Oh! Brilliant!" which turned into the scream of "Oh Yes! Oh Yes!". As Gascoigne lay at the side of the pitch and his teammates poured water down his throat, mocking the images of tabloid stories of England drinking binges, Motson connected the story of the errant England football star to his magical piece of skill:

> What a pertinent answer to all his critics. And Terry Venables vindicated...One of the great Wembley goals in England, Scotland fixtures, surely. Mesmeric stuff by the twenty–nine year old whose been in so many headlines this week. (BBC1 network, 15.6.96.)

For Brown and McNeill, Gascoigne's goal was more a graphic illustration of the skills that had endeared him to Scottish sports media over the previous year, which had led to the Glasgow Ranger's player being voted the Scottish Player of the Year. While Gascoigne had been severely criticised for his supposed lack of fitness and psychological state of mind – as mentioned by Hill – the Scottish press and television had revelled in the player's gifts as a footballer, prepared to tolerate, on balance, his more disruptive behaviour. The "sheer genius" which Gascoigne displayed, was from Brown's perspective, a way of "capping a great season for Rangers." Connection by association, in this instance, perhaps proved a logical, less painful way of identifying with Gascoigne's goal for England. Finally, the mood of Scotland supporters, as the final whistle secured England's 2–0 victory, was symbolically captured by an image of a Scotland fan, cloaked in the 'saltire', with his face painted blue and white, shaking his head, in a state of inconsolable despondency. Brown's parting word's being, ' that really sums up the Scottish supporters reaction."

Conclusion

The above analysis of the two narratives provided by BBC network and BBC Scotland on the England and Scotland match, attempts to convey not only the different perspectives which are possible from the same match – after all this is nothing unusual as debate about what is significant within a match is part and parcel of football discourse as sub–culture – but also suggest that the televised coverage of football is inexorably linked to issues of national identity. The match in question is clearly a special case, where patriotic fervour surfaces more readily within the television discourse of commentators and panelists, who assume specific affinities

and affective ties with their audiences 'at home'. But, the ability of a Scottish broadcaster – here, I have focused on BBC Scotland but it could equally apply to STV – to engage with expressions of nationalist sporting performance, is a significant symbolic, political challenge to the metropolitan centredness of much sports broadcasting discourse.

However, the opt out system, although excluding the often patronising judgments of English commentators, also sets up further problems as to who the localised service is addressing. We have seen with the debates over television rights, that the images and rhetoric of 'Scottishness' are mobilised by television broadcasters under different criteria. Furthermore, the dominance of certain clubs and football communities ensures that money from television and sponsorship flows unevenly through Scottish football as a cultural industry along distinctions of urban and rural, east and west, and Protestant and Catholic.

A further problematic is the emergent force of BSkyB in the coverage of football, which is re–shaping the game through global economic forces. Initially, during the period under review above, the SFA harboured fears regarding the footprint of English televised football via satellite into Scottish homes, possibly scared of a diluted interest in the domestic game. Furthermore, its rejection of this protectionist stance appears to add to the assertion that global football is increasingly becoming a 'global circus'. However, while localised, terrestrial television, continues to work in partnership with BSkyB, albeit with lesser financial clout, the distinctive discourse and vernacular of Scottish commentary and analysis will also continue to symbolically unify itself to the cause of the 'Tartan Army' and Scottish football more generally.

CHAPTER 9

MASCULINE RITUALS IN PUBLIC DOMAINS: A PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION OF WATCHING FOOTBALL ON TELEVISION

Introduction

This chapter departs from a concern with the history, political economy and textual analysis of the previous chapters. It turns, instead, to the consumption of 'mediatized' sport, in an attempt to develop an empirically grounded theory of audiences for televised football. Therefore, it seeks to critically evaluate, compliment and expand upon the plethora of studies on both football fandom and television audiences. More specifically, it is a case study on the act of consuming televised football in public domains; that is, outside the home or the household. Furthermore, the analysis deploys participant observation of male patterns of consumption as its chief method of research drawing upon the theoretical insights of previous reception studies of television which have focused on the gendered structuring of audiences within specific genres. While marked differences in gender preferences in the viewing of television, and the genre of sport, are seen to exist, I do not wish to overstate any delineation which would exclude the fact that many women actually watch football on television, whether it be through passionate interest in the sport or, in some way by default, because other members of the household or public domain are watching it. Having stated this, the specific focus of the chapter is the viewing of televised football by groups of men in the construction of masculine cultures.

The Masculine Ritual of Football

In a recent television advertisement for the ubiquitous soft drink Coca–Cola, stylised black and white images of thousands of men intensely caught up in the ritualised, carnivalesque behaviour of the football terrace are twinned with the up tempo music of the pop band Collapsed Lung whose track "Beat My Goal" pays homage to the sport. The tag line for Coca–Cola's promotion is "Eat Football, Sleep Football, Drink Coca–Cola" and is repeated throughout the advert. The rhetoric which underlies this campaign – initially broadcast in the

UK during the run–up to Euro '96 – envisages football as a communal masculine culture which consumes the energy, time and imagination of men (hence the eat–sleep–drink metaphor) within which Coca–Cola, as a sanctioned sponsor of the sport, seeks to exploit its own association with this specific target market. Within this contemporary view of the football fan, the idiosyncrasies of football as a popular cultural form are writ large: football is perceived as integral to mens' everyday lives, born of an essentialist discourse which reiterates a distinction in masculine and feminine forms of sporting experience. This heavily stylised display of a traditionally male dominant pastime is part of a broader fusion of marketing communications and what has become acknowledged as a culture of 'laddism', serviced by glossy 'new lad' magazines like *Loaded* (or quasi–sport programmes like *Fantasy Football League*).

The problems of developing an epistemology of watching televised football becomes immediately apparent as soon as any attempt is made to conceptualise its audience who are characteristically referred to as 'armchair supporters'. This oft quoted stereotype conjures up images of that other fictional social outcast the 'couch potato': sat in front of the screen with a 'four–pack' of beer and munching away at copious amounts of 'fast food'. One consequence of this characterisation is the creation of a social and psychological pathology of televised football audiences which conflates the individual viewer with an elitist perception of fandom as a deviant cultural phenomenon. As Jenson (1992; 9) has suggested with regard to images of fandom, this behaviour can frequently be seen to be obsessive, where: "Fandom is seen as a psychological symptom of a presumed social dysfunction." The perceived slothful nature of this mode of consuming football – isolated, lonesome and narcissistic – works to stigmatise individuals and groups as a relief from the anxieties of modern life. Moreover, by defining fandom in this way, Jenson argues that it allows a form of self–aggrandisement for those demarcated outside the fanatical, supporting "the rational over the emotional, the educated over the uneducated, the subdued over the passionate, the elite over the popular, the mainstream over the margin, the status quo over the alternative" (Jenson, 1992; 24).

While these overtly conservative images of fandom would not appear to relate in any way to the five million regular viewers who watch the BBC's *Match of the Day* on a Saturday night, certain dichotomies are invoked by the phrase 'armchair supporter'. Perhaps, the most ubiquitous dichotomy would be that watching televised football is a passive experience,

juxtaposed with the active experience of actually being among the supporters at a match or, even, being one of the participants in the game itself. This separation of the spectating experience has been at the heart of administrators' fears about the effect broadcasting would have on attendances at matches. For its part, television has gone out of its way to lure the 'armchair supporter' to the screen, and it is to the process by which the coverage of football invokes a masculine mode of spectatorship the analysis now turns.

Male Spectatorship and Televised Football

Influenced by feminist psychoanalytical film theory (Mulvey, 1975), recent critiques on male spectatorship have emerged to study the processes by which masculine subjectivities are constructed through visual pleasure and narrative structures (Saco, 1992 and Nixon, 1996). Here, the spectator is constituted as a gendered subject, the dominant male gaze being characterised as voyeuristic, linear and contemplative. Drawing upon this theory of spectatorship which focuses on the 'interpellation' or mode of address of film discourses, Morse (1983) suggests that televised sports spectatorship elicits homoerotic desire as it involves a "gaze at maleness". Moreover, as we have seen with the commentator's narrative, the vernacular of televised sports invites the male spectator to participate in the 'world of sport' which reifies sport as a male preserve.

In a critique of this dominant position on classical male spectatorship, Rose and Friedman (1994) have argued that while a degree of fetishization of the male body constitutes the"hermeneutic process of reading and evaluating athletic performances", the "analytic discourse" on the male spectator of televised sport should "ultimately be qualified by the *melodramatic*". In other words, as Morse herself realised but did not develop theoretically, televised sport can be viewed as a 'male soap opera' with multiple narratives which highlight 'personal struggle', 'social tension' and 'moral conflict'. Appropriating the theory of 'distraction' from the film theorist Kracauer (1926) and reinterpreting the notion of a 'rhythm of reception' from Modleski (1983), Rose and Friedman state:

> What is ultimately at stake in our argument, then, is a reconceptualisation of masculine modes of consumption and production: we are suggesting that the distracted, decentred and other–oriented consumption of sport by television spectators reflects and reifies the patterns of perception and the skills required of the postindustrial male worker.
> (Rose and Friedman, 1994; 26)

As suggested in previous chapters, television was integral within the standardisation and commodification of sport, new technologies continually being introduced to 'make sense' of the action for the viewers. The constantly interruptible state of postindustrial labour is seen to be reinforced in televised sports, specifically by the commentator who mediates between "the flow of sports programming and the distractions of the viewing situations" (1994; 26). From this perspective, football commentary places the spectator in relation to the melodrama of sport, which like a serial, is ongoing and continually fragmenting into new stories about players, managers, clubs and nations. While the main commentator provides the narrative within the action – heightening the sense of actuality and 'liveness' – the co–commentator, or in–match summariser, provides and draws upon wider narratives, which are far more speculative, and function, according to Rose and Friedman (1994; 27) "like the gossip of soap opera". It is within this latter discourse, specifically, that the male spectator is interpellated to identify with football as a masculine domain. Identification with the re–representation of the game is central to the popular pleasures produced by televised football. The familiarity with the form and style of commentary and emotional identification with specific players and teams combine to dissolve the boundary of the television screen, and invoke participation from the viewer. Again, we can recall early attempts to develop commentary techniques in radio and television which sought to address the listener as a friend. However, it could be argued that the 'friend' in question is distinctly male, and as O'Connor and Boyle (1993; 116) suggest, "If women are accommodated with the discourses of televised football... it is in a marginal and trivial manner". By engaging with this discourse, men view televised sport as an extension of their world, and, as I will argue later, the metatexts of televised football provide social tools with which men can operate in public domains, as part of a 'hegemonic masculinity' (Connell, 1987).

Therefore, instead of analysing male spectatorship as distinct from a feminine mode of spectatorship, televised football can be read as an 'open text', in which the "dialogic activity" of spectating involves absorption into multiple identifications with characters, settings and narratives of the 'football world', in a 'rhythm of reception' which is distracted, partial and interrupted (a masculine counterpart to women's reception of soap–opera). That football fans should make paradigmatic readings of televised matches, focusing on the play of possibilities between stars, stories and action, should not, however, deflect from the actual, historically

constructed power relations between men and women (and, men and men) which are realised in televised sport, and are characteristic of a dominant 'gender order' (Connell, 1987). Televised football practices and discourses continue to connote maleness. It is in this way that male images of sport, equating male sporting prowess with masculine superiority, contribute to the social reproduction of dominant cultural values.

As Rose and Friedman further outline, the melodramatic elements of televised sport may also function as a vehicle for the moral and ideological conflicts around masculine identities and social roles. For instance, sport remains a contradictory domain in which male emotions, culturally silenced (Rutherford, 1996), are legitimately expressed: the image of Paul Gascoigne's tears at Italia '90 being the most public 'show' of male grief in recent memory (now self–parodied by the Rangers and England player within an advert for Walkers crisps in 1996). The imaging of such personalised moments within televised football attempts to invoke an emotional attachment from the viewer and, in the case of Gascoigne, his tears were shed for his country. His actions, therefore, conflate masculinity, sporting pride and national identity, all of which are familiar points of reference with which football fans can identify.

The feminist study of 'women's genres' has placed gender at the centre of understanding television spectatorship in terms of wider relational connections and 'interpretive communities', which are characterised by a gravitation towards certain discursive modes of interpreting media content rather than membership of socio–economic groupings (Radway, 1984). In following this contextualising of media reception, we can employ similar modes of analysis to research the reception of televised football by men. The interrelationships between gender, genre and fandom become important dynamics to the study of men watching televised football. As Livingstone (1996; 445) has argued, how these variables are negotiated by the viewer has "consequences for their critical responses, their participation and involvement, and their motivations for viewing". Having provided an overview of the discursive address of televised football, and the construction of the male spectator, the analysis now turns to the social and cultural consumption of the genre, by male audiences in public domains.

The 'Active Audience', Consumption and Televised Football

Qualitative audience research has sought to both understand the way in which viewers 'use'

television presentations, in the belief that individuals have the power to actively engage with media to 'gratify' psychological needs (Fiske, 1987) and, on the other hand, to understand how a viewer's reading of television is informed by social group membership (Morley, 1980). Of central concern, is the exploration of how audiences form meaning in the dialogic encounter between the viewer and the text. The theory that audiences produce meaningful interpretations of television's output is premised on the belief that viewers engage actively with what they see and hear. In the consumption of television it suggests a level of negotiation with the text (Hall, 1981) in which the viewer may adhere to, challenge or criticise programmes, and as Roscoe, Marshall and Gleeson (1996; 88) point out, "it is through this process of producing meaningful interpretations that viewers can be seen as 'active'". Furthermore, the contextual situations in which these interpretations are made become important for understanding how audiences 'make sense' of television texts. This suggests that viewing television is a social process, as much as a cognitive one, and that viewers, as individuals and members of particular groups, bring their knowledge and experiences to watching television.

The turn to understanding how an individual's subject position precedes the media output consumed, has led to the adoption of ethnographic methodologies to study the reception processes of the place of television in everyday life. Stanley Fish's notion of 'interpretive communities' has been refined to investigate the manner in which different groups draw upon multiple discourses throughout their everyday lives in the formation of specific cultural repertoires. Specifically, qualitative empirical work by Morley (1986), Ang (1986), Buckingham (1987), Brundson (1991) and Gray (1992) have focused on the way family households consume television technologies, defining the domestic sphere as a 'moral economy', in which a gendered set of routine and ritualised practices are embedded in the everyday dimensions of the privatised, but social, domestic sphere. As Silverstone (1996) has summarised, the point of inquiry into the abstract notion of the 'audience' is:

> an inquiry not into a set of preconstituted individuals, but a set of daily practices and discourses within which the complex act of watching television is placed alongside others and through which that complex act is itself constituted. (Silverstone, 1996; 281)

The phenomenological reality of the home therefore provides the contextual situatedness of understanding how people consume television as an object and a medium, with a particular emphasis on the family as complex socio–cultural units, and the gender relations within them.

In this ontological perspective of television, it is possible to shed light on the domestic cultural politics involved in watching televised football. Indeed, one possible outcome of an inquiry into the complexities of the audience would be to understand how, in an age when British audiences can potentially watch a 'live' game of football on television every day of the week for at least ten months of the year, negotiations within the family over who watches what, when and where are acutely brought into focus by an understanding of familial interactions along lines of gender and age, and the ability of the family to sustain itself as an ongoing unit. Moreover, other dynamics of watching televised football in the privatised space of family life are the unseen and unheard domestic struggles caused by men's 'active' engagement with the televising of football, where emotions run high, and a disappointing result may trigger a violent response. Evidence from the Marriage Guidance Council has suggested that one outfall of the saturation coverage of the 1990 World Cup was an unprecedented rise in the reportage of domestic violence, where men imposed their physical terror to maintain their material and symbolic authority over women in the home. This evidence has further inspired a campaign against domestic violence by the group 'Zero Tolerance' which placed an info–advertisement within prime time coverage of football on Scottish Television, with a graphic anti–violence message targeted at young men watching televised sport. That the campaign was targeted at an audience for televised football became even more vindicated after tabloid allegations of 'wife battering' were charged against the Rangers footballer, Paul Gascoigne in October, 1996. Rather than suggesting an inquiry into violent 'media effects', these incidents are better analysed within the contextual framework of family life and the struggles for power within the domestic domain, which the audience research mentioned above seeks to identify.

However, there are some reservations about the extent to which the ever widening contexts that the ethnographic studies of the family audience are prepared to go. There is a fear that the concentration on the everyday is writing television, as the focus of research, out of existence (Schroder, 1994). Furthermore, studying audiences as embedded in family life is restrictive, as families themselves are dynamic entities, embedded in wider social processes beyond the home. Even more stringent critiques on this type of work have argued that the methodologies employed by audience research cannot strictly be viewed as classically ethnographic in anthropological and sociological terms (Nightingale, 1990).

So how can we theorise the process of consuming televised football? Silverstone (1994) has offered a typology for understanding what he calls the "six moments" in the consumption of television technologies, which provides an interesting connection between the material and symbolic dimensions of television and can be used to enlighten the complexities of understanding the processes and experiences of watching televised football. The focus on television technology as an object is particularly relevant to the study of televised football given the position of the sport in relation to the introduction of satellite and cable, and the development of pay television in the UK. Critically following the assertion of De Certeau (1984) which places consumption at the heart of the politics of everyday life, Silverstone argues that the process of consumption needs to be broken down, albeit for abstract understanding, into its key constitutive 'moments' so as to analytically reveal for critique an otherwise "invisible act".

Firstly, Silverstone positions consumers in the formal market economy of industrial capitalism as receptive agents in the process of 'commodification'. In relation to football, we can see how football fans are part of what Silverstone calls a"dialectical movement" whereby, the consumer's attempts to transcend the alienating processes of capitalism (for instance, the metanarratives derived from the affective alliances of fandom) feed back into the commodification process (as illustrated above in the form of the Coca–Cola advert which draws upon the carnivalesque of fandom, or alternatively, in a programme like *Fantasy Football League*, which has developed out of an innovative idea first seen within the non–commercial, irreverent pages of football fanzines).

The positioning of football fans as consumers within a marketing and advertising system, suggests a second 'moment' of consumption: 'imagination'. Here, football – specifically its 'mediatized' version – becomes the object of desires, which are multiple and derived from various motivations which can be the aesthetic pleasures of a skilful piece of play to more concrete, symbolic pleasures of identifying with the victory of club or country. However, the promised pleasures of consumption are always greater than those delivered, and as a consequence desires are rarely satiated. Hence, that the desires of football fans are never reached, even by the most successful of clubs or nations, is central to the experience of all who follow the game. Essentially, football offers a means of fixing identities on the boundaries of

fantasy and reality within imagined communities (remembering that for disappointed fans, there is always next season). Televised football adds a further dynamic in the creation of desires and the imaginative work of the football fan. The competitive market to supply excitement and the attempt to guarantee entertaining football (seen through changes in the laws of the sport to encourage more goals for television) has led to every televised match being hyped to whet the appetite of the viewer, no matter the significance of the fixture. This has reached a point where the expectations of the audience are infrequently realised, the movement towards saturation coverage of football is now open to accusations that there is too much football on television even for the most enthusiastic 'armchair supporter'. Yet, access into the ever expanding world of televised football is seen by many football fans as a potentially transformative experience, opening a space for imaginative and practical work on the meaning of the sport, which is specifically seen through the identification with star players highlighted within the televising of the game.

It is access to 'live' football which is now the central issue within the process of consumption, specifically seen in the moment of 'appropriation' of the new television technologies of satellite and cable: the gateway to Sky Sports and the unrivalled coverage of British football. The moment of appropriation is the point at which an object – as technology or message – is sold and becomes owned. Therefore, Sky Sport no longer is perceived as an encrypted message which must be paid for, and is transformed into a form of cultural possession. It is probably because of this sense of appropriation that subscribers to Sky Sport are aggrieved when the prospect of pay–per–view is mentioned as the formal economy encroaches once more into the moral economy of the home. That is, complete appropriation is often constrained, in this case because further decisions have to be made within the household whether or not to pay further for a service previously believed to be appropriated after paying a subscription fee.

Silverstone then draws upon Bourdieu's theory that consumption is a material activity, which "involves active discrimination through the purchase, use and evaluation, and therefore the 'construction' of objects" (Silverstone, 1994; 115). Therefore, subscription to Sky Sports presents both a material and symbolic 'objectification', or form of display, which reveals the principles of classification that inform a household's sense of itself. In other words, Sky Sports becomes a material and symbolic marker of status, which renders the consumer distinct

in their culture of taste from those who do not subscribe to the service. Here the aesthetics and geography of the household are particularly important in the subscription to satellite television which produces an enforced display of technological hardware, the dish. As Brunsdon (1991) has argued the display of the dish carries ambiguous symbolic meaning and the message communicated within the immediate environment is dependent upon class distinctions of taste and geography. Indeed, in an effort to disguise the necessary hardware some manufacturers now supply dishes which blend into the landscape less conspicuously. Objectification may also define differences in gender and age. For instance, who is Sky Sport for? And how does it relate to questions of masculinity and power within the household? These are questions I shall return to, but for now it reminds us that the programmes themselves can be objectified and in the case of televised football, be identified as a 'male genre' as argued above in terms of positioning the spectator / viewer (O'Connor and Boyle, 1992; Rose and Friedman, 1994).

Again, following Bourdieu (1984), we can see that a theory of consumption is concerned with how television as a technology is used. Where objectification relates to the spatial arrangement of consumption, the moment of 'incorporation' into the household relates to how television technologies fit into the temporalities of the everyday. This again prompts questions regarding power relations and distinctions in taste across gender and age. When 'live' football appears on prime time television (which at the height of European competitions can spread across the whole week), how do household members negotiate their viewing? Are other programmes which clash in the schedule bypassed or downgraded to being videotaped, to be watched at a more suitable time within the moral economy of the household? Or are the 'losers' in this negotiation banished from the living room to watch their preferred programme on a second or portable television in another room, or as will be illustrated below, do football fans move from their armchair and take flight into the public domain to watch the match? From my own experience and observation it is clear that the rise in the level of 'live' televised games can increase friction between members of the household, which is invariably split along lines of gender, but is ultimately part of a wider process which has seen the fragmentation of the television audience.

Finally, Silverstone (1994; 130) suggests that the consumption of television technologies involves a moment of 'conversion': defining the "relationship between the household and the

outside world". Here meanings behave like currencies, or cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984), some of which are convertible in social domains, others which are not and remain in the private realm. Here, an everyday question like "Did you see the game last night?", can be seen to be full of assumptions about the cultural tastes and competencies of the person on the receiving end of the inquiry. It is evidence of the way in which televised football carries currency in everyday discourse, and is crucial to socialisation among specific (predominantly male) groups in society.

Audience studies of the cultural politics of domestic leisure and everyday life have shed light on the centrality of struggles over television technologies in the private domain and the persistence of private patriarchy. The position of a 'male genre' like televised football within this struggle, emphasises how the imaginary connection to a wider social fabric of sport is heavily gendered, through material and symbolic control of television technology. Televised sport, and specifically football, connects men in the private domain to a wider male popular culture central to male control of the public domain. As Hearn (1992, 21) argues, not only does our knowledge of patriarchies (for there are many operating simultaneously, as there are many types of men) rest on an understanding of men's power, but: "An understanding of men's power rests on men's relationship to the public and private domains". Here, football on television provides a quintessential example of this link, and the processes which combine men's active engagement with a cultural object (televised football) with men's domination in public life. In recognising football as a central component of male socialisation and creation of a male oriented public domain, and identifying the conflicts set in motion when men consume the game through television, I will now focus upon the way in which these two practices combine within the public realm, in specific spaces ordinarily recognised as male dominant: the pub / bar, the voluntary sports club and the commercial sports club.

Televised Football: The Drinking Man's Game

That football fans should turn to pubs, bars and various types of sporting clubs and institutions to watch the televising of the game is not all that surprising when one considers the historical connection between the sport and the pastime of drinking. That pubs should market themselves as a place to engage with televised football is part of a long historical discourse around drinking before and after 'going to the match' and also the nature of many support networks for football

clubs themselves. This connection continues with the sponsoring of amateur football clubs by pubs and breweries, and the adoption of specific drinking establishments by clubs themselves as a loci for post–match drinking and storytelling. Similarly, that certain pubs and bars have incorporated football as a major theme in their design and decor is further evidence of this connection. These bars have adapted themselves to the wants and desires of their predominantly male clientele, for whom football is a prime source of socialisation into homosocial relations. Indeed, the ubiquity of talk about football by men in pubs and bars emphasises the importance of the sport within the maintenance of hegemonic masculinity norms, where mulling over recent happenings in the game conforms to hegemonic ideals associated with masculine identities (see Hornby, 1992, for an autobiographical account of how football becomes a metaphor for one man's construction of his masculinity, and conversely, how his life becomes a metaphor for his passion for football).

While football could be said to have formed a significant part of the discursive fabric of male pub subculture for more than a century, the marketing and promotional fashion for themed pub design which mushroomed in the 1980s has recently caught up with the cultural renaissance in football in the creation of sports related bars and cafes. *Football, Football,* in London is an extreme example, as it is a postmodern football emporium, which combines old football memorabilia with high–tech television screens to produce a sensory overload in a simulated, football saturated space. Less synthetically, but equally visible, are the plethora of messages which appear on the blackboards, giant banners, and multicoloured painted windows of pubs and bars to advertise that "BIG SCREEN FOOTBALL", "SKY SPORTS" or "SATELLITE FOOTBALL" are available within. This new promotional culture, inviting fans into pubs to watch televised football, is part of a noticeable trend since the exclusive contract for English Premier League football went to BSkyB in 1992. It is not to suggest that viewing televised football in public spaces is a new phenomenon (see Chapter 3), but to acknowledge that there is a more systematic appropriation and incorporation of television within public domains; most notably within pubs, voluntary sports clubs and commercial sports clubs. In moving television viewing as the object of inquiry from the privatised space of the household and domestic sphere, to a wider urban geography (in this study the bars and sports clubs of Glasgow), television needs to be seen as a public amusement.

In a study of the installation of television within American barrooms between 1946 and 1949, McCarthy (1995; 32) locates the experience of viewing televised sport within the "discursive regimes of larger institutions" and the localised dynamics of the "protocols and practices of the tavern itself". On the incorporation of television into the urban barroom, McCarthy comments that it was:

> less determined by the contradictory ideologies of domesticity than by a historically constructed *habitus* in which institutionalised spaces of recreation, like saloons, and movie theatres, lent a semblance of autonomy to working–class leisure pursuits. At the same time, this apparent autonomy was continually compromised, as reformist and commercial interests sought to define or regulate tavern television viewing."
> (McCarthy, 1995; 32)

Sports bars centred upon the communal viewing of televised sport have a much longer and widespread tradition in the United States, due in part to an early move to extensive coverage of Baseball and American Football in the immediate post–War period, and the more widespread appropriation of television in comparison to the UK (Rader, 1984). The enduring power of radio in Britain during the late–1940s and early–1950s, as informer, educator and entertainer, ensured that while radio was incorporated into the cultural fabric of the nation (including the pub), television failed to make any significant inroads into the traditions of pub life as a focus of community recreation. In many respects, television reinforced the bourgeois ideology of 'two spheres' which discursively separates the public and private domains as populated by men and women respectively. The pub remained the province of men – what Hey (1986) termed the 'patriarchy on the street corner' – while the BBC sought to appeal to the 'family audience' at home in order to capture a wider viewing public for televised sport (Whannel, 1991). However, McCarthy's approach to studying television as a public amusement provides an instructive guide for my research on the contemporary shifts occurring in British 'institutionalised spaces of recreation' identified above.

Finally, the incorporation of satellite television into pubs and clubs can be seen in a matrix of legal regulations and local traditions. The early attempts at getting television into cinemas during the 1950s were abruptly ended once copyright of televised sport was conceded to the broadcasters who were mindful of not transgressing the commercial needs of the sporting authorities by allowing an alternative form of mass spectatorship to rival actual attendance at sports stadia (see Chapter 2). However, with narrowcasting, and large sums of money from

television to compensate for loss of revenue through the turnstiles, the football authorities are prepared to sanction the relaying of 'live' games to public audiences. Therefore, as well as the coverage of football on Sky Sports, matches may sometimes be relayed via closed–circuit television to public places, particularly during instances where supporters are banned or excluded from travelling to 'away' games.

Alternative mass audiences no longer pose a significant threat to football's income, even where attendances may be effected. Rather, any commercial threat caused by fans watching televised football in public domains is the cable and satellite companies, who are dependent on a thriving domestic market to generate income from subscriptions. After an initial honeymoon period in transmitting 'live' Premier League football, BSkyB realised that they were losing potential custom to pubs and clubs, who for the price of a domestic subscription could entice customers into their establishment by showing 'live' games at no extra cost. This led to BSkyB introducing new pricing policies which distinguished between domestic and institutional markets. As mutually exclusive markets, BSkyB were able to introduce a sliding scale of subscription fees based on the ratable value of the property which ranged from the price of a domestic subscription (at a ceiling of £26) to in excess of £130. This severely annoyed brewers who found some of their tenancies' subscription fees rising by three, four, even five hundred per–cent. The margins upon which it became viable to have satellite coverage of football on Sunday afternoons (initially only in Scotland) and Monday evenings became slashed virtually overnight.Beer sales had increased with the introduction of satellite football, boosting previously quiet moments in the weekly sales, but the men who were changing their habitual leisure practices to watch televised football (specifically those who were going to the pub on Monday nights) were not necessarily drinking vast quantities of beer, but 'nursing' a pint or two as they watched the match on television. Breweries began to threaten withdrawal from satellite television unless the cost of subscription fell, and the issue has so far reached an impasse. One method of reconciling the rift was for BSkyB to provide sports events which were encrypted solely for the non–domestic subscribers. A case in point, was a pre–season tournament in 1994 at Ibrox, Glasgow, where games involving Rangers, Blackburn Rovers, Newcastle United and Sampdoria were relayed to pubs and clubs which subscribed to Sky Sports. However, this experiment has not, at the time of writing, been repeated.

Viewing Televised Football in the Public Domain

Location and Interpretive Communities

A small–scale, longitudinal, participant observation of men viewing televised football in public domains was conducted over a two–and–a–half year period in the 'West End' of Glasgow. Three specific types of institutionalised spaces of recreation were included in the study: four Glasgow bars, an amateur and voluntary bowling and tennis club, and a private member snooker club. As mentioned above, the growth in advertising televised football as a feature within a bar's entertainment made it easy to identify sites which met the purpose of the research.The 'West End' of Glasgow is locally recognised as a thriving, diverse cultural area, with a high proportion of bars, from which it was evident, even to a newcomer to the city, that there were several establishments where televised football was screened on a regular basis, with three of the four bars chosen showing the matches on large, projection video screens. Indeed, during the period of the research, one of the bars chosen for the research changed its entire layout in order to accommodate customers who wanted to watch televised football on a large screen. The snooker club was chosen as a privatised leisure space which had also advertised 'big screen football' as part of its membership and clearly rearranged its interior to incorporate the television technology. Therefore, my motives for joining the club were both as part of my own recreation practices (playing snooker) and the access to an interesting environment for watching televised football. Similarly, the third domain for watching televised football provided an already established space in which people combined their leisure practices. My membership of the bowling and tennis club (a familiar combination within voluntary sports clubs in the West of Scotland) was initially premised upon my desire to play tennis at a local club, but it soon became clear, once social interaction with other club members was established, that the club was a site of access to Sky Sports, and an observable interpretive community of televised football. Indeed, on paying my membership, I was informed that during the winter 'the guys come down the club to watch the footy on Sky' as a further incentive to join the club. The choice for siting the research in these places was based upon their proximity to where I lived in Glasgow, their accessibility in economic terms (obviously the bars are free houses, while the sports clubs required a relatively small nominal fee for membership, which was important for the attraction of a predominantly working–class clientele) and as I am a young, white, heterosexual male, their accessibility for social interaction while watching televised football. Moreover, while the clientele of all of the institutions

observed were potentially open to a diverse range of socio–economic groups, they were overtly populated by young, white, working–class men, from Scotland.

In characterising those observed I am aware that my account is partial and self–fashioned in order to provide a typology of the contexts and interactions of men viewing televised football in social domains (Clifford, 1986). The focus of my interest is the phenomenological aspects of watching television (the processes of consuming a technology in a public realm) and how these protocols of viewing combine with football fandom as an interpretive community. Therefore, the concern is not with understanding the dynamic interactions of individuals with television in a specific group of people, or their histories and intersubjectivities as members of many interpretive communities (Schroder, 1994), but with how televised football can organise mens social lives in public domains. As a young white male the study of male audiences in public domains allowed easy entry into a realm of social interaction. My role as a researcher in the field could, when necessary, either be covert or self–reflexively revealed during appropriate moments, and within large gatherings it could combine a mixture of both approaches dependent upon my position within a group and the development of social interaction. Covert observations were usually enacted when watching televised football individually within a bar or the snooker club (where I was among strangers), and when my identity as a researcher was known it was usually among friends or acquaintances invariably at the bowling and tennis club. One important point needs to be made regarding my interaction with men in the 'West End': I was objectively identified as an Englishmen among Scots. This meant I was often addressed as 'other', positioned and ridiculed within a wider cultural–political context of anti–English sentiment which permeates much of Glaswegian (and Scottish) popular culture. However, once my knowledge of football was revealed, my cultural competence of the game transcended any prejudice, my masculine identity seemingly accepted. Where my identity as a researcher of football was revealed, men would open up about their knowledge of football and their experiences with the game. Football would frequently be the sole focus of conversation and would only concern other aspects of men's lives when it was related to members of their family or friends. Any expression of emotion was expressed through football, with a noticeable silence and self–control of other feelings and desires. This form of instrumental behaviour, where football is central to male sensibilities of what is important or significant characterised the predominant conception of masculinity I came across within the research. As Seidler (1989)

has argued, men are frequently focused upon their activities rather than their relationships, with a different sense of what matters in life from women, which identifies masculinity with a "universal rationality" and with "speaking for all", where the masculine cult of football in the public domains becomes an almost ubiquitous discourse.

To conclude this contextualisation of the case study, it is important to stress that public audiences are more diverse than my specific concern with young men would initially suggest. But the chosen sites of the research provided men with meeting places which satisfied certain social needs in an informal leisure environment. Moreover, it is not that women were prohibited from these spaces by any law or formal regulation, rather, through recognised codes of social behaviour, women are largely excluded or positioned on the periphery. How this is achieved varied from institution to institution with each space having a different material and symbolic meaning to the groups who occupied them, but all shared as a main preoccupation the similar practice of watching football on television. The presence of women in these spaces also varied. Within the snooker club, for instance, the only legitimised female presence appeared to be the women who served behind the bar. While this says more about the culture of snooker clubs than television, it emphasises that many men conspire to construct the public domain as a masculine space. The bowling and tennis club was the hub of male recreation (despite two fifths of the members being women) as men governed the management of the bar, and particularly in the winter months, dominated the clubhouse in the evenings as they gathered to drink socially and watch football on television.

Televised Football in the Public Sphere

Despite the recognition that the public domains studied were gendered in their use, the pub and the sports club are frequently felt to be non–hierarchical social spaces. Although all the institutions have their own external and internal political struggles – with breweries and competitors, or over the allocation of resources – these political decisions do not immediately appear to impinge on the watching of football on television. Drawing upon the idealised notion of the 'public sphere' developed by Habermas (1989), McCarthy (1995; 34) argues that watching television in the American barroom is a 'discursive arena' where "outside social status is 'bracketed' to one side". It is suggested that it is possible to reorientate the democratic ideal of the public sphere, "in the belief that the tavern provided a barrierless space for exchange and

communication, the outlines of a working–class public sphere" (McCarthy, 1995; 34). Converse to Habermas' critique of the disappearance of the bourgeois public sphere due to mass culture, more recent theories have argued that broadcasting has reinvigorated a sense of the public sphere by linking the private to the public through shared experiences and processes of 'making sense' of society. Therefore, in bringing the communicative communities of the pub or sports club and viewing football on television together, a particularly dynamic site of emancipation, discussion and mutual understanding would ideally seem possible. In actuality, it is a continual hegemonic struggle over the meaning of football, in the manner in which it is observed, analysed and discussed. Ironically, in the case of those who go to public domains to watch English and Scottish Premier League football on Sky Sports it is often an enforced act of public engagement. Of course it is only 'enforced' if you have a strong desire to watch 'live' football but cannot afford the subscription, do not have consensus within the household to incorporate an all sports channel, or do not have the inclination to consume satellite or cable technology due to a particular taste culture.

Having said this, pubs and sports clubs do offer a communal role in both amusement and discourse through conversation, community participation and recreational activity. The fact that these spaces are commodified (albeit to differing degrees) does not negate the fact that actions are conducted in 'relative freedom'. While they may not offer totalizing 'ways of escape' (Rojek, 1994) they do provide entry into a discursive arena which is comfortable, allowing participation in social, cultural and political life. However, there still remains certain regulations on such leisure forms. Restrictions on licensing, entertainment and closing times affects the access to the democratic aspect of the 'public sphere'. Furthermore, as stated above, codes of gender also mitigate against equal access. Moreover, in the 'West End' there was also a racial divide within the institutions researched. For instance, the bowling and tennis club had an all–white membership, which was also reflected in the sub–culture of 'West End' bars in which both black and Asian men and women remain absent. This differentiation occurs in spite of a large Asian residential and business community in this area of Glasgow, and must, therefore, be seen to reflect wider distinctions based on race and ethnicity which excludes participation within specific institutionalised public domains like sports clubs and public bars. However, a passion for football does exist among the Asian community in the 'West End', illustrated by an attempted takeover of the Glasgow club Partick Thistle in 1995 by a consortium of Asian

businessmen, which was blocked amid a backlash of racist discourses from within Scottish football and the Scottish press (Dimeo and Finn, 1996). The successful incorporation of Asian enterprise in the 'West End' was exemplified by the snooker club, which was owned and managed by an Asian businessman, but the membership, as with the other sites observed, was predominantly white.

Consuming Televised Football in Public Domains

Following Silverstone's typology of consuming television technologies in the home, the consumption of television in public domains can equally be seen to involve moments of commodification, imagination, appropriation, objectification, incorporation and conversion. However, how these processes relate to each other and the contexts in which they work must be understood in a more complex manner, for they are open to wider social, economic, political and cultural variables, within institutions which have their own dynamic moments of consumption. Having said this, there are clear continuities between watching football in the private as well as the public domains, for both are social activities which draw on the complex discursive matrices which bind individuals to different interpretive communities at different times and in different spaces. The most obvious example would be those who watch a televised match which is objectified as being significant through being a fan of either a club or country. In this scenario the affective involvement and identification with what is happening in the game, and the 'pleasure' or 'pain' which derives from it, will not differ greatly between watching alone at home or in a group in a pub. This is because a fan will read the game paradigmatically, connecting their experience to others (absent or present) who share their affective involvement within a symbolic interpretive community. One difference that can be made is the immediate sense of camaraderie among fans and the sharing of experience which being in a group confers, whether it be celebrating a goal or victory or commiserating each other in defeat. This is largely because one–to–one communication still remains the most powerful way of conveying feeling through interactive performance. Yet, these shared feelings and sensibilities can be communicated by other means, either over the phone or at work on a Monday morning. Indeed, this is one of the very important dimensions television has brought to the consumption of football, the sense that in tuning in to a 'live' match in the privacy of your own home you are sharing an experience with millions of other people, some of whom feel exactly the same way as you do about the contingent features of the game as they unfold. Where people watch

televised football as non–fans, or with less affective involvement in the game, they are more likely to read the game syntagmatically, applauding or criticising technical detail within the game and not care about the result or consequences of the competition. However, most people who watch televised football, whether their team is playing or not will fluctuate between these positions, because of other factors: local rivalries (Liverpool and Manchester United), historical rivalries (Rangers and Celtic), competitive rivalry (concerning League position), support for the underdog (particularly in cup competitions) or gambling interests (for many the only contact they have with football is through the pools).

Although some moments of this imaginative work by fans within the process of consuming televised football are shared whether viewing the game in public or private, watching football in pubs or clubs does present different contingencies of space. For example, one immediate problem for viewing television in a public domain is a clear view of the screen. The placement of the television becomes all important. Where the geography of the living room is often dominated by the positioning of the television set, pubs and clubs are not always as adaptable to the demands of television's objectification. The furnishings pre–empt the positioning of the television set rather than the other way round.

For instance, one of the bars researched, initially had a central bar which created a U–shaped space around it. To provide an equal vantage point to viewing the screen, the television was positioned on the wall at the apex of the bar. This created cramped conditions between the bar and the television and in a move to relieve this pressure, the owners opened up a second, but connected bar within the cellar space, where a large projection screen was installed. Subsequent refurbishment within the main room, which included moving the bar to the back wall to create a much more expansive space, led to the installation of a second projection screen to allow more people to view televised football. Here we can see a deliberate change in the function of certain spaces within a traditional Glasgow bar. Commercial imperatives have led to changes in the expected protocols of, and socialisation into, the public domain of the pub. The social relations which once formed the dynamics of pub life have been modified to incorporate television viewing, specifically of 'live' football.

My observations suggest that the increasing dominance of television as a key motivator for

participating in public life, has therefore altered the social and cultural meaning of certain pubs and clubs in the 'West End' of Glasgow, and that the processes which have brought this change have wider consequences for the study of television audiences. In many respects, the 'mediatized' event of watching televised football in public domains suggests historical continuities with other popular cultural traditions of people amusing themselves in public spaces: from the music hall to the sporting arena which this newly invigorated form of gathering mimics. Moreover, the relatively low number of households which have appropriated satellite or cable technology mirrors a similar historical moment in the history of television where the desire to consume a new technological and cultural form outstrips its ownership and leads to a social and shared objectification and incorporation. The huge number of people who watched the Coronation ceremony with family and friends in 1953 is testament to this phenomenon.

As with the incorporation of television in the home, which brought new protocols into everyday life affecting the habitual practices of the home, so the incorporation of satellite television into public domains has the possibility to redefine the phenomenological conditions of the pub or sports club. The protocols of television viewing in public domains as with the home are contested and negotiated. Unlike cinema, which although consumed in a public space is geared towards the anonymous, private spectator within a darkened auditorium with minimal distraction, televised football in pubs and clubs solicits a specifically public dimension to viewing.

Throughout the research it became clear that when watching televised football in public domains the reception of sound and image gained its own momentum, an autonomous dynamic that often began before a ball was kicked. Drinking may start long before the game, and even where it did not, talk about possible outcomes and expectations fuelled a collective form of active engagement, where identifications and alliances with one team or another are established. This often involved a 'show of strength' by particular groups of men watching the football – what Goffman (1969) referred to as 'front stage' behaviour – which was not only a public form of identification with a specific interpretive community and peer status, but also, more importantly with regard to social distinctions, a ritualised expression of masculinity through public statements. This masculine 'show' and predilection for club or country (sometimes both)

took the form of songs, chants and 'wind–ups'. This latter process of arousing anger from other groups or individuals, then ridiculing their anger by exposing its illegitimacy (Back, 1992) is an integral feature of football subculture, most ritually practised by opposing crowds at games themselves. This behaviour, often a form of mimicry actually passed on through television – of which "Are you watching *****?" is the most oft used – is simulated in the context of viewing in public domains. Abusive public statements may be directed at others in the room, or more peculiarly, at the television itself (often indicated by pointing at the screen), which immediately defies the intended dialogic communication of the 'wind–up' itself as televised football precludes any direct interaction with the 'opposition'. However, this behaviour does not appear so strange when placed in the context of the affective engagement clearly experienced by many fans who watch televised football, which is born of a wider 'community of meaning' (Jensen, 1987; 28) which provides the "codes of understanding that audiences apply in interpreting media codes".

In Glasgow, the possibilities for such shows of masculinity based on fan rivalry – in this context between Celtic and Rangers supporters – were given a wider scope when 'live' coverage of the Scottish Premier League and Coca–Cola Cup returned on BSkyB in 1995. This was most dramatically realised at the bowling and tennis club when approximately forty members (including only one woman) gathered on a Tuesday evening one September to watch the 'Old Firm' clash in the Coca–Cola Cup. The support in the room was split fairly evenly between the two sets of fans. Demographically there were more younger Celtic fans than Rangers fans of a similar age group (who were mainly drawn from the tennis side of the club), which among the older men (drawn from the bowls side) support mainly favoured Rangers. This generational divide in the support reflected the fact that two of the younger tennis members had brought their friends along to the club to watch the game, while the bulk of the older men who regularly socialised during the mid–week evenings, and had arrived to watch the game, were known to be Rangers fans. This had repercussions on the level of noise created by the respective sets of fans, and the use of 'wind ups'. Before the game began a middle–aged Rangers fan came over to the table of five young Celtic fans and sarcastically offered his "condolences". Rising to the bait the young men attempted a humorous retort which ended in a derisive comment about "that fat bastard Gazza!". Once the game had begun Celtic took the initiative and shouts of "Come on the Celts!" intermittently rose above the volume of the

television, which must have been full on as conversation became drowned. The game was decided by an only goal by Ally McCoist for Rangers which caused the only outburst of vocal support from the Rangers fans in the club. Immediately after the game a young Celtic fan turned and commented to an older Rangers fan: "You've gotta admit, we played ye ark the park?" There was no reply from the older man stood next to him, just a broad grin of contentment.

The context of watching this game within the bowling and tennis club meant that certain alliances were suspended for one evening as different cleavages based upon football emerged. That the club provided access to the televised event seemed relatively inconsequential (as most bars in Glasgow would also have screened the game), but what is significant about this context is the relatively subdued way in which the traditional rivalry between the two sets of supporters was played out. As I have alluded above one reason may well have been a generational split in the allegiances. Furthermore, that several of the younger members, who were known followers of Rangers, did not watch the match at the club, in spite of being keen members, suggests other preferential places to watch televised football among the fans of the same club can provide stronger, though transitory, affective ties than more regular places of social drinking and recreation. In both spaces, the regular locale of the sports club and the transitory bar associated with a particular football sub–culture, what is important within the experience of watching an 'Old Firm' game in the public domain is that meanings from the event develop both the action mediated through television and the audible and visible reactions of those watching the match, for or against the viewers particular perspective on the match. Negotiating the feelings generated by this context, can therefore, be said to be more complex and contradictory where affective ties are divided as they were at the bowling and tennis club. One way of dealing with the aggressive masculinities which have been historically aroused by this confrontation is through humour and 'wind ups', which have become central to Glaswegian football sub–culture, and this is equally visible when watching televised matches as it is in the concentrated arena of an 'Old Firm' game.

Conclusion

The critique that televised football is a passive form of consumption is not borne out by the evidence of watching the game in public domains (nor for that matter in the private domain).

While televised football undoubtedly constructs what is audio–visually received it does not effect the uses nor meanings associated with its engagement. While certain protocols must be adhered when viewing – most importantly, perhaps, a need to be in proximity to the screen – such fixed spatial arrangements do not restrict behaviour: people still shout, stand, get drunk, and even become violent (verbally and physically) while watching televised football. Indeed, it is virtually impossible to fully document the phenomenological conditions of watching televised football in public domains, or the numbers of those who participate in such a practice.

While the increasing exclusivity of televised football to pay television grows, acting as a barrier for many football fans who relish 'live' coverage but are not willing to part with the subscription fee, a significant level of audiences within public domains is likely to be maintained. Indeed, BSkyB estimate that their recorded domestic audience for Premiership matches could be doubled if non–domestic users were also accounted for, but as yet this remains guesswork. If understanding the economic impact of the recent changes in televised football is difficult, the cultural impact of public viewing is even more complex. The fragmentation of television channels into generic niche markets, in the case of televised sport aimed at a male–centred audience, means that previous conceptions of broadcasting and how it connects with a notion of 'the public' need to be readdressed and rethought. Strangely, the privatisation of leisure associated with the phenomenon of television has seen a reversal, albeit small, in the instance of televised football (and possibly other sports). It also has the potential to reify hegemonic masculine behaviour in public domains, specifically in the pub and the sports club. While the pleasures of televised football (and sport in general) are by no means exclusively male–centred, the fragmentation of television audiences suggests that on most occasions (possibly with the exception of listed events and other big matches) they can neither be viewed as heterogeneous.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION: TELEVISED FOOTBALL AND THE STAR SYSTEM

Heroes and Villains: The Narratives of Televised Football

In focusing on the production processes and reception of the single genre of televised football I have attempted to broaden the understanding of a specific aspect of British broadcasting, which, I believe, has remained a largely neglected field of study within academic research. This gap within the body of knowledge in the study of sport, media and culture, belies the social, economic, political and cultural significance the mediation of the sport warrants. In making my concluding remarks I would like to tease out some of the main themes of my thesis and connect these to the pressing issues of contemporary British football, television and communication industries.

My starting point will be with the central focus of professional football in terms of the clubs, the authorities, the fans, the media, the sponsors and advertisers: the professional player himself. The player is not only an athlete but also the cultural icon of the game (the hero and the villain) and the economic product of the game (he is bought and sold as a commodity). He is also the performer within a wider theatre and it is the manner in which broadcasting has transformed the representation and perception of this performance which preoccupies my concluding thoughts as it has pervaded the whole of the research. For in thinking about football at any level of critique or analysis one cannot avoid thinking about players and their centrality to consuming the sport. The role of broadcasting, and specifically television, has been of great importance to the symbolic meanings associated to individual players, teams and Association Football as popular culture. As I have stressed throughout my argument television's role has not been to simply provide sounds and images from British, European and transcontinental football stadia, but to culturally transform the sport, creating a new spectacle, with a different socio-economic purpose and with broader regional, national and international significance.

Television positioned, and continues to position, football players within the private domains of

the nation, providing an iconic source for various collective identities. Although football was firmly established all over Europe and much of South America by the 1920s when broadcasting began, it was radio and then television, which would secure football's position in society, creating with it a host of mythological heroes captured within dramatic and often epic contests and confrontations. That millions of people were able to instantaneously share in this process has proved one of the Twentieth Century's most powerful legacies.

Once broadcasting overcame resistance from both the press and the football authorities it forged a new relationship between football and its fans. The dynamics of consumption changed, people did not have to go to the game to feel involved, they could engage with new names and new teams from different parts of the country and, once Eurovision began in 1954 and English clubs ventured onto the continent to test their assumed supremacy on a wider stage, they could marvel at the new techniques practised by teams like Real Madrid and new magicians with the ball like Puskas and Di Stefino. While football heroes existed before the age of broadcasting (Mason, 1996) television incorporated them into a star system within myriad meta–narratives of the game. Domestically, post–war stars like Stanley Matthews and Billy Wright have given testament in their biographical accounts of how wider recognition brought status and pride among their families, peers and communities. The wider communication of their talents also brought new pressures and responsibilities, from which the internal organisational culture of football made attempts to cosset their employees. The principle weapon against the temptations of star status was the maximum wage, which for the player of the 1940s and 1950s meant that any sense of growing stature produced by wider exposure to the nation's television audience did not automatically make him a much wealthier man.

It is significant that players like Matthews and Wright, and their contemporaries, are more likely to be remembered through newsreel footage than television recordings. The players of this generation were largely complicit in their subordinate position, not wanting for excessive material possessions, still touched by traditional working–class values forged during the late–nineteenth and early–twentieth centuries. The perks of the job and the generosity of the community they represented ensured a lifestyle which was a cut–above the average working man who laboured within industrial Britain's mines or factories, but still under the moral guidance of their 'betters' who governed in the boardroom. These players only glimpsed the

dawning of the television era of football, in which one year's earnings under the maximum wage could be earned in one week after its abolition in the 1960s. Related to today's salaries of the top professionals one week's wages would more than match the aggregate income of a total career for those playing under the restrictive practices prior to 1961.

Financial reward is now the main inducement for young men to mimic their heroes among the professional ranks, and a large slice of that motivation has been provided by television which has become the players prime paymaster. Given the huge salaries some of the players receive it is ironic that in 1996 the PFA threatened a players strike over the distribution of television money, the first time since a similar dispute arose over payment for televised floodlit matches in the mid–1950s. The annual ten percent of television revenue the Football League agreed to pass on to the PFA after the initial dispute was withdrawn after the League negotiated a new contract with BSkyB worth £125 million over five years. Instead of ten percent, which would have boosted the size of the League's transaction with the PFA quite considerably, the League decided to freeze the amount of money handed over. After protracted negotiations and a balloted agreement to strike by League players was reached, an eleventh–hour settlement forestalled strike action: in November 1996 the PFA agreed to receive £750,000 per year plus £600,000 to be distributed among the clubs to be used for specific projects nominated by the players union.

The episode marks an interesting stage in the transformation of the political economy of televised football. It involves a dual shift in power within the relationship between football and television. Firstly, football has begun to fully realise its worth as a ready made form of entertainment which appeals to a largely young male audience, and the football authorities have duly capitalised on this position. The second shift, is towards television which now, having invested unprecedented amounts of money in the game, has insisted on exclusivity, rescheduling and more intrusive access into the once closeted backstage domains of football. The mystique of professional football still remains at certain levels but much within the game now moves to the rhythm of television and the criteria of good entertainment laid down by television directors and producers. Interviews with football managers before, during and immediately after the game are a set requirement of the package football has sold to television to satisfy the genres' voracious consumption of sound bites; the substance upon which

anchormen quiz their panel of 'experts'. As for the fans, they have taken the brunt of the cost, but the demand for the 'product' continues to be sustained.

To return to the players, this heightened coverage, which is often at the cutting edge of television technology (a trait which has accompanied the televising of the sport as illustrated in Chapter 4), has created a new breed of football mega–star. The epitome of this process in the English game is the French player Eric Cantona of Manchester United. No other player has made such an impact on the English League in the 1990s as Cantona. Having been central to Manchester United's recent renaissance and the success of a "double" (twice winning the Premiership and FA Cup in the same season) Cantona has become one of the most iconic figures of British culture during the 1990s. The player is the enigmatic figurehead of Manchester United's marketing and merchandising practices, which has turned the club into a venerable brand on an increasingly global basis. Cantona's media persona within this marketing environment is often contradictory, and from the perspective of those who use his status as a promotional tool deliberately contentious. His creativeness with a football which combines spontaneity, stylisation and deception, is often stereotyped by commentators as being symptomatic of the players 'flair', 'intelligence' and even 'poetic' performance. Equally, this is related to his self–fashioned persona off the field which is 'cool', reflective and pseudo–intellectual (seen through his confessed interest in the poet Rimbaud). As with many of the world's leading sports stars this persona is finely grafted onto advertising rhetoric to endorse a variety of products and services which may or may not be directly linked to his profession. However, as with the characterisation of all 'flair' players, his temperament often collides with the more positive aspects of his performances, sporadically turning to violence born of competitiveness and frustration. In a career full of fallouts, bust ups and fights, Cantona's nadir came in January 1995 when after being sent off in a match against Crystal Palace and taunted by the opposition crowd, he lashed out with a 'kung–fu' style kick at an abusive young male fan. Cantona received a ten month ban and a community service order from the courts. In spite of an initial media backlash, Cantona reinvented himself, capitalising on the event within which he became viewed as more of a symbolic victim than perpetrator of violence.

Most notably, within three advertisements for Nike sportswear, Cantona's allure as a football

celebrity, his position of being a victim of English chauvinism against 'foreigners', and his own internal struggle against his own 'demons' are articulated politically and symbolically to advocate the product. We hear him reflect on his image as the 'enfant terrible' of football; we identify with his challenge to those who deny his right as an individual to play football in an ethnically and racially divided society; and finally, we see him exorcise his demonic alter–ego by shattering the image of the devil by driving a ferocious volley towards goal causing the devil to implode. The words and images of the advertisements are clearly a play on the player's television persona and draw upon the mythological status of the sporting hero. Cantona's bold and stylish macho posing elides his role as a private individual or the family man, ideologically reifying in an unremarkable but nevertheless powerful way, football's relationship to, and in, hegemonic masculinity.

Cantona's complex characterisation within the media highlights some of the problems professional footballers face when they are lauded as stars, and therefore, asked to present themselves as role models. However, the stereotypical roles prescribed to players are rarely lived up to. The pressures which star status brings to an individual player (who is often inexperienced in dealing with large sums of money and uneducated in public relations) ensure that the nuances of everyday life and private inter–relationships are in tension with the fictionalised persona constructed by the media. While conducting the research between 1993 to 1996 several conspicuous examples of professional players falling foul of either the moral codes of sport or the social and legal codes of society served as reminders of how footballers can be both hero and villain at one and the same time, dependent on the context and media treatment.

The 1994/95 English Premier League season proved to be football's 'year of sleaze' which mirrored themes from other paradigms of news reporting including the media's preoccupation with uncovering scandal and corruption among Tory MP's. Apart from Cantona's eruption of violence, three other stories compounded what rapidly became a procession of front page headlines and main television news features. The 'sleaze' centred upon crime, corruption and misdemeanour within the game which specifically involved allegations of 'match fixing' against the Liverpool and Southampton goalkeeper Bruce Grobbelaar, investigations into illegal payments or 'bungs' to the former Arsenal manager George Graham and revelations of drug

abuse by the Arsenal player Paul Merson. I will now briefly analyse the first of these news stories and suggest how and why the events involving Grobbelaar relate to televised football.

Allegations of attempting to fix matches for a syndicate of gamblers in the 'far east' were initially raised against Bruce Grobbelaar by *The Sun* newspaper. Two specific games were pinpointed: Newcastle United against Liverpool in November 1993 and, Coventry City against Southampton in October 1994. The allegations were based on video evidence which revealed a meeting between the player and his ex–business partner Chris Vincent who offered a fake bribe set up by *The Sun*. The transaction captured by a hidden camera was broadcast as evidence of *The Sun*'s allegations, and the tabloids symbolic role in 'cleaning up the nation's game' was established when their investigative journalists staged managed the handing over of the tape to the FA's Chief Executive, Graham Kelly, on the steps of the FA's Headquarters in front of the nation's television news cameras. A police investigation followed and two further players, John Fashanu and Hans Segars, were questioned with Grobbelaar about the allegations.

Bribery strikes at the heart of the philosophy of sport, its ideological and moral premise. The question of fairness and associated metaphors which stress that sport should be based on a 'level playing field' underwrite all competitive sporting practices. The pleasures of the television audience are compromised by the knowledge of what is being seen may be 'fixed' in some way. It engenders a similar, but more profound, sense which occurs when viewing edited highlights with prior knowledge of the result, it is not knowing the outcome which produces the thrill.

Secondly, there is a tension where the philosophy of fairness is seen to be corrupted by commercialisation of sport. In particular the rise in the 'live' coverage of football on television has given a fillip to gambling on the game. The traditional method of gambling on football through the football pools has been superseded by 'fixed odds' betting on a wider range of variables like individual results, individual score lines, the time of goals, and the goal scorers. It is the possibility of combining these variables to considerably boost the odds which has attracted syndicates to gamble on football. Therefore, attempts to control outcomes clearly corrupts the ingrained moral codes of sport and concern over the influence of money in the game of football are compounded. Ironically, the discourse of concern over the influence of

money in the game frequently comes from television pundits who are themselves embroiled in the process of making a living from the sport and promoting it as an entertainment industry.

Thirdly, in watching football, either at the stadium or through television, how could a fixed game be recognised? The technology of televised football has enabled a heightened level of inspection and introspection where the smallest event can be selected to be replayed and reviewed to change its significance. In the ensuing debate over the Grobbelaar affair (labelled as 'Grobbelaar Gate' by *The Sun*) the specific matches which were alleged to be fixed were scrupulously replayed in the search of any evidence of the goalkeeper 'taking a dive'. Here, the lack of critical journalism within televised football is revealed. While the aura of Grobbelaar's star status was being undermined in the tabloid press (who ritualistically catch out the big names of the football world, providing the occasion for sport to cross the schematic divide of the front and back pages) television's dependence on and investment in football as entertainment often rallies around the culture of the sport, protecting its image. The only time television allows itself to be critical is regarding the laws of the game and the proficiency or otherwise of the referees who implement them.

This is particularly true over calls to stamp out violent play, and television has been the main source of evidence both within the regulation of the game internally by the FA, and where bodily harm has been caused on the field of play within the law courts. For instance, Everton player Duncan Ferguson spent a short term in prison in 1995 after a headbutting incident on the field of play during his spell at Glasgow Rangers was captured on television. Although an extreme case the conviction of Ferguson on video evidence poses some interesting questions regarding the role of television in the coverage of football and the place of sport in general within the law. Football likes to deal with its own problems through fines, imposing bans, or, as is more recently the case with several players who have transgressed moral (and sometimes legal) codes, by instructing players to take counselling. The genre of televised football in Britain has been complicit in football's reticence to allow outside legal, political or moral influences shape the game. So when revelations of the Rangers and England player Paul Gascoigne's wife beating hit the front pages, his appearances for club or country in the days and weeks following were treated purely in the football context, with only incidental references to what were neatly labelled as the players 'domestic problems'. Calls from women's groups

and non–sports journalists for the player to be banned from playing or at least to be chastised for his violent acts not only fell on deaf ears within the game, but were also ignored by the sport's television pundits. This merely illustrates another aspect of what my research has attempted to document and critically analyse: that television is now part and parcel of the football industry, both symbiotically related, and more and more in control of the sports future.

Football, Future Technologies and Consumption

Contemporary televised football is undergoing significant change in its production, distribution and consumption. Football has been at the cutting edge of a more general fragmentation of television delivery systems and services and the growth of niche markets for different genres, styles and carriers of audio–visual media. The sport has been central to BSkyB's strategies to introduce satellite television into the UK and will undoubtedly figure in the political economy of digital television as it is phased in towards the end of the millennium. The increasing profile of football is due to the material resources and cultural significance it has been given by the satellite broadcaster, and it is a relationship which looks set to grow increasingly strong within the near future.

One consequence of this paradigm shift in the economic infrastructure of the football–television nexus is the transformation of the sports' image across all media. A whole host of football related imagery and marketing has taken off since the mid–1990s including glossy football magazines, football videos, football computer games and football related advertisements. It is not to suggest that these media did not exist on a large scale before BSkyB entered the scene, but to acknowledge that in some sectors the sport's production of image markets have begun to reach optimum levels of commercialisation. For instance, within the space of one year, Manchester United shares have tripled in value, to a stage where the estimated value of the club as a whole is well in excess of £300 million. This represents an incredible turnaround from the nadir of the mid–1980's in the fortunes of English football's premier clubs. Much of football's wealth is generated through television and the ancillary marketing promotions which cascade around it. With a new contract in place with BSkyB, Premier League clubs can expect to receive £8.5m from television with further money based on performance (that is the number of times they appear on Sky Sports which tends to reflect their League position). Unfortunately, as success breads success there are fewer and fewer clubs who can hop aboard the Premier

Leagues gravy train, unless they have an affluent backer prepared to make a substantial investment to leap–frog the opposition. Investment has become the operative word in British football during the 1990s, and has become essential in a momentous era of modernisation initiated by the Taylor Report on the Hillsborough disaster of 1989.

In turning to television for money and further opening up football stadia to the cameras, football has also managed to smarten up its appearance to attract new customers and sponsors. Corporate hospitality is now commonplace within all–seater stadia, companies are falling over themselves to gain shirt sponsorship of a major Premier League side and the country's biggest brewer Bass have recently tripled their investment in the Premier League to £36m, which ensures their brand Carling is mentioned every time the football results are read on a Saturday afternoon. Indeed, this massive increase of investment from the Premier Leagues main sponsor was motivated by a £1.1bn growth in retail sales of Carling lager during their initial period of association with the sport. This at a time when there had been a general downturn in the demand for beer (*Financial Times*, 10.12.96.).

To conclude, in spite of denials that pay–per–view televised football will not be introduced before 1998 in the UK, shares in football clubs have soared with speculation of an early launch. The prospect of millions of viewers paying to watch a game of their choice may prove too exciting not to miss for those in the UK who have so far proved reluctant to pay a subscription fee to watch television. David Elstein, formerly head of programmes at BSkyB, has suggested that digital technology will augment a revolution in what he calls the "celestial turnstile", arguing that the "public's willingness to spend on sport has barely been tested" (*Financial Times*, 9.12.96.). However, as my own research on public viewing of televised football has suggested and, as the low subscription rates for pay–per–view football in Italy and France intimates, many fans of the game are not prepared to pay excessive amounts of money for a mediated spectacle. They can either evade payment by going to the pub, club, on to a friend's or another member of the family's house, or, as has generally been the case with satellite and cable technology so far, refuse to pay for a television service other than the BBC.

If my longitudinal study of the relationship between television, football and its fans suggests anything, it is that processes of modernisation in the game, more often than not television led,

have frequently run up against the paternalistic traditions of sport with their roots in the 19th Century. My thesis has explained the processes which have led to the reconfiguration of the relationship between football and television over their sixty year association. It has emphasised the importance of understanding televised football historically; both as a popular cultural and industrial form. Crucially, it suggests that television - institutionally, technologically and aesthetically - transformed professional football in the way it is organised, watched and even played. This has been a complex and contradictory process of ideological and economic struggles, negotiations and compromises. Television lays emphasis on football as spectacle. It is often in conflict with the moral economy of the sport and has changed our perceptions of it. As the 1994 World Cup illustrated, the infrastructure of football is geared towards selling the sport as a televisually-led package: globally branded under the overseeing authority of FIFA and acting as a vehicle for sponsors and advertisers to reach mass audiences. Historically, football has been sold as a collective brand under the control of a league system or national governing body. However, pay per view and the ability of leading clubs to draw and hold television audiences suggests that these clubs will push for individual rights to their home games in order to maximise their rights fees and capitalise on their marketability.

However, the rapid hyper-commodification of sport has not changed the emotional ties which continue to bond individuals, communities and nations to particular clubs or national teams. The centrality of social and cultural identity remains a significant organising philosophy of professional football, in spite of the business rhetoric which follows stock market flotations and the drive towards profit maximisation. We must also recognise the role football has played in the growth of television in Britain. For instance, innovations in sports commentary and presentation have contributed to the complexities of manipulating sound and image to capture the imagination of audiences eager to share magical moments of football endeavour and skill. For this reason it is no surprise that football consistently attracts some of the largest audiences for British television. The historical capacity of football to attract and maintain audiences explains its early introduction into the public service broadcasting schedule and, more recently made it the prime 'dish driver' for satellite television in the UK. Again, the history of the relationship between television and football suggests that any future developments must remain attuned to the simplicity of football's appeal and its cultural traditions, if the product of televised football is not to get lost in marketing rhetoric of the sports-media complex.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ang, I. (1986) *Watching Dallas: Soap Opera and the Melodramatic Imagination.* London: Methuen.

Arlott, J. (1968) 'Over now to... The story of cricket on the air' in B. Johnston (ed) *Armchair Cricket.* London: BBC.

Annan Report (1977) *Report of the Committee on the Future of Broadcasting.* London: HMSO.

Back, L. (1993) 'Masculinity and fieldwork in a south London adolescent community' in D Bell, P. Caplan and W.J. Karun (eds) *Gendered Fields: Women, Men and Ethnography.* London: Routledge.

Bale, J. (1994) *Landscapes of Modern Sport.* Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Bairner, A. (1994) 'Football and the idea of Scotland' in G. Jarvie and G. Walker (eds) *Scottish Sport in the Making: Ninety-Minute Patriots?* Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Barnett, S. (1990) *Games and Sets: The Changing Face of Sport on Television.* London: BFI.

Baudrillard, J. (1988) *America.* London: Verso.

BBC (1928) *BBC Handbook.* London: BBC.

BBC (1940) *BBC Handbook.* London: BBC.

BBC (1949) *BBC Handbook.* London: BBC.

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

Blain, N. and R, Boyle. (1994) 'Battling along the boundaries: The making of Scottish identity in sports journalism' in G. Jarvie and G. Walker (eds) *Scottish Sport in the Making of the Nation: Ninety–Minute Patriots?.* Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Blake, A. (1995) 'Sport and the Global Media: Unofficial Citizens' *New Statesman and Society* 2 June.

Bough, F. (1980) *Cue Frank!.* London: MacDonald Futura.

Bourdieu, P. (1984) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste.* London: Routledge.

Boyle, R. (1994) '"We are Celtic supporters...": questions of football and identity in modern Scotland' in R. Giulianotti and J. Williams (eds) *Games Without Frontiers: Football, Identity and Modernity.* Aldershot: Arena.

Briggs, A. (1961) *The History of Broadcasting in the UK. Volume 1: The Birth of Broadcasting.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Briggs, A. (1965) *The History of Broadcasting in the UK. Volume 2: The Golden Age of Wireless.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Briggs, A. (1970) *The History of Broadcasting in the UK. Volume 3: The War of Words.*

Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Briggs, A. (1979) *The History of Broadcasting in the UK. Volume 4: Sound and Vision.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brunsdon, C. (1991) 'Satellite dishes and the Landscapes of taste' New Formations Vol.15 pp23–42.

Buckingham, D. (1987) *Public Secrets: Eastenders and its Audience.* London: BFI.

Cargill, K. (1987) *Scotland 2000: Eight Views on the State of the Nation.* Glasgow: BBC.

Cashmore, E. (1994) *and there was television.* London: Routledge.

Caughie, J. (1991) 'Before the Golden Age: Early television drama' in J. Corner (ed) *Popular Television In Britain: Studies In Cultural History.* London: BFI.

Chandler, J. (1978) 'American pro football in Britain' *Journal of Popular Culture.* Vol.12, pp146–55.

Chippendale, P. and S. Franks. (1991) *Dished! The Rise and Fall of British Satellite Broadcasting.* London: Simon and Schuster.

Clarke, A. and J. Clarke (1982) 'Highlights and action replays: ideology, sport and the media' in J. Hargreaves (ed) *Sport, Culture and Ideology.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Clifford, J. (1986) 'Introduction: partial truths' in J. Clifford and G. Marcus (eds) *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California.

Connell, R. (1987) *Gender and Power.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Corner, J. (1986) 'Olympic Myths: the Flame, the Night and the Music' in L. Masterman (ed) *Television Mythologies: Stars, Shows and Signs.* 2nd Edition. London: Comedia.

Corner, J. (1991) 'General introduction: Television and British society in the 1950's' in J. Corner (ed) *Popular Television in Britain: Studies in Cultural History.* London: BFI.

Corner, J. (1995) *Television Form and Public Address* London: Edward Arnold.

Creedon, P. (ed, 1994) *Women, Media and Sport: Challenging Gender Values.* Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Critcher, C. (1979) 'Football since the war' in J. Clark, C. Critcher and R. Johnson (eds) *Working Class Culture.* London: Hutchinson.

Critcher, C. (1992) 'Is there anything on the box? Leisure studies and media studies' *Leisure Studies* Vol.11. pp97–122.

Davies, P. (1990) *All Played Out* Edinburgh: Mainstream.

Davis, S.G. (1996) 'The theme park: global industry and cultural form *Media, Culture and Society.* Vol.18. No.3 pp399–422.

de Certeau, M. (1984) *The Practice of Everyday Life.* Berkeley. California University Press.

Denney, R. (1989) *The Astonished Muse* London: Transaction Publications (Orig.1957).

Dimmock, P. (1951) 'Television out and about' *BBC Yearbook 1951*. London: BBC.

Dimeo, P and J. Finn (1996) 'Anti–Asian Racism, Scottish Football and the Media: The Case of Partick Thistle' paper given at *Fanatics! Football and Popular Culture in Europe an International Conference*. Manchester Metropolitan University.

Downing, T. (1992) *Olympia*. London: BFI.

Dunning, E., P. Murphy and J. Williams (1988) *The Roots of Football Hooliganism: An Historical and Sociological Study*. London: Routledge.

Duke, V. (1994) 'The drive to modernisation and the supermarket imperative: who needs a new football stadium?' in R. Giulianotti and J. Williams (eds) *Games Without Frontiers: Football, Identity and Modernity*. Aldershot: Arena.

Dyson, M.E. (1993) 'Be Like Mike?: Michael Jordan and the pedagogy of desire' *Cultural Studies*. Vol.7, No.1.

Ellis, J. (1982) *Visible Fictions*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Featherstone, M. (ed, 1990) *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity*. London: Sage.

Feuer, J. (1983) 'The concept of live television: ontology as ideology' in A. Kaplan (ed) *Regarding Television: Critical Approaches*. Los Angeles: AFI.

Finn, G. (1994) 'Football violence: a societal psychological perspective' in R. Giulianotti, N. Bonney and M. Hepworth (eds) *Football Violence and Social Identity*. London: Routledge.

Fishwick, N. (1989) *English Football and Society, 1910–1950*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Fiske, J. (1987) *Television Culture*. London: Methuen.

Free, M. (1996) 'Republic of Ireland supporters and Irish identity in Birmingham' paper given at *Fanatics! Football and Popular Culture in Europe an International Conference*, Manchester Metropolitan University, 11–13 June 1996.

Fynn, A. and L. Guest (1994) *Out Of Time: Why Football Isn't Working*. London: Simon Schuster.

Geraghty, C, P. Simpson and G. Whannel (1986) 'Tunnel Vision: televisions World Cup' in A. Tomlinson and G. Whannel (eds) *Off The Ball: The Football World Cup*. London: Pluto.

Giulianotti, R. (1991) 'The Tartan Army in Italy: the case for the carnivalesque' *Sociological Review*. Vol.39, No.3.

Giulianotti, R. (1992) 'Soccer casuals as cultural intermediaries:The cultural politics of Scottish style' *Manchester Institute for Popular Culture Working Paper* Manchester: Manchester Metropolitan University.

Giulianotti, R. and J. Williams (eds, 1994) *Game Without Frontier: Football, Identity and Modernity*. Aldershot: Arena.

Glanville, B. (1973) 'Football at Wembley' in *Wembley 1923–1973: The Official Wembley Story of 50 Years*. London: Kelly & Kelly.

Glanville, B. (1993) *The Story of the World Cup*. London: Faber and Faber.

Goffman, E. (1969) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Harmondsworth : Penguin.

Goldlust, J. (1987) *Playing For Keeps: Sport, the Media and Society*. Melbourne: Longman.

Golesworthy, M. (1957) *The Encyclopaedia of Association Football*.London: The Sportsmans Book Club.

Gray, A. (1992) *Video Playtime: The Gendering of a Leisure Technology*. London: Routledge.

Grossberg, L. (1992) 'Is there a fan in the house? The affective sensibility of fandom' in C. A. Lewis (ed) *The Adoring Audience*. London: Routledge.

Hall, S. (1980) 'Encoding/decoding' in S. Hall, D. Hobson, A. Lowe and P. Willis (eds) *Culture, Media, Language*. London: Routledge.

Hardaker, A. (1977) *Hardaker of the League* London: Pelham Books.

Hargreaves, J.A. (1994) *Sporting Females* London: Routledge.

Hargreaves, J.E. (1986) *Sport, Power and Culture*. London: Polity.

Haynes, R. (1995) *The Football Imagination: The rise of Football Fanzine Culture*. Aldershot: Arena.

Hearn, J. (1992) *Men In The Public Eye*. London: Routledge.

Hetherington, A. (1992) *Inside BBC Scotland, 1975–1980: A personal view*. Glasgow: Whitewater Press.

Hey, V. (1986) *Patriarchy and Pub Culture*. London: Tavistock.

Holt, R. (1989) *Sport and the British: A Modern History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hornby, N. (1992) *Fever Pitch*. London: Gollancz.

Jameson, F. (1984) 'Postmodernism, or the cultural logic of late capitalism' *New Left Review*. Vol.146. pp53–93.

Jarvie, G. and J. Maguire (1994) *Sport and Leisure in Social Thought*. London: Routledge.

Martin–Jenkins, C. (1990) *Ball By Ball: The Story of Cricket Broadcasting*. London: Grafton Books.

Jensen, K.B. (1987) 'Qualitative audience research: Toward an integrative approach to reception' *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* Vol.14, No.1, pp21–36.

Jenson, J. (1992) 'Fandom as pathology: the consequences of characterisation' in L.A. Lewis (ed) *Adoring Audience: Fan Culture and Popular Media*. London: Routledge.

Jhally, S. (1989) 'Cultural studies and the sports/media complex' in L.A. Wenner (ed) *Media, Sport and Society*. London: Sage.

Kracauer, S. (1926) 'The Cult of Distraction' reprinted in *New German Critique*. No.40, 1987.

Laing, S. (1986) *Representations of Working Class Life 1957–1964*. London: MacMillan.

Lash, S. and J. Urry (1994) *Economies of Signs and Space*. London: Sage.

Ledbrooke, A. and E. Turner (1955) *Soccer From the Press Box* London: The Sportsmans Book Club.

Livingstone, S. (1994) 'Watching talk: gender and engagement in the viewing of audience discussion programmes' *Media, Culture and Society*. Vol.11 pp429–447.

McArthur, C. (1975) 'Setting the scene' in E. Buscombe (ed) *Football on Television*. London: BFI.

McArthy, A. (1995) '"The front row is reserved for scotch drinkers" Early television's tavern audience' *Cinema Journal* Vol.34, No.4 pp31–49.

McDowell (1992) *The History of BBC Broadcasting in Scotland 1923– 1983*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

McIllvanney, H. (1995) *McIllvanney on Football*. London: Mainstream.

McLuhan, M. (1964) *Understanding Media*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

MacPherson, A. (1991) *Action Replays* London: Chapmans.

Maguire, J. (1991) 'The Media–Sport Production Complex: The Case of American Football in Western European Societies' *European Journal of Communication*. Vol.6 pp315–335. London: Sage.

Maguire, J. (1993) 'Globalization, Sport and National Identities: "The Empires Strike Back"' *Society and Leisure* Vol.16 (2) pp293–322.

Maguire, J. (1994) 'Preliminary observations on globalisation and the migration of sports labour' *Sociological Review* pp452– 480.

Markovitz, A. (1990) 'The other 'American exceptionism': why is there no soccer in the United States? *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*

Marriott, S. (1996) 'Time and again: 'live' television commentary and the construction of replay talk' *Media, Culture and Society*. Vol.18, No.1. pp69–86.

Maskell, D. (1988) *Oh I Say!* London: Collins.

Mason, T. (1980) *Association Football and English Society 1863 –1915*. London: Harvester.

Mason, T. (1995) *Passion of the People? Football in South America*. London: Verso.

Mason, T. (1996) '"Our Stephen and Our Harold": Edwardian footballers as local heroes' *The International Journal of the History of Sport. Vol.13, No.1.*

Matterlart, A., M. Delcourt and M. Matterlart (1984) *International Image Markets*. London: Comedia.

Meisl, W. (1956) *Soccer Revolution* London: Sportsmans Book Club.

Milne, A. (1988) *DG: The Memoirs of a British Broadcaster.* London: Coronet.

Modleski, T. (1983) 'The rhythms of reception' in E. Ann Kaplan (ed) *Regarding Television: Critical Approaches – An Anthology.* Los Angeles: AFI.

Moores, S. (1988) '"The box on the dresser": memories of early radio' *Media, Culture and Society.* Vol.10 (1). pp23–40.

Moores, S. (1993) 'Satellite TV as Cultural Sign: Consumption, Embedding and Articulation' *Media, Culture and Society.* Vol.15, No.4, pp621–39.

Morley, D. (1980) *The 'Nationwide' Audience.* London: BFI.

Morley, D. (1986) *Family Television, Cultural Power and Domestic Leisure.* London: Comedia.

Morley, D. and K. Robins (1995) *Spaces of Identity: Global Media, Electronic Landscapes and Cultural Boundaries.* London: Routledge.

Moorehouse, H.F. (1991) 'On the periphery: Scotland, Scottish football and the new Europe' in J. Williams and S. Wagg (eds) *British Football and Social Change: Getting Into Europe.* Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Morse, M. (1983) 'Sport on Television: Replay and Display' in E. Ann Kaplan (ed) *Regarding Television: Critical Approaches – An Anthology.* Los Angeles: AFI.

Mulvey, L. (1975) 'Visual pleasure and narrative cinema' *Screen.* Vol.16, No.3.

Murray, B. (1984) *The Old Firm: Sectarianism and Society in Scotland.* Edinburgh: John Donald.

National Heritage Committee (1994) *Sports Sponsorship and Television Coverage. Vol1: Report and Minutes of Proceedings* London: H.M.S.O.

Nightingale, V. (1993) 'What's 'ethnographic' about ethnographic audience research?' in G. Turner (ed) *Nation, Culture, Text: Australian Culture and Media Studies* London: Routledge.

Nowell–Smith, G. (1978) 'Television – Football – The World' *Screen.* Vol.19, No.4, pp45–59.

O'Connor, B. and R. Boyle. (1993) 'Dallas with balls: television, sport, soap opera and male and female pleasures' *Leisure Studies.* Vol.12, pp107–119.

Packard, V. (1957) *The Hidden Persuaders.* Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Plant, S. (1992) *The Most Radical Gesture: The Situationist International in a Postmodern Age.* London: Routledge.

Rader, B.G. (1984) *In Its Own Image: How TV Has Transformed Sports.* USA: Coward McCann.

Radway, J. (1984) *Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy and Popular Literature.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Redhead, S. (1987) *Sing When You're Winning: Football Final! The Last Football Book.* London: Pluto.

Redhead, S. (1991) *Football With Attitude.* Manchester: Wordsmith.

Redhead, S. (ed, 1993) *The Passion and the Fashion: Football Fandom in the New Europe.* Aldershot: Avebury.

Redhead, S. (1994) 'Media culture and the World Cup: the last World Cup? in J. Sugden and A. Tomlinson (eds) *Hosts and Champions: Soccer Cultures, National Identities and the USA World Cup.* Aldershot: Arena.

Ritzer, G. (1993) *The McDonaldization of Society: an investigation into the changing character of contemporary social life.* London: Pine Forge.

Roche, M. (1992) 'Mega–events and micro–modernisation: on the sociology of the new urban tourism' *British Journal of Sociology.* Vol.43, No.4. pp563–600.

Rojek, C. (1992) *Ways of Escape: Modern Transformations in Leisure and Travel.* London: Routledge.

Roscoe, J., R. Marshall and K. Gleeson. (1995) 'Television Audience: A Reconstruction of the Taken–for–granted Terms 'Active', 'Social' and 'Critical" *European Journal of Communication* Vol.10 (1) pp87–108. London: Sage.

Rose, A. and J. Friedman. (1994) 'Television sport as mas(s)culine cult of distraction' *Screen* 35:1.

Rous, S. (1978) *Football Worlds: A Lifetime In Sport.* London: Faber and Faber.

Rowe, D. (1991) '"That misery of stringer's cliche's": sports writing' *Cultural Studies* Vol.15, No1.

Rowe, D. (1995) *Popular Cultures: Rock Music, Sport and The Politics of Pleasure.* London: Sage.

Rowe, D., G. Lawrence, T. Miller and J. Mckay (1994) 'Global Sport? Core concern and peripheral vision' *Media, Culture and Society.* Vol16. pp661–675.

Rowe, D. and N. Wood (eds, 1996) 'Sport, Globalization and the Media' a special issue of *Media, Culture and Society* Vol.18, No.4. London: Sage.

Rutherford, J. (1995) *Men's Silences: Predicaments in Masculinity.* London: Routledge.

Scannell, P. (ed, 1991) *Broadcast Talk.* London: Sage.

Scannell, P. and D. Cardiff. (1991) *A Social History of British Broadcasting. Volume 1: 1922–1939: Serving the nation.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Schiller, H. (1991) 'Not yet the post–imperialist era' *Critical Studies in Mass Communication.* Vol.8, pp13–28.

Schroder, K.C. (1994) 'Audience semiotics, interpretive communities and the 'ethnographic turn' in media research' *Media, Culture and Society.* Vol.16, pp337–347. London: Sage.

Seidler, V. (1989) *Rediscovering Masculinity: Reason, Language and Sexuality.* London:

Routledge.

Sendall, B. (1982) *Independent Television In Britain, Volume 1: 1946–62*. London: MacMillan.

Sendall, B. (1983) *Independent Television in Britain, Volume 2: Expansion and Change 1958–68*. London: MacMillan.

Silverstone, R. (1994) *Television and Everyday Life* London: Routledge.

Silverstone, R. (1996) 'From Audiences to Consumers: The Household and the Consumption of Communication and Information Technologies' in J. Hay, L. Grossberg and E. Wartella (eds) *The Audience and Its Landscape*. Oxford: Westview Press.

Sklair, L. (1991) *Sociology of the Global System* London: Harvester.

Sklair, L. (1993) '"Going Global": competing models of globalisation' *Sociology Review*. November issue.

Spillius, A. (1995) 'A league of their own' *Observer Life Magazine*. 28 May 1995.

Stallabrass, J. (1993) 'Just Gaming: Allegory and economy in computer games' *New Left Review*. Vol.198.

Strinati, D. (1992) 'The taste of America: Americanization and culture in Britain' in D. Strinati and S. Wagg (eds) *Come On Down? Popular Media Culture in Post–war Britain*. London: Routledge.

Sugden, J. (1994) 'USA and the World Cup: American nativism and the rejection of the people's game' in J. Sugden and A. Tomlinson (eds) *Hosts and Champions: Soccer Cultures National Identities and the USA World Cup*. Aldershot: Arena.

Sugden, J. and A. Bairner. (1994) 'Ireland and the World Cup: "two teams in Ireland, there's only two teams in Ireland" in J. Sugden and A. Tomlinson (eds) *Hosts and Champions: Soccer Cultures, National Identities and the USA World Cup*. Aldershot: Arena.

Sugden, J. and A. Tomlinson. (1994) 'Soccer culture, national identity and the World Cup' in J. Sugden and A. Tomlinson (eds) *Hosts and Champions: Soccer Cultures, National Identity and the USA World Cup*. Aldershot: Arena.

Taylor, R. (1990) 'Puskas and the real thing' in H. Lansdown and A. Spillius (eds) *Saturday's Boys: The Football Experience*. London: Willow.

Taylor, R. (1992) *Football and its Fans: Supporters and their relationship with the game, 1885–1985*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Tomlinson, A. (1986) 'Going global: the FIFA story' in A. Tomlinson and G. Whannel (eds) *Off The Ball: The Football World Cup*. London: Pluto.

Tomlinson, A. (1990) 'Introduction: Consumer culture and the aura of the commodity' in A. Tomlinson (ed) *Consumption, Identity and Style: Marketing, Meanings and the Packaging of Pleasure*. London: Routledge.

Tomlinson, A (1992) 'North and South: The rivalry of the Football League and the Football Association' in J. Williams and S. Wagg (eds) *British Football and Social Change: Getting Into Europe*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Tomlinson, A. (1994) 'FIFA and the World Cup: the expanding football family' in J. Sugden and A. Tomlinson (eds) *Hosts and Champions: Soccer Cultures, National Identities and the USA World Cup*. Aldershot: Arena.

Tudor, A. (1975) 'The Panels' in E. Buscombe (ed) *Football on Television*. London: BFI.

Tudor, A. (1992) 'Them and US: Story and stereotype in TV World Cup coverage' *European Journal of Communication*. Vol.7, pp391–413.

Tunstall, J. (1977) *The Media Are American: American Media in the World*. London: Constable.

Tunstall, J. (1992) *Television Producers* London: Routledge.

Urry, J. (1994) 'Cultural change and contemporary tourism' *Leisure Studies*. Vol.13, pp233–238.

Vamplew, W. (1982) 'The economics of a sports industry: Scottish gate–money at football, 1890–1914' *Economic History Review*. Vol.35, pp549–571.

Venables, T. (1994) *Venables: The Autobiography*. London: Michael Joseph.

Waddell, S. (1979) *The BBC Book of World Darts* London: BBC.

Wagg, S. (1984) *The Football World*. London: Harvester.

Wagg, S. (1991) 'Playing the part: the media and the England football team' in J. Williams and S. Wagg (eds) *British Football and Social Change: Getting Into Europe*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Wagg, S. (ed, 1995) *Giving the Game Away: Football, Politics and Culture on Five Continents*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Wallerstein, I. (1991) *Geopolitics and Geoculture Essays on the Changing World–System*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wenner, L.A. (ed, 1987) *Media, Sports and Society*. London: Sage.

Whannel, G. (1984) 'The television spectacular' in A. Tomlinson and G. Whannel (eds) *Five Ring Circus* London: Pluto.

Whannel, G. (1990) 'Winner takes all: competition' in A. Goodwin and G. Whannel (eds) *Understanding Television*. London: Routledge.

Whannel, G. (1991) '"Grandstand", the sports fan and the family audience' in J. Corner (ed) *Popular Television In Britain: In Cultural History*. London: BFI.

Whannel, G. (1992) *Fields In Vision: Television Sport and Cultural Transformation*. London: Routledge.

White Paper (1952) *Broadcasting: Memorandum on the Report of the Broadcasting Committee 1949*. (Cmnd. 8550). London: HMSO.

Williams, R. (1974) *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*. London: Routledge.

Williams, J. (1994) 'The local and the global in English soccer and the rise of satellite television' *Sociology of Sport Journal* Vol.11, No.4 pp376–397.

Williams, J. and R. Giulianotti (1994) 'Stillborn in the USA' in R. Giulianotti and J. Williams (eds) *Games Without Frontiers: Football, Identity and Modernity*. Aldershot: Arena.

Wilson, T. (1996) 'Television's Everyday Life: Towards a Phenomenology of the 'Television Subject'' *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 20:1 Spring, pp41 66.

Wolstenholme, K. (1958) *Sports Special*. London: The Sportsmans Book Club.

Wren–Lewis, G and A. Clarke (1983) 'The World Cup: A political football' *Theory, Culture and Society*. Vol.1 No.3. pp123–32.

Wright, B. (1956) *The Worlds My Football Pitch* Tiptree: Arrow.

Wright, B. (1959) *Football Is My Passport*. London: The Sportsmans Book Club.