

# 'Making the News:' The 2004 Athens Olympics and Competing Ideologies?

Sarah Barnard, Katie Butler, Peter Golding, and Joseph Maguire\*

*This paper examines how the Olympics 'make the news' and how, in so doing, competing ideologies are framed and represented. Considered in the context of a discussion of broader questions concerning the Olympics and global sport, the paper details the findings of a content analysis that identifies and outlines the main themes of British news reporting of the Athens Olympics 2004 on television (BBC and ITV) and in the press (The Daily Telegraph, Guardian, Daily Mail, and the Sun). 1170 newspaper articles on Olympic-related news and 91 television news items were identified and coded as part of the content analysis. The main focus of news coverage was on medals, whether it be medal-winning performances, medal contenders/winners, or medal prospects. Such framing often fell within a nationalistic framework, and nearly two thirds of all news media coverage was on British athletes. Aspects of Olympism were referred to in a fifth of television news coverage and nearly a third of press coverage. In contrast, news coverage that refers to commercial interests was minimal; reference to corporate sponsors occurred in just 2.6 per cent (press) and 2.2 per cent (television) of all Olympic-related news stories. This study broadly demonstrates the dominance of national interests, the muted presence of Olympism, and the significant absence of reporting of commercial aspects in news media coverage of the Athens Olympics 2004. It also highlights how such news negotiates the 'competing' and overlapping ideologies underpinning the modern Olympic Games.*



The Olympic Games are a global event, not merely of supreme significance in the world of sports, but as a carrier of cultural meanings that are almost uniquely available to vast international audiences.<sup>1</sup> This essay is part of a broader project that seeks to investigate the character of those values and ideas, and to demonstrate how such meanings are constructed, distributed, and received by audiences. Sports in the media in general, and the Olympics in particular, are embedded in local/global processes in three ways: the production of media sport goods, the political economy of sport mediated texts, and the political economic aspect of consumption.

In investigating these processes, the broader project is guided by a set of related assumptions about the media, and media-sport, derived from critical political economy and process sociology.<sup>2</sup> The project situates the study of the Olympic Games within broader local/global processes, with specific reference to media and

\* Corresponding author, Joseph Maguire, is a Professor in the School of Sport & Exercise Sciences, Loughborough University, UK – J.A.Maguire@lboro.ac.uk.

consumption.<sup>3</sup> That is, the project examines how a global mega-event, such as the Olympics, plays out locally (UK) and does so through the lens of the media-sport complex.<sup>4</sup> Arguably, as others have noted the Olympics are located at the heart of two contradictions.<sup>5</sup> The first is a contradiction between the ideals of Olympism and the realities of the modern Olympics in practice. It has been suggested that:

*The problem with Olympism is the Olympic Games. All things considered, the Olympic Games of the twentieth century are a paradox. The basic contradiction is that the games, in their contemporary incarnation, are the antithesis of the very ideals they ostensibly cherish.*<sup>6</sup>

As the above suggests, questions clearly exist with regard to the legitimacy of Olympism as the *raison d'être* of the Olympic Games. It is clear that the International Olympic Committee (IOC), whilst promoting the ideals of Olympism, has accommodated commercial pressures in order to ensure the success of the Games, and has therefore been seen to reinforce capitalist social relations and practices.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, the Celebrate Humanity campaign, developed by the IOC's marketing department, is best viewed as an attempt to enhance the brand rather than promote the values of Olympism *per se*. Whilst it has been argued that the 1984 Los Angeles Games epitomize the supremacy of commercial interests, even the first Games in 1896 were seen as a market place in order to make business connections and sell goods.<sup>8</sup>

The IOC purports to promote globally a message of internationalism, cosmopolitanism, environmentalism, and 'fair play'.<sup>9</sup> To achieve this, IOC officials defend their involvement with commercial interests on pragmatic grounds. Without such commercial support, officials argue, their movement would not achieve its goals of disseminating the ideals of Olympism. In adopting this strategy in the 1980s, however, this 'message' became embedded in a broader process of commerce.<sup>10</sup> That is, the media/marketing/advertising/corporate nexus is concerned less with the IOC message and more with building markets, constructing brand awareness, and creating local/globalized consumers/identities.<sup>11</sup> The Celebrate Humanity campaign can, as noted, be viewed in these terms.

The second contradiction is between the ideals of internationalism and participation on the one hand and individualism and nationalism on the other. Olympic rhetoric stresses that 'it's the taking part that matters' and that competition is between individuals not nations. However, the presentation and pageantry associated with the Olympics are fiercely nationalist.<sup>12</sup> This second contradiction has prompted investigation of the nationalist undercurrents in the reporting and broadcasting of the Olympics,<sup>13</sup> but in the broader project we set this particular problem in wider ideological and cultural processes as outlined below. Considered in this light, four main areas lend themselves for investigation. These are:

1. How the claimed IOC ideology is developed and promoted, the means by which such a mega-event as the Summer Olympics enacts such goals, and the possible contradictions that lie therein.

2. How the trans-national corporations (TNCs) use cultural industries, such as the media-sport complex, to create/build an Olympic market composed of 'globalized' consumers and products/services.
3. How the Olympics, like sport and culture more generally, become a commodity and serve as a promotional vehicle for TNC global products and a lifestyle based on consumption of particular brands.
4. How audiences/consumers experience and negotiate the contradictory messages and values carried in media-sport and *news* coverage of mega-events such as the Olympics.

This paper focuses on aspects of the latter issue and details the findings of a content analysis that identifies and outlines the main themes of British *news* reporting of the Athens Olympics 2004 on television (BBC and ITV) and in the press (*The Daily Telegraph*, *Guardian*, *Daily Mail* and the *Sun*). 1170 newspaper articles on Olympic-related news and 91 television news items were identified and coded as part of the content analysis.<sup>14</sup> Events at the Athens Olympics 2004 were aired on UK terrestrial television by the BBC. As the BBC is not an overtly commercial company, and the events themselves would appear without advertisements on display in the event arenas, it was necessary to look to alternative outlets for the evidence of how commercial input received its return by public promotion. Throughout the Athens Olympics, the news media provided the public with a means of digesting the results of the events and the possibility of commentary on the wider issues that surround the Games. In Athens, there were 21,500 journalists accredited to cover the Games – more than double the 10,564 athletes taking part. It has been widely acknowledged that the Olympics today are a global media phenomenon.<sup>15</sup>

Furthermore, it is argued that the media, in particular television, actually construct the 'reality' of the Olympic Games.<sup>16</sup> In addition to this point, issues over freedom of the press and editorial autonomy mean the relationship between the press and the Olympic Movement requires further investigation. How the news media construct the Games is important, especially if the media-constructed Olympics overstate or understate issues surrounding commercial interests, national concerns and Olympic ideals. There has been a lack of research on *news* coverage of the Olympics,<sup>17</sup> and this study will attempt to shed light upon how the British news media represent the Olympics.

## **Global Sport and the Olympic Games: Issues, Questions, and Concerns**

What effects do global sport in general and the Olympic Games in particular have on individuals, societies, and civilizations?<sup>18</sup> In addressing this question, three main issues arise. First, consideration must be given to assessing the *actual* and not simply the *claimed* effects and to examining whether the impact

they have on individuals and subcultures/cultures is merely fleeting and ephemeral, or deeper and more long lasting. Second, we need to assess what actual *reach* global sport and the Olympics have had and continue to have across the planet. Writing in the post-apartheid period, Nelson Mandela, a boxer in his youth, commented that sport is 'probably the most effective means of communication in the modern world.' The global reach that Mandela attributes to sport is supported by a range of evidence.<sup>19</sup> Clearly, the development and diffusion of modern sport and the modern Olympics is bound up in global processes.<sup>20</sup> The growth and development of worldwide sport organizations, the global acceptance of the rules of sport, and the establishment of international and global competitions, are bound up in a series of flows that structure the interplay of sport worlds. Sport seemingly reinforces the international diminishing of contrasts, with numerous global events producing a coming together of the world, however fleeting. Nevertheless, the close affiliation between sport and national cultures also means that international sport (global events such as the Olympic Games are fundamentally national in nature) undermines more regional political integration such as that championed by the European Union and its European Commission, and indeed the sentiments expressed by Mandela. Third, while the reach of global sport – and perhaps the Olympic Game – is not in question, we need to assess what the actual *impact* of the Olympic Games has been and continues to be across the planet and whether this impact is conducive to the United Nations' millennium goals. We have to assess, for example, the extent to which sport, of which the Games are claimed to be the pinnacle, can achieve the role that Kofi Annan, UN Secretary General, claims that it plays in 'improving the lives of individuals, not only individuals ... but whole communities.'<sup>21</sup>

That the UN Secretary General places such importance on sport highlights its growing global significance. The task facing the academic community is to examine this significance, noting the positive potential as well as the problems of global sport. In so doing, we will be better able to contribute to, and assess, policy formulation and implementation regarding sport at local, national, and global levels. That is, does sport assist in building friendships between people and nations? In doing so, as part of broader global civilizing processes, does it extend some degree of emotional identification between members of different societies and civilizations? With the Olympic Games now being watched by billions via the media sport complex, has an array of more cosmopolitan emotions developed within and between the peoples of different nations? Or, conversely, have globalization processes been accompanied by a more powerful decivilizing counter thrust, in which groups, within and between societies and civilizations, have reacted aggressively to the encroachment of alien values, artefacts, and cultural products, of which the Olympic Games are an example *par excellence*? If that is the case, then the nationalism that characterizes aspects of the Olympics is more easily understood.

Therefore, is the primary effect of the Olympic Games to extend, or contract, emotional identification between members of different societies? During the twentieth century, modern sport indeed became a global idiom – Mandela and the UN report are correct in that sense. Yet sport can play a seemingly contradictory role in global processes and identity formation. Sport both extends emotional identification between members of different societies and civilizations and, at the same time, fuels decivilizing counter thrusts. These are part of the same process that can be understood in terms of the interconnected concepts of established-outsider relations and diminishing contrasts-increasing varieties.<sup>22</sup>

Opinion is divided regarding the consequences and trajectories of global sport processes. On the one hand, reinforcing the views of the sports-industrial complex, global sport is viewed as a thoroughly progressive and liberating phenomenon that opens up the potential for greater human contact, dialogue, and friendship. Global sports events, such as those planned for the 2008 Beijing Olympics, are said to promote the spread of human rights and democracy, improve inter-cultural understanding, and thus – in IOC marketing speak – ‘Celebrate Humanity.’ Sentiments of this kind underpin the words of Mandela cited earlier, and also find expression in observations made by Kofi Annan regarding the Games of the XXVII Olympiad held in Sydney in 2000, suggesting that, ‘the Olympic Games display the very best of our common humanity.’<sup>23</sup> In contrast to such sentiments, the present structure of global sport can also be seen as symptomatic of a new and consumer-dominated phase of Western capitalism – in sport and other aspects of civic society. As such, global consumer sport imposes its cultural products on vulnerable communities across the globe. One consequence of this imposition is the eradication of cultural difference. Whether this is a result of Americanization and/or global capitalism is not of immediate relevance. The West dominates the economic, technological, political, and knowledge resources and controls the levers of power of global sport. Global sport in general, and the Olympic Games in particular, are thus tied to the opening up of new markets and the commodification of cultures. Their consumption is a hallmark of late capitalism in a postmodern age. How, then, do the Olympic Games ‘make the news?’

## Method

This study uses content analysis in order to identify and outline the main themes of news reporting of the Athens Olympics on UK television (BBC and ITV) and in the UK press (*The Daily Telegraph*, *Guardian*, *Daily Mail* and the *Sun*) between the 7<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> August 2004. The four selected newspapers represent both popular and ‘broadsheet’ sectors and cross the political spectrum. In aggregate, they had 59 per cent of the national newspaper sales. As we have mentioned, 1170 newspaper articles on Olympic-related news and 91 television news items

were identified and coded as part of the content analysis. The coding schedule has sections of descriptive questions referring to various components that make up a news story, asking, for example, where does the item appear? Did it include photographs (press) or footage from the Games (television), who is interviewed, and whose 'voice' is heard in the item? The next level of analysis asked questions about what the main focus of the item is, and what sub-themes or issues are also covered. The coding schedule also included the coding of any reference to gender, race, a focus on medal winners/contenders, and British athletes. Any mention of sponsors, professionalism, athlete earnings, and the appearance of product placement were also coded within the schedule. The analysis also sought to identify any reference to Olympism. This point needs clarification.

Segrave identified seven key issues as central to the idea of Olympism: education, international understanding, equal opportunity, fair and equal competition, cultural expression, independence of sport, and excellence.<sup>24</sup> This list appears to be comprehensive, with the exception of the recent addition of concern for the environment, and acts as a key reference point for a definition of Olympism in this paper. Furthermore, the IOC's own current interpretation of the Olympic values, developed as a result of a global study that assessed the Olympic brand and image, was considered and incorporated into the coding schedule used in the examination.<sup>25</sup> These include hope, dreams and inspiration, joy in effort, friendship, and fair play. These concepts formed the basis for the IOC's Celebrate Humanity Campaign 2004, and are therefore included within our definition of Olympism for this content analysis. These models of Olympism centre on two sets of ideas – around the nature of sport (excellence, achievement, etc.), and the nature of participation (understanding, fairplay, etc.).

## **Athens Olympics 2004 in the British Media: Flag Waving and Drug Scandals**

### *Press Coverage*

Data were collected from *The Daily Telegraph*, *Guardian*, *Daily Mail*, and the *Sun*, including all newspaper articles that refer to the Olympics on all pages of the newspapers, but excluding supplements and special sections (such as travel and health). A total of 1170 news items were coded; almost a third of the stories appearing in *The Daily Telegraph*, a quarter in both the *Daily Mail* and the *Sun*, and a fifth in the *Guardian* (*The Daily Telegraph* = 347, *Guardian* = 226, *Daily Mail* = 304 and the *Sun* = 293). Understandably, the majority of Olympic-related news items appeared on the sports pages – a total of 69.9 per cent of all stories analyzed. Of the items coded, only a small proportion appeared on the front page of the newspapers, the *Guardian* being the highest at 3.5 per cent. The infrequent appearance of Olympics-related stories on the front pages of the press

suggests that the Olympics did not hold much inherent news value for editors, and only when something occurred of special significance to UK readers (for example the silver medal for Amir Khan or the failure of Paula Radcliffe to finish the marathon) did the story appear on the front page.

**Table 1: The Top Ten Issues/Aspects Covered in All Olympics-Related Press News Items**

Issue	Frequency	Percent
Medal-winning performances	449	38.4
National success	420	38.4
National failure	151	12.9
Drugs	142	12.1
Human interest	140	12.0
Medal prospects	109	9.3
Preparation	105	9.0
Media coverage	56	4.8
Host organization	48	4.1
Sacrifice / sports ethic	48	4.1

The main focus of many of the news stories analyzed was the actual events (40.9 per cent), or the sports personalities involved (38.4 per cent). However, much attention was also given to 'scandal' (13.3 per cent), most commonly concerning that of the Greek athletes Kostas Kenteris and Katerina Thanou. Kenteris, the then reigning 200m Olympic champion, and Thanou who gained a silver medal in the 100m in the Sydney Olympics 2000, were the highest profile Greek athletes taking part in the Games. Kenteris, due to light the

cauldron at the opening ceremony, and Thanou sparked controversy when they failed to turn up for routine drugs tests in Athens. The subsequent motorcycle accident involving the two athletes and the voluntary surrender of their Olympic Accreditation heralded their withdrawal from the Games, despite claims that that they had done nothing wrong. They asserted that they were not informed of the timings of the drug tests and withdrew in the interests of their country. During this period, the news media were enthusiastic to cover this story as the leaking of secret footage in the hospital where Kenteris was receiving treatment and pictures of the 'chaos' as the two sprinters left hospital to deal with the press demonstrate. A typical headline from the *Sun* states, 'Olympic Shames: Athens pair in dope disgrace.'<sup>26</sup> The dominance of stories relating to doping allegations as part of the focus on scandal was also common in the many different sports featured in the Games; the bans applied to American sprinter Tori Edwards, Greek weightlifter Leonidas Sampanis, and Irish 10,000m runner Cathal Lombard, among others, were reported in relation to the high profile doping allegations pertinent to Kenteris and Thanou.

Within the main focus of an article a number of sub-categories were identified and coded, the top ten of which are listed in Table 1. The aspects identified in the newspaper coverage of the Olympics cover a wide range of issues, including medal winning performances, drugs, spectators, and local economics. However, a small number of issues received most attention. The prominence of medals is

evident: 38.4 per cent of all news items referred to medal winning performances, and a further 9.3 per cent to medal prospects. The second most dominant theme was nationalism, demonstrating a clear focus on national interests framed as either 'national failure' (12.9 per cent) or 'national success' (35.9 per cent). This evidence supports the analysis of Knight and his colleagues of New Zealand and Canadian press coverage of the Sydney Olympics.<sup>27</sup> They found that news narratives of disappointment were linked to social expectations, a sense of national loss or nostalgia, and a focus on failure to win medals.<sup>28</sup> These themes, in addition to the term 'medal drought' used by the New Zealand press in Knight's study, correspond to the way the British press represented the first few days of the Athens Games:

*Britain endured a blank day in Athens yesterday as the first weekend of Olympic competition ended with Team GB in possession of just a single medal... Yesterday however British hopes were repeatedly dashed as a stray TV camera, untimely crashes and the strength of the opposition, combined to thwart a succession of medal hopes.<sup>29</sup>*

The dominance of nationalistic coverage and the focus on medal success or failure, both reflecting coverage through a 'frame' of national interest, mean that little attention was given to other issues.<sup>30</sup> This trend is supported by an analysis of the coverage on British athletes and medal contenders or winners. Table 2 outlines the level of attention given to medal contenders and medal winners in the news items analyzed, and illustrates how far news coverage focused on the athletes themselves.

**Table 2: Focus on Medal Contenders/Winners as Percentage of Total Press Stories\***

	Guardian	Daily Telegraph	Daily Mail	Sun	Total
Focus on medal contenders	49.6% (112)	51.9% (180)	44.4% (135)	60.4% (177)	51.6% (604)
Focal on medal winners	26.1% (59)	31.1% (108)	24.3% (74)	30.4% (89)	28.2% (330)
Total	75.7% (171)	83.0% (288)	68.7% (209)	90.8% (266)	79.8% (934)

Overall, 79.8 per cent of all news stories included in the analysis fell into this category. However, there is a significant variation between the titles looked at. In the *Daily Mail* such stories were 68.7 per cent of the total, whilst the *Sun* focused upon medal contenders/winners 90.8 per cent of the time. Nearly two thirds (63.6 per cent) of all newspaper coverage focused on British athletes, the most clearly nationalistic publication being the *Sun* (78.5 per cent). Articles along the lines of 'Our boys bomb Oz: Top Brits Leon Taylor and Pete Waterfield struck silver and turned the Aussies into Olympic whingers' were common in the *Sun*'s coverage of the Games.<sup>31</sup> An 'us' versus 'them' rhetoric typifies a way of 'talking

nationally;<sup>32</sup> which both draws on and seeks to reinforce a sense of nationhood in the reader and assert British superiority over rivals. The *Daily Mail's* perhaps more sentimental coverage of Olympic athletes was no less nationalistic:

*(Front-page headline) 'Paula's Day of Agony' [continues] 'Radcliffe had carried a nation's hopes... the millions of fans who witnessed Radcliffe's agony on live television could only speculate as to what caused the 30-year-old to give up in the most important race of her life [...] The drama cast a cloud over Britain's most successful ever Olympic weekend.'*<sup>33</sup>

The content analysis of the four newspapers clearly demonstrates that national interests tend to frame most Olympic-related news, as is usual in the British press coverage of sports news.<sup>34</sup> However, what is interesting about the trends identified is their relationship to the ideals of Olympism. The dominance of nationalism in the newspaper coverage of the Olympics and the focus upon medals and medal contenders/winners evokes a sense of patriotic nostalgia for a perceived 'great' past, and ultimately undermines the concepts of 'international understanding' and 'joy in effort.'<sup>35</sup> Olympic ideals are clearly secondary to, or wholly displaced by, these interests and are rather taken on board by the news media only as and when they are themselves the main thrust of the story (as is the case with 'fair and equal competition,' which is discussed later).

Furthermore, the primacy of national interests in the coverage of athletes significantly reduces the salience of gender and race. Gender as a theme appears in 3.6 percent of news items and race/ethnicity just 2.1 percent. This result supports Wensing and Bruce's analysis of Australian press coverage of Cathy Freeman during the Sydney 2000 Olympics, where gender, and indeed race, lost their place as primary media-framing devices.<sup>36</sup> They further argue that it is in the Olympics that this 'bending of the rules' of how the news media frame athletes is most likely to take place.<sup>37</sup> The dominance of nationalism in newspaper coverage of the Olympics and the focus upon medals and medal contenders/winners did not, however, mean that the ideology of Olympism was entirely absent in news reporting. Overall, 29.1 per cent of Olympics-related news stories in the press referred to concepts or elements within Olympism, and all concepts used in the coding schedule were identified somewhere in the sample. The most frequently referred to idea was 'fair and equal competition,' which appears in a third of stories that use Olympism concepts. As the example below demonstrates, the evocation of 'fair and equal competition' ties in with the preoccupation with the doping allegations discussed earlier. The article noted:

*Not the end but a new beginning. – Cynics be quiet, the suspension of Kenteris and Thanou may have saved the Olympics for years to come... Rather than analysing the hurt caused, perhaps we could take a moment to praise the work of the World Anti-Doping Agency, under the leadership of Dick Pound. Thanks in no small part to the*

*Canadian lawyer's efforts we are finally witnessing a games where the drug abusers know there is every chance they will be caught ... So let the cynics be quiet and let us move on rather than wallow in the dirt. These games are richer for the absence of their chemically enhanced stars. Let us instead celebrate the likes of Paula Radcliffe, who has campaigned so loudly against the use of drugs in sport, and those in the other 27 sporting disciplines who have trained every bit as diligently as those lured by the multi-million dollar rewards of the athletics track.*<sup>38</sup>

In writing against the main tide of coverage that upholding the ideals of Olympism is more important than winning, or indeed money, this commentary illustrates the emphasis on medals in the foreground of media coverage and the more usual economic basis of global sport.<sup>39</sup> In the news coverage analyzed, the dominance of the concept of fair and equal competition merely works as a backdrop to the newsworthy doping scandals that occurred throughout the Games. Other concepts of Olympism that were commonly utilized in the press were the ideas of Olympic 'excellence' (18.4 per cent) and 'dreams and inspiration' (11.1 per cent). Usually, excellence referred to high levels of performance, which is seen as an achievement in itself: 'The Olympics provide athletes with an opportunity to compete against the best at their best, with the entire world watching.'<sup>40</sup>

The idea of being the best connects to ideas of sporting excellence as an essential aspect of Olympism.<sup>41</sup> Excellence can be seen to be represented in the Olympic motto, *Citius, Altius, Fortius*. The idea that all Olympians are there to do the best they can, regardless of medal placing and monetary gain, suggests the virtue of competition by the athlete against their own limitations and in line with personal aspirations, rather than in competition with other, especially nationally representative, performers.

In contrast with aspects of Olympism and nationalistic discourse, news regarding commercial interests and the corporate basis of the Olympics is notable for its absence. The extent to which the Games are underpinned by an elaborate political economy simply does not 'make the news.' Professionalism is referred to in just 3.6 percent of items coded, the *Sun* newspaper being the most frequent source of these (5.5 per cent of all *Sun* stories), particularly in their coverage of the British boxer Amir Khan, where they speculated on when he would turn professional. Corporate sponsors were mentioned in only 2.6 percent of all news stories analyzed, with the *Daily Mail* being the newspaper in which this happened most frequently (4.9 per cent). An example of one of the stories published by the *Daily Mail* offers some insight into what goes on behind the scenes at the Olympics:

*Ian Thorpe did his best to help his main sponsors Adidas in Sydney when he was on the podium by covering up the official tracksuit logo of Nike, who back the Australian swimming team. Thorpe has been in-*

*structed not to continue the marketing antics in Athens and Nike's logo was in full view during his gold medal ceremonies earlier this week.<sup>42</sup>*

The focus on commercial aspects with regard to elite swimmers continues in the *Guardian*:

*Phelps, meanwhile, won his first Olympic title only on Saturday but nonetheless has amassed sponsorship deals worth an estimated \$2m (£1.1m) with Visa, Omega, PowerBar and others who see dollar signs flashing in his potential.<sup>43</sup>*

These types of stories were few and far between, however, tending to focus, perhaps inevitably, given their performance, on foreign rather than British athletes. This apparent absence is reinforced by an analysis of product placements in news items. The appearance of product placements is evident in 23.3 percent of all news items. However (as is also found in television news coverage), product placement is mostly represented by the logos on athletes' shirts. The placement of products in the text of press stories was infrequent, mostly occurring in the *Daily Mail*.

Overall, the content analysis of press coverage of the Athens Olympics 2004 demonstrates a clear focus upon medals within a nationalistic framework. The majority of Olympic-related news stories focused on British athletes, particularly in the middle-market and tabloid newspapers. Concepts of Olympism were present in the coverage, but this was largely 'fair and equal competition' used to bring into relief stories of athletes using banned drugs. In contrast, it was found that aspects of commercialism were largely absent from press reporting on the Olympics. However, Olympic image research undertaken in 2000 found that interviewees did, on average, associate the Olympics with being 'commercialized,' so that the lack of news coverage focusing on this theme is distinct from a general understanding of the Olympics.<sup>44</sup> Reasons for this absence will be discussed more fully below. Attention will now turn to the results of the analysis of television news coverage of Olympics-related news.

### *Television News Coverage*

Data were collected from the two main British television channels, the BBC and ITV, during their main evening bulletins shown at 6:00 p.m. and 6:30 p.m. respectively for the same time period as the press content analysis (7<sup>th</sup>-30<sup>th</sup> August). A total of 91 news items were coded, the BBC news programme airing a total of 40 and ITV a total of 51 Olympics-related stories. It was found that the majority of Olympics-related coverage occurred during the middle two weeks of the games, peaking on the 16<sup>th</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> August. The Athens Olympics 2004 were framed mainly as a sports story, often also appearing in the headlines of the news program. The majority of stories used a combination of a studio-based report, an Olympics correspondent reporting from Athens, and footage from

the Games. Just over half of all stories included an interview of some sort; in the main, these were with athletes (73.9 per cent), ex-athletes (17.4 per cent), or an athlete's family member (13.0 per cent). However, this is not to say that 'official' voices were omitted from these bulletins. Reporters used quotations, rather than direct interviews, from IOC officials and the Athens Olympic Committee, usually the 'fruit' of press conferences.

**Table 3: The Top Ten Issues/Aspects Covered in All Television News Items**

Issue	Frequency	Percent
Medal-winning performances	30	33.0
National success	28	30.8
Medal prospects	19	20.9
Drugs	19	20.9
Spectators	16	17.6
National failure	12	13.2
Ceremonies	10	11.0
Preparation	9	9.9
Records	8	8.8
Host organization	8	8.8

The main focus of Olympics-related news stories on BBC1 and ITV over the period examined concerned the events (41.8 per cent), medals (20.9 per cent), and scandal (17.6 per cent). Other themes, such as 'personality' (3.3 per cent), 'spectacle' (4.4 per cent), and 'organization' (7.7 per cent) were evident, but to a lesser extent. Consistent with findings about newspaper coverage of the Athens Olympics, there was an emphasis on national interests and medals. As Table 3 shows, the top ten issues in television news are very similar to those in

the newspaper coverage. There is less emphasis on national failure and more on medal prospects, however, perhaps seeking to frame reporting with a positive 'spin' in order to attract viewers or perhaps because the timing of television news coverage analysed as evening bulletins reporting yesterday's results would look stale after the morning papers. Hence they are more likely to report imminent events.

Despite this, stories relating to drugs were highlighted further in the television news, matching the amount of coverage given to medal prospects. The preoccupation with the drugs scandal of the Greek sprinters was particularly evident in the first week of the Games. The stories relating to the 'drugs scandal' often referred to it as a 'sporting crisis' and a subversion of 'fair competition,' evoking ideals of Olympism and how they should be upheld by modern athletes. The President of the IOC, Jacques Rogge, reportedly inserted a clear anti-cheating message in his opening ceremony speech, highlighting the need for 'purity and respecting fairplay' as a result of the scandal, and in an interview multi-gold medallist Michael Johnson condemned the two Greek athletes and talked about the importance of a 'level playing ground.'<sup>45</sup>

Further illustrating the extent to which news coverage tended towards a chauvinistic, inward-looking discourse is the focus given to national interests. Nearly two thirds of all stories related to the British team or British athletes. This

trend was similar across both channels that constantly referred to 'team GB' in their coverage of the Games. ITV ran two stories focused specifically on 'team GB' where interviewed athletes proclaimed the 'team spirit' and the fact that they are like a 'family',<sup>46</sup> and later that week 'flying the flag – team GB arrives in Athens.'<sup>47</sup> The regular use of this term emphasized the link between team and country, where 'team GB' represents the whole nation in a similar way to how the England football team is represented in the press.<sup>48</sup>

The framing of Olympic-related news stories within national interests continued throughout the Games. When the cyclist Chris Hoy won his gold medal, the headline ran, 'Flying Scotsman strikes gold for Britain in Athens.'<sup>49</sup> Matthew Pinsent's 4<sup>th</sup> consecutive Olympic gold medal in rowing was reported as 'British rower secured place in Olympic history... the first iconic moment of the games.'<sup>50</sup> In the same report there was reference to the crowd 'going mad' and footage of Pinsent's tears during the medal ceremony. Kelly Holmes, British gold medallist in the 1,500m and 800m, secured a place in history and was proclaimed by the BBC to be 'one of the greats of British sport.'<sup>51</sup> The sense of historic significance is also common in the nationalistic rhetoric 'Britain's best day at the games for 80 years.'<sup>52</sup> The state of British sport and how it compares to past performance forms the backdrop of much reporting. National successes and failures are greeted with the same level of emotive language. The best examples of this are in the coverage of Paula Radcliff's failure to complete the marathon:

*Headline: Heartbreak for Paula as Athens proves a marathon too far  
[Continues]: as she pulled out of the race her Olympic dream disintegrates... the nation felt her pain.*<sup>53</sup>

**Table 4: Focus on Medal Contenders/ Winners As Percentage of Total Television Coverage\***

Issue	BBC 1 (40)	ITV (51)	Total (91)
Focus on medal contenders	37.5% (15)	45.1% (230)	41.7% (38)
Focus on medal winners	47.5% (19)	41.2% (21)	44.0% (40)
Total	85.0% (34)	86.3% (44)	85.7% (78)

\* number of items appear in parentheses

The focus on medal contenders and winners by the television news media was of a similar intensity to that of the press. Furthermore, Table 4 demonstrates that in comparison to the press, television news had a much greater interest in 'winners.' Despite this emphasis, on the return of 'team GB' to the UK, ITV referred to a sense of 'British pride' in the achievements of all the athletes who took part in the Olympics and (proudly) proclaimed that 'there's more to sport than winning',<sup>54</sup> thus belatedly and somewhat inconsistently reinforcing ideals of Olympism.

Aspects of Olympism were identified in a fifth of television news stories. The main features focused upon were 'dreams and inspiration' and 'fair and equal competition.' As discussed earlier in relation to press coverage, the concept of fair and equal competition was often used in the labelling of athletes using

drugs to enhance their performance. 'Dreams and inspiration' was alluded to in a number of different contexts; 'The Olympics is the place where dreams can come true';<sup>55</sup> the 'theatre of sporting dreams, ... an inspirational setting';<sup>56</sup> in the coverage of Kelly Holmes' double gold wins, 'originally a 100-1 outsider, it goes to show sometimes the improbable comes true.'<sup>57</sup> Other concepts of Olympism were present also in the newspaper coverage. Excellence featured in the reporting (15.8 per cent). Amir Khan's 'fine performance'<sup>58</sup> and Kelly Holmes running 'the perfect race'<sup>59</sup> are examples of this.

Commercial aspects of the Games were rarely covered in the television news, as in the press coverage. Sponsors were mentioned in only 2.2 percent of all news items analyzed, all of which appeared on ITV, and mention of professionalism or athletes' earnings was also infrequent, accounting for only 3.3% of news items analysed. On one occasion, ITV framed the race between Michael Phelps and Ian Thorpe in swimming as a 'key battle' and 'the race of the games so far' and referred to the corporate sponsorship deals as 'big business,' in reference to the fact that Phelps would receive a million dollar bonus should he win gold in all seven races he was competing in.<sup>60</sup> The news story also showed clips of advertisements in which the two swimmers had appeared. This type of coverage was very similar to the press coverage of the same two athletes.

In the run-up to the Games, the BBC ran a story using the term 'corporate sponsored games,'<sup>61</sup> but there was otherwise very little mention of commercial aspects in its coverage. It is also important to note that in nearly two thirds of all Olympics-related stories on the two channels corporate logos were visible on the athletes' clothing.

## Discussion

This media content analysis found that the main focus of much UK news coverage of the 2004 Olympics was on medals, whether it was medal-winning performances, medal contenders/winners, medal prospects, or indeed disappointing failures to obtain medals. The focus on medals was mostly within a national perspective. Nearly two thirds of all news media coverage was on British athletes. This confirms other research on nationalism in the Olympics by Tomlinson,<sup>62</sup> who found that an event such as the Olympics leads to an expression of clear forms of nationalism and 'nationalist self-aggrandizement.'<sup>63</sup> Indeed, the parochial aspects of media coverage found in this research seem to reflect the inward-looking character of national identity.<sup>64</sup> However, Kedourie distinguishes between nationalism and its 'distinctive style of politics,'<sup>65</sup> and patriotism, an affection for one's country, loyalty to its institutions, and interest in its defence. So, with this in mind, it may be more accurate to emphasize the part news coverage of international sporting events such as the Olympics plays in the daily flag-waving in the press and other media.<sup>66</sup> It is argued that 'live sports broadcasts

[...] do not have to be rampantly xenophobic to be the bearers of ideology.<sup>67</sup> Consequently, it can be asserted that the subtle (and not so subtle) expressions of national interests found here illustrate how the media develop the nation as a real, or indeed imagined, community.<sup>68</sup>

The role newspapers play in the reproduction of nationality has been recognized by writers such as Anderson and Billig.<sup>69</sup> It has been further argued that the sports-media complex is well-suited for the (re)production of imaginary national unity<sup>70</sup> and the promotion of national identity underpinned by historical discourses, the notion of national character, and national habitus codes.<sup>71</sup> 'Sporting competition arguably provides *the* primary expression of imagined communities; the nation becoming more 'real' in the domain of sport.'<sup>72</sup>

In his discussion of 'sportive nationalism,' Hoberman describes how athletes are used as a way of communicating national prestige and vitality.<sup>73</sup> Clearly nationalism is common in much media coverage of sport, but the dominance of national interests in framing the Olympics demonstrates the irrelevance of the ideals of Olympism, such as international understanding, in news media coverage. Instead, 'the political reality that lurks behind this "magical fiction" is the nationalist feelings that persist within the internationalist arrangements that are constructed to regulate them.'<sup>74</sup> Whilst aspects of Olympism were referred to in a fifth of television news coverage and nearly a third of press coverage, there is a sense that Olympic ideals are only clearly articulated when used to legitimize a particular viewpoint. The reference to 'fair and equal competition' in the news coverage of doping allegations in the Athens Olympics is a good example of this attitude. However, in discussions of Olympism there has been criticism of the concept of 'fair and equal competition' particularly when it is used to criticize those using drugs to enhance their performance: 'The problem is that the ideal of fair play disregards important inequalities among the competitors, such as political power and technological development, in order to focus exclusively on "the rules of the game."<sup>75</sup>

The media coverage of doping allegations denies these inequalities between competitors and denies the role commercialism plays in the use of drugs in sport.

'When we are talking about doping we refer to a problem fundamentally different from corruption. Nevertheless, doping as well as corruption is considered to be a direct consequence of political and rampant economic interests.'<sup>76</sup> The association between athlete drug-use, money, the Olympics, and commercial interests was absent in the media coverage of the Games. Few news items referred to commercial interests. Reference to corporate sponsors occurred in just 2.6 per cent (press) and 2.2 per cent (television) of all Olympic-related news stories.

The reason for the absence of commercialism in the news coverage is not necessarily evident in the content analysis itself; however, a number of aspects should be taken into account, some structural, some organizational. There is a

need for commercial media to attract and retain advertising revenue, and whilst this particular point is not relevant to the BBC, it is certainly true of ITV and the press. The necessity to appeal to large audiences and advertisers may mean that complex discussions of the economic basis of the Olympics lose out to drugs scandals and flag-waving. Despite the focus on doping allegations being a perfect opportunity for wider debate on doping and the commercialization of sport, this did not happen. Instead, news media reported on individual athletes' downfalls framed within the Olympism concept of 'fair and equal competition.' A critique of the idea that the competition is fair and equal in the first place was also undetected. An overtly critical reporting of the Olympics may undermine the IOC and may be perceived to affect viewing figures and, subsequently, the corporate sponsors. However, an alternative explanation for the lack of news coverage of the commercial aspects of the Olympics is that news is about events and the unusual, not the systemic. The commercial underpinning of the Games is a structural and evolving feature of the event, which is not in any conventional sense a 'news story' unless it goes wrong or something unusual happens (a sponsor pulls out, or an athlete gets an exceptional windfall). This results in event coverage (wins, losses, scandals) but not coverage of process and social structure.<sup>77</sup>

## Conclusion

News coverage of the Olympics, despite the claimed internationalist ideals of Olympism and the rebranding exercise undertaken via Celebrate Humanity, remains deeply rooted in national discourses, thus demonstrating the endurance of the nation as a rhetorical and ideological presence.<sup>78</sup> How this links to globalization, commercialisation, and sport is interesting. Silk asserts that through sport there has been the development of 'corporate nationalisms,' where national culture works as an accomplice in the process of corporatization, 'as global capitalism seeks to – quite literally – capitalize upon the nation as a source of collective identification and differentiation.'<sup>79</sup> However, the global nature of corporate cultures seems to sit more comfortably with non-nationalist, cosmopolitan lifestyles.<sup>80</sup> Faced with this, sport appears to offer an opportunity to express patriotism, national habitus codes, and work as an 'anchor of meaning for the people of a nation.'<sup>81</sup> Furthermore, Tomlinson argues that supporting a national team in an international sporting event such as the Olympics offers a way of working through the 'paradox of globalisation.'<sup>82</sup> Here, the juxtaposition of local and global issues and the increasing prominence of cosmopolitan culture lead to a sense of nostalgia and wilful nationalism in defence of perceived cultural traditions. It is argued that globalization and national identity are intertwined<sup>83</sup> and media reporting of the Olympic Games is a good example of this. As argued at the outset, global sport reinforces the diminishing of cultural contrasts,

with mega-events such as the Olympic Games perhaps engendering a coming together of the world, however fleeting and shallow. Yet the close link between Olympic competition and national cultures undermines both political integration and the sentiments expressed by Mandela. Instead of accepting the rhetoric of the IOC, it thus should become an open, empirically testable statement as to whether the Olympics assist in building friendship between people and nations. That is, do the Games promote some degree of emotional/cosmopolitan identification between members of different societies and civilizations? Or, in the context of broader decivilizing processes and the resurgence of defensive nationalism, does the jingoism that characterizes aspects of the Olympics reinforce a clash between cultures and civilizations?

If the news media on the Olympics highlighted in this paper are indicative of the sources of information available to the wider public, one would be forgiven for thinking that the Olympics occurs only because of a deep sense of nationalism and 'love of country,' or even the desire to compete and win. This may be the case for many athletes, but this is not the case for the corporate sponsors. Whilst the existence of strong nationalistic overtones in the news coverage of the Olympics highlights conflict with the claimed ideals of Olympism that the Games should be about cultural exchange and international understanding, the complete absence of critical reporting on the economic basis of the Games leaves the field clear for the message that the corporate sponsors and the IOC want to communicate.

Evidence of the commercial interest in the Olympics can be found in the anticipation for the Beijing Olympics 2008. IOC President, Jacques Rogge, speaking at the launch of the Beijing marketing plan states that:

*For many of China's new brands and leading companies, the Games will provide a unique international platform to showcase themselves to the world. For leading global companies, the Games will open the gates to the most important market in the world.<sup>84</sup>*

As the Olympics in Beijing are clearly viewed as a huge business opportunity, it will be interesting to see if the news media will report on the commercial interests more fully than in their reporting of the Athens Olympics 2004.

## Endnotes

- 1 For further reading, see John MacAloon, "Anthropology at the Olympic Games: An Overview," in A.M Klausen, ed., *Olympic Games as Public Performance and Public Event: The Case of the XVII Winter Olympic Games in Norway* (New York: Berghahn, 1999), pp. 9-26.

- 2 Peter Golding & Graham Murdock, "Culture, Communications and Political Economy," in James Curran & Michael Gurevitch, eds., *Mass Media and Society* (London: Edward Arnold, 1991/2000) pp. 15-32, Joseph Maguire, *Global Sport: Identities, Societies, Civilisations* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), and Joe Maguire, *Power and Global Sport: Zones of Prestige, Emulation and Resistance*, (London: Routledge, 2005).
- 3 Alan Tomlinson, *The Game's Up: Essays in the Cultural Analysis of Sport, Leisure and Popular Culture* (Aldershot & Brookfield: Ashgate/Arena, 1999).
- 4 For further discussion, see Sut Jhally, "The Spectacle of Communication: Material and Cultural Factors in the Evolution of the Sports/media Complex," *Insurgent Sociologist* 3 (1989), pp. 41-57; Maguire (1999); Maurice Roche, *Mega Events and Modernity: Olympics and Expos in the Growth of Global Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2000); David Rowe, *Sport, Culture and the Media: The Unruly Trinity* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1999); Lawrence Wenner, *MediaSport* (London: Routledge, 1998), and Garry Whannel, *Fields in Vision: Television, Sport and Cultural Transformation*, (London: Routledge, 1992).
- 5 Robert Barney, Stephen Wenn, and Scott Martyn, *Selling the Five Rings: The International Olympic Committee and the Rise of Olympic Commercialism* (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2002), and Kevin Wamsley, "Laying Olympism to Rest," in John Bale and Mette Krogh Christiansen eds., *Post Olympism: Questioning Sport in the Twenty-First Century*, (Oxford: Barg, 2004), pp. 231-250.
- 6 Wamsley (2004), p. 234.
- 7 Adrian Budd, "Sport and Capitalism," in Roger Levermore and Adrian Budd, eds., *Sport and International Relations: An Emerging Relationship* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 31-47.
- 8 Roche (2000).
- 9 See the IOC website for further details, <http://www.olympic.org>.
- 10 Sut Jhally (1989).
- 11 David Rowe, Jim McKay, and Toby Miller, "Come Together: Sport, Nationalism and Media Image," Lawrence Wenner ed., *MediaSport* (New York: Routledge, 1998), pp. 119-133, Jan Slater, "Changing Partners: The Relationship Between the Mass Media and the Olympic Games," Robert Barney et al. eds., *Fourth International Symposium for Olympic Research* (London, Ontario, University of Western Ontario, 1998), pp. 49-69, Miquel de Moragas Spà, Nancy K. Rivenburgh, and James F. Larson, *Television in the Olympics* (London: John Libbey, 1995), and Wenner (1998).
- 12 For further discussion, see John Hargreaves, *Freedom for Catalonia? Catalan Nationalism, Spanish Identity and the Barcelona Olympic Games* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

- 13 Margaret MacNeill, "Networks: Producing Olympic Ice Hockey For a National Television Audience," *Sociology of Sport Journal* 13 (1996), pp. 103-124, and Rowe et al. (1998).
- 14 Two coders carried out the coding. Following a period of pilot coding, inter-coder reliability was established. The same coding schedule was used in the analysis for both the press and television data, with only minor alterations required. Once coded, the data was input into SPSS, which was used to generate statistical analysis of the key themes.
- 15 Joseph Maguire, Grant Jarvie, Louise Mansfield, and Joe Bradley, *Sport Worlds: A Sociological Perspective* (Champaign, Il: Human Kinetics, 2002), Whannel (1992), Tomlinson (1999), and Raymond Boyle & Richard Haynes, *Power Play: Sport, the Media & Popular Culture* (London: Longman, 2000).
- 16 Miquel de Moragas Spà et al. (1995), for further readings.
- 17 Graham Knight, Margaret MacNeill & Peter Donnelly, "The Disappointment Games: Narratives of Olympic Failure in Canada and New Zealand," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 40 no. 1 (2005), pp. 25-51, and Maguire (2005).
- 18 See Maguire (2005) for further reading.
- 19 Alan Guttmann, *The Olympics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), Maguire (1999), Maguire et al. (2002), Toby Miller, Geoff Lawrence, Jim McKay, and David Rowe, *Globalization and Sport* (London: Sage, 2001), and Martin Van Bottenburg, *Global Games* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001).
- 20 Maguire (1999), and Maguire et al. (2002), for further reading.
- 21 Kofi Annan, "United Nations Press Release SG/SM/7523, 31 August," (2000), p. 1.
- 22 See Maguire (2005), for further discussions on these concepts.
- 23 Kofi Annan (2000), p. 1.
- 24 Jeffrey Segrave, "Toward a Definition of Olympism," in Jeffrey Segrave and Donald Chu eds., *The Olympic Games in Transition* (Champaign, Ill.: Human Kinetics Books, 1988), pp. 149-161.
- 25 See the IOC website for further evidence of the Olympic brand and image, <http://www.olympic.org>.
- 26 Taken from selected newspapers during the period of the Athens Olympic Games (*Sun*, 14 August 2004, p. 5).
- 27 Knight et al. (2005).
- 28 See also Joe Maguire, "Globalisation, Sport and National Identities; 'The Empire Strikes Back?'" *Society and Leisure* 16 no. 2 (1993), pp. 293-322.
- 29 Taken from selected newspapers during the period of the Athens Olympic Games (*Guardian*, Aug 16, 2004: 1).
- 30 See also Rowe (1999), Rowe et al, (1998), and Whannel (1992), p. 136.

- 31 Taken from selected newspapers during the period of the Athens Olympic Games (*Sun*, 16 August 2004, p. 46).
- 32 Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 1995), p. 87.
- 33 Taken from selected newspapers during the period of the Athens Olympic Games (*Daily Mail*, 23 Aug 2004, p. 3).
- 34 For further reading, see Billig (1995), Liz Crolley & David Hand, *Football, Europe and the Press* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2002), and Joseph Maguire & Jason Tuck, "Global Sports and Patriot Games: Rugby Union and National Identity in a United Sporting Kingdom Since 1945," in Mike Cronin and David Mayall eds., *Sporting Nationalisms: Identity, Ethnicity, Immigration and Assimilation* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 1998), pp. 103-126.
- 35 See Maguire (1993), for further discussion.
- 36 Emma Wensing & Toni Bruce, "Bending the Rules: Media Representations of Gender during an International Sporting Event," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 38 no. 4 (2003), pp. 387-96.
- 37 Ibid. pp. 388, 393.
- 38 Taken from selected newspapers during the period of the Athens Olympic Games (*Guardian*, 16 August 2004, p. 21).
- 39 Budd (2004), and Michael Silk, David Andrews, and Cheryl Cole, "Corporate Nationalism(s)? The Spatial Dimensions of Sporting Capital," in Michael Silk, David Andrews, and C.L. Cole eds., *Sport and Corporate Nationalisms*, (Oxford: Berg, 2004), pp. 1-2.
- 40 Taken from selected newspapers during the period of the Athens Olympic Games (*The Daily Telegraph*, 11 August 2004, p. 5).
- 41 For further reading, see Segrave (1988).
- 42 Taken from selected newspapers during the period of the Athens Olympic Games (*Daily Mail*, 18 August 2004, p. 76).
- 43 Taken from selected newspapers during the period of the Athens Olympic Games (*Guardian*, 16 August 2004, p. 21).
- 44 *Marketing Matters*, Issue 18 no. 9 (May 2001); [http://multimedia.olympic.org/pdf/en\\_report\\_274.pdf](http://multimedia.olympic.org/pdf/en_report_274.pdf).
- 45 Taken from selected television coverage during the period of the Athens Olympic Games (BBC1, 13 August).
- 46 Taken from selected television coverage during the period of the Athens Olympic Games (ITV, 9 August).
- 47 Taken from selected television coverage during the period of the Athens Olympic Games (ITV, 11 August).
- 48 See also Crolley & Hand (2002).
- 49 Taken from selected television coverage during the period of the Athens Olympic Games (Headline, BBC, 20 August).

- 50 Taken from selected television coverage during the period of the Athens Olympic Games (BBC, 21 August).
- 51 Taken from selected television coverage during the period of the Athens Olympic Games (BBC, 28 August).
- 52 Taken from selected television coverage during the period of the Athens Olympic Games (ITV, 21 August).
- 53 Taken from selected television coverage during the period of the Athens Olympic Games (ITV, 22 August).
- 54 Taken from selected television coverage during the period of the Athens Olympic Games (ITV, 29 August).
- 55 Taken from selected television coverage during the period of the Athens Olympic Games (ITV, 13 August).
- 56 Taken from selected television coverage during the period of the Athens Olympic Games (ITV, 12 August).
- 57 Taken from selected television coverage during the period of the Athens Olympic Games (BBC, 28 August).
- 58 Taken from selected television coverage during the period of the Athens Olympic Games (ITV, 16 August).
- 59 Taken from selected television coverage during the period of the Athens Olympic Games (BBC, 23 August).
- 60 Taken from selected television coverage during the period of the Athens Olympic Games (ITV, 16 August).
- 61 Taken from selected television coverage during the period of the Athens Olympic Games (BBC, 13 August).
- 62 Alan Tomlinson, "Olympic Spectacle: Opening Ceremonies and Some Paradoxes of Globalization," *Media, Culture and Society* 18 (1996), pp. 583-602.
- 63 *Ibid.* p. 600.
- 64 Anna Triandafyllidou, *Negotiating Nationhood in a Changing Europe: Views from the Press* (Lewiston, N.Y.: E. Mellen Press, 2002).
- 65 Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), p. 68.
- 66 Billig (1995).
- 67 Rowe (1999), p. 103.
- 68 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 2nd ed. (London: Verso, 1991).
- 69 *Ibid.*, and Billig (1995).
- 70 Rowe et al. (1998).
- 71 Joseph Maguire, Emma Poulton, and Catherine Possamai, "The War of the Worlds? Identity Politics in Anglo-German Press Coverage of EURO 96," *European Journal of Communication* 14 no. 1 (1999), pp. 61-89.
- 72 Maguire & Tuck (1998), p 106.

- 73 John Hoberman, "Sportive Nationalism and Globalization," in John Bale & Mette Krogh Christensen eds., *Post Olympism? Questioning Sport in the Twenty-first Century* (Oxford: Berg, 2004), p. 185.
- 74 Ibid. p. 184.
- 75 Ibid. p. 182.
- 76 Verner Møller, "Doping at the Olympic Games from an Aesthetic perspective," in John Bale & Mette Krogh Christensen eds., *Post Olympism? Questioning Sport in the Twenty-first Century* (Oxford: Berg, 2004), p. 202.
- 77 Peter Golding and Philip Elliott, *Making the News* (London: Longman, 1979), and Shanto Iyengar, *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).
- 78 Silk et al. (2004).
- 79 Ibid., p. 7.
- 80 Maguire (2005).
- 81 For further discussion, see, Maguire & Tuck (1998).
- 82 See also Tomlinson (1996).
- 83 For further discussion, see Maguire (1993), and (2005).
- 84 Jacques Rogge Interview, <http://www.chinatradeonline.org/english/e-pro/newsContentEn.asp?NewsNO=1378>.