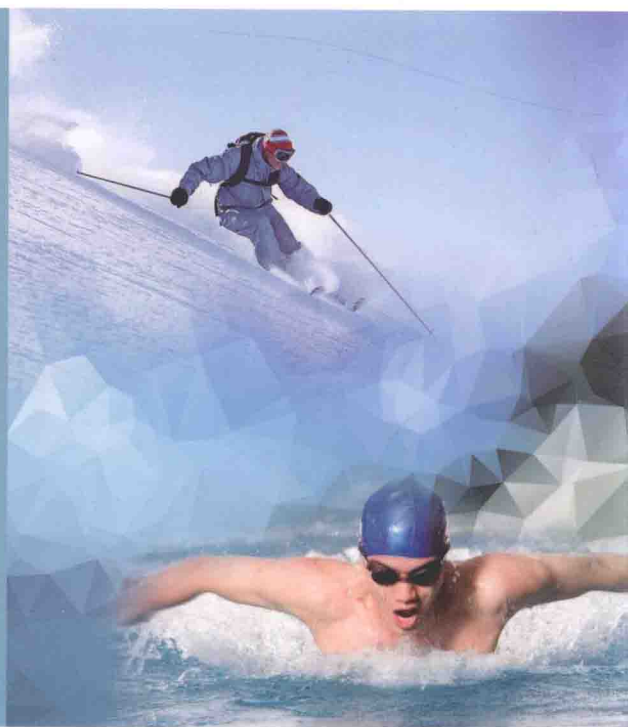


现代体育传播

2014
第1辑

Modern Sport Communication

魏伟 主编



中国广播影视出版社

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中英文双语出版的《现代体育传播》从策划到筹备，再到今天面世历经两年时间。虽然只是初次亮相，但已经得到了全球各地体育传播学界和业界同仁的广泛关注和支持。在2013年的第二届国际体育传播高端论坛和2014年的全国体育新闻传播学术研究会上，已有多位专家学者对《现代体育传播》给予高度关注，本刊编委会的国际成员几乎囊括了国际体育传播学界的大半精英，国内成员也多是从事体育传播研究多年的才俊。也许吾辈没有多少豪言壮语，但推动体育传播研究，架起中西方体育传播研究的桥梁是我们不得不承担的责任。

《现代体育传播》目前设置了“基础理论”、“实证研究”、“学派风采”、“学界精英”、“业界访谈”、“经典书评”等栏目，今后将视稿件的质量和来源推出新的栏目，还有可能推出不同国家和地区和学派的特刊。

在基础理论部分，素有“体育传播学界国际领军人物”之称的美国洛约拉·马利蒙特大学的劳伦斯·文内尔（Lawrence Wenner）教授和第三代国际体育传播旗手、美国阿拉巴马大学的安德鲁·比林斯（Andrew Billings）两位学界顶尖学者特供本刊的论文自然是亮点。文内尔教授和比林斯教授的这篇论文均是首次以英文呈现在国际学界同仁的面前，令人期待。此外，德国顶尖的体育传播学者托马斯·霍尔基（Thomas Horky）教授的最新研究成果也十分令人期待。实证研究部分有比林斯教授研究团队和主编的博士后导师、美国佛罗里达州立大学传播学院阿瑟·雷尼（Arthur Raney）教授团队的研究成果。这些研究都有不可小觑的现实意义和全球化价值，对国内相关研究的启示意义较大。

在创刊号中，我们推出的学界精英是劳伦斯·文内尔教授。这位哲学家曾经担任多家体育类 SSCI 和 A&HCI 期刊的主编，目前是国际传播与体育协会的会刊《传播与体育》的创刊主编。由他来领衔这个栏目的首期是国际编委会绝大多数成员的意愿，可谓实至名归。

学派风采将美国阿拉巴马学派作为重点推出。阿拉巴马大学传播与信息科学学院曾经孕育出道夫·兹尔曼（Dolf Zillman）教授和詹宁斯·布莱恩特（Jennings Bryant）教授这样的传播学巨匠，他们在美国乃至国际体育传播领域有着崇高的地位。今天，安德鲁·比林斯教授成为了这一学派的领军人物，这位目前同时担任学校体育传播组和国际传播协会体育兴趣组组长的青年才俊正带领数十位阿拉巴马大学各个学院的精英在体育传播研究的发展之路上开拓前行。

业界访谈在创刊号推出的人物是三位深刻影响中国体育传播业界的人物。新华社资深体育记者杨明是历届奥运会、世界田径锦标赛和多项重大赛事的亲历者，他对体育新闻传播的独特见解是业界和学界都迫切期待的；中央电视台资深体育记者张斌可能是普通体育受众最熟悉的体育传媒人之一，他的博学和对专业的追求也许是许多业界之外的人士难以想象的；腾讯体育总监许绍连曾经历经多家传统媒体，在他的身上，读者隐约可以看到中国体育媒体发展的变迁。对这三位体育传播业界重量级人物的采访，彰显着“业界访谈”这一栏目有着令人自豪的起点。

体育传播是一门年轻的学科，从缘起至今不过 50 年的时间。但国内外研究在题材、类型、方法论和规范性上还是有较大的差距，这一点从创刊号上也许能够一览无遗。但正是这种差距的存在，让我们有充足的理由期待《现代体育传播》能够快速成长，成为国际体育传播学术研究队伍中的一支新生力量。

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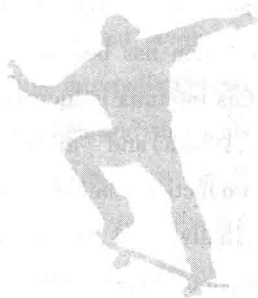
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基础理论

Foudamental Theories

Mediated Sport, Gender, Fanship, and Consumer Culture: Key Issues and Strategies

Lawrence A. Wenner^①

Over the last 30 years, the study of media and sport has gone from the margins to becoming a core area in media, sport, and cultural studies. Their fusion has become so fundamental to study of sport and culture that scholarly focus on this intermix is increasingly characterized by neologisms such as “mediasport” (Wenner, 1998b) and “mediasportscape” (Rowe, 2009) as shorthand for a media/sport/culture production complex that many believe has a greater than the sum of its parts power (c. f., Jhally, 1984, Messner, Dunbar, & Hunt, 2000; Rowe, 2004; Wenner, 1989). In its contemporary hypercommodified form, the ideological contours and ethical sensibilities of the mediasportscape dominate the cultural meanings that are associated with sport. As it fulfills its market roles, mediasport strategically reaches out to us to and narrates our understandings of sport in the context of broader social relations. This paper interrogates the dynamics and implications of these processes more carefully by considering how mediated sport’s promotional culture works to hail us in interlinked gender, fan, and consumer identities. The treatment reflects on findings from a recent series of studies showing how an emergent dirt theory of narrative ethics can be used to reveal characterized identities of men and women in their roles as fan and consumer.

The impetus for such an effort is complex and, in many ways, personal. It is anchored in a long and winding career that has gone from social science investigations of how we use mediasport to critical inquiry about how mediasport uses us. In that career, mediasport was initially meant to be a side excursion, a subject amongst many others in a

① With permission of Journal of Chengdu Sport University, first English version.

multivalent media studies research agenda. That broader agenda has been left behind many times as mediasport keeps calling me back. The whys and wherefores of such sticky hailing that has shouted “hey you” both to me and others might be best called the “mediasport interpellation”. Such a characterization pays homage to Althusser’s (1971) classic notion of the workings of interpellation to call out to us in service of ideological state apparatuses (or ISAs). There are few places where this is more fully operant. Mediasport is a uniquely powerful ideological playground. In blending two ISA systems—media and sport—each powerful in their own right, there comes power of geometric proportions as their fusion inherently mainlines ideology through consumption narratives that undergird late – stage capitalism.

The efforts that follow assess these dynamics more carefully. Considered first are a triad of interlocking identities through which interpellation processes for commodity narratives that invoke sport are given context. The second set of considerations examines how interpellation necessarily builds on familiarity in its attempts to effectively control reading and thus raises essential questions about narrative ethics and the workings of communicative dirt. These preliminaries are followed by some illustrations of how a dirt theory of narrative ethics can inform understanding of the mediasport interpellation as it hails the gendered fan in commodified environs.

Identities and the Mediasport Interpellation

The scope of identities addressed by any cultural ISA can be expansive. Certainly this is the case with mediasport. Still, the essential foundations of contemporary mediasportscape are largely built on three massive pillars: (1) gender, (2) fanship, (3) commodification. These provide the everyday lived points of contact that enable mediasport to act effectively in naturalizing a niche – specific capitalist logic that advances its self – perpetuation and growth.

Certainly other identities—such as race, ethnicity, class, and even nation—enter into the mediasport ideological equation (c. f. , Rowe, 2009). These can be important, such as when nation plays nation in the international arena. But much everyday lived experience with sport takes place within national borders. And while racial, ethnic, class and other identities can be divisive in the sporting context, sport is often mythologized as a level playing field where ability trumps such matters and allows them to be largely put aside while engaging the pleasures of sporting discourse and spectacle.

It is the cumulative, and one might say iteratively formed, gender, fan, and consumer identities that matter most in commodity narratives that invoke sport. Here, gender differences, offsets in fanship saliences and loyalties, and consumer preferences are givens, not flashpoints, in the ideological reality that advances through the mediasport interpellation. In a constant hailing blizzard, stories about these identities in the commodity context seek to make tellers' realities about mediasport become ours. Some brief remarks about gender, fan, and consumer roles and identities in the mediasport interpellation and narrative context follow.

Gender

Gender is the great divide of sport. Historically, sport has been a male practice and remains ideologically a male domain (Gosling, 2007). Most important, it remains a soothing last bastion of "vestigial hypermasculinity" (Wenner, 1998a) hanging on in contemporary socialization. In the face of increasing demands to adapt to changes in gender roles and power relations, men continue to largely "own" sport and its consumption.

Even with broad "sport for all" efforts and Title IX in the U. S., sport largely lines up men on one side, women on the other. Sport remains mainly a segregated space guided by "sexual geography" both in competition and consumption (Reiter, 1975; van Ingen, 2003; Wenner, 1998a). Culturally important sports infrequently pit men against women or put them on the same team. In the course of such segregation, sport makes a series of interlocking promises to the male (Messner, 1992; Whitson, 1990) that "(a) you are strong, therefore dominant; and thus (b) you are special, therefore superior to women" (Wenner, 1998a, p. 310). Nowhere is sport's segregation more pronounced than the locker room. Here, "real men" are hailed with reminders about overcoming adversity and pain that link weakness to the feminine. Male bonding is privileged and talk about women is often disparaging and consonant with the promotion of rape culture (Curry, 1991; Kane & Disch, 1993; Pronger, 1990). Women's "otherness" in sport is further signified through the cultural geography of the stadium, a sacred place that Kidd (1987, p. 256) calls a "secular cathedral"—likely the urbanscape's largest and most expensive building—that serves as publicly subsidized "men's cultural center".

It should not be surprising that such privileging through sport creates narrative spaces reliant on a conspicuous absence of women that encourages "symbolic annihilation" (Sabo & Jansen, 1992). When women do appear in commodity narratives invoking

sport, regular tendencies move them towards one of two poles of schizophrenic stereotype as “babes” or “bitches.” Typically subject to gaze at a distance, babes distract male fans in their “dreamworld” (Jhally, 2007) and facilitate cajoling and camaraderie. Bitches either put men in their place or disrupt “boys being boys” with civilizing or relational demands that reduce sporting enjoyment (Messner & Montex de Oca, 2005; Wenner, 2011a, 2011b). Even in the face of real world changes in gender roles, such idealized and resilient schisms continue to anchor the narrative terrain. In this, there is a dual functionality. Sport’s gender – drawn lines are reinforced as natural and this eases interpellation in service of market goals.

Fan

Fanship identities build on the forces of gender to further encourage subjects of hailing to consumer action through sporting saliences and logic. Seemingly a simple concept, “the notion of the fan is both iconic and destabilized” (Wenner, 2008a, p. 13) and fanship identities in sport can be particularly complex and elusive. Cultural understandings of fans run the gamut from cultural dope to empowered. On one hand, fans are seen as obsessive, hysterical, or engaging in psychological compensation. On the other, they are ripe with cultural capital from the richness of engagement, creativity, and even resistance (Sandvoss, 2005).

Locating fanship identity in sport brings unique complications. Thinking of the sport fan as a generic does little to advance understanding. Few are broad – based sport fanatics, following all play with equal interest. Sport fans, and consequently, their identities, are discriminating, centered on a sport, team, player or locale. Further, fanship is variant, running from rabid to casual and features disparate sporting knowledge. Still, popular characterizations of sport fans fuel an “imagined community” (Anderson, 1983, p. 6) though self – serving media imagery that celebrates the most diehard: the animated, colorful fans with unbalanced commitment who often seem bizarre and possessed (Wenner, 2011b). Focus on pathologized fanship, with quirky compensatory and defensive strategies, pervades even in straight – laced social psychological inquiries about sport fans’ identities. Here, sports fans BIRG (bask in reflected glory), CORF (cut off reflected failure), COFF (cut off future failure) and Blast (derogating disliked opponents) to maintain seemingly odd, fragile equilibria (Wann, Melnick, Russell, & Pease, 2001).

Hailing fans in the commodity environment relies on such pathological portraits of

fanship. While much nuance is missed, aligning the imagined fan to an idealized male standard with heightened sport salience eases naturalized explanations of how sport relates to other goods and services. To some degree, this fan exists. Yet, a Pew poll shows that only 26 per cent of men contrasted with 10 per cent of women follow sports “very closely”, with gender differences dissipating when less avid followers are compared (“Who’s a sports fan” 2006). While fewer than often thought are diehard fans, more men come closer to that archetype. Male fanship is more intertwined with self – esteem and identity investment. Men are more likely to follow sports news, wager on outcomes, prepare for sports viewing, and get more aroused, excited, and eat and drink more during spectating (Wenner & Gantz, 1998).

While similarly committed women fans are growing, they remain harder to find. Yet, when level of interest and knowledge are controlled for, they are more like male fans than not. Even so, women’s fanship is often less fully formed, centering on spectating, with learning, following favorites, companionship, and family time as key motives (Wenner & Gantz, 1998). This inchoate status, with women fan as an apprentice, transitioning from postulant to novitiate to “authentic”, is often seen in the narrative space and provides reminders of her “otherness” (Wenner, 2011a). This characterization interacts in the real world as well, as inchoate female fans encounter many challenges to gain the requisite “tuition and socialization” to enable legitimacy (Crawford, 2003). Thus, in key ways, women’s status as outsider in the realm of sport retains traction and plays a role in how both men and women are hailed in consumption narratives in the sporting context.

Consumer

Sport marketing’s ascension, aided by sport programming as one of few remaining “big tents” for broadcasters, has made commodification of sport fanship a ubiquitous feature of modern life. Its pervasiveness drives Crawford’s (2004) potent argument that sport fanship must necessarily be studied in the context of consumption. He builds on Bauman’s (1998, p. 26) case for a new cultural epoch wherein the “primacy of consumption in social relations” is such that “one needs to be a consumer first, before one can think of becoming anything in particular.” This is amplified by Giulianotti’s (2002, p. 27) view that “hypercommodification” has infused our relations with sport and Kellner’s (2001, p. 38) evidence that the new norm is sport “spectacle that sells the values of products, celebrities, and institutions of the media and consumer society”. Rein-

forced by Horne's (2005) assessment that the "consumerization" of fanship has been driven by media strategies that naturalize the logics of advertising and sponsorship in sporting contexts, Crawford's (2004, p. 4) conclusion that so much relates "directly or indirectly to acts of consumption" that "being a fan is primarily a consumer act and hence fans can be seen first and foremost as consumers" seems ineluctable.

Most pronounced in advertising, but widely embraced across the increasingly promotional mediasportscape, the sport fan is idealized as consumer. With regularity, we are cast into the fan role and see it performed to simulate and stimulate carrying it into the marketplace. This dynamic underlies the spectacle/performance paradigm of the audience (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998). Marshalling this, television commercials use sports to shape characterizations of "imagined" fanship norms to strategic advantage (Anderson, 1993). By casting sports fans in consumer roles, advertisers naturalize how sport relates to the consumption of other things. Given the pervasiveness of commercial narratives, it is not surprising that their idealized fanship sensibilities are broadly mirrored and featured in web narratives, including those that are user-generated (Wenner, 2011a). Revealing how this collectivity of narratives hail the gendered fan in an increasingly commercialized culture holds the key to understanding the mediasport interpellation. The next section considers a set of tactics to approach this.

Approaching Sport, Gender, Fanship, and Consumer Culture

In narrative discourse, as Althusser (1971) and many others have recognized, ideology functions through the interpellation of readers (c. f., Belsey, 1980). Yet, in cultural ISAs such as mediasport, the effectiveness of discourse only begins by hailing "hey you". As institutionalized especially in commodity narratives, the point is not so much one of grabbing your attention as garnering your affection. In its archetypal form, the television commercial, such wooing is of course not benign. The goal is to seal the sell, not only of goods and services, but ideology. For this to happen, to go beyond attention to affection, there must be something familiar, ideally reassuring and compelling, to latch on to. Undergirding the possibility of affinity, that something is "dirt". It is at the heart of a "dirt theory of narrative ethics" (Wenner, 2007, 2009b) tuned to deconstruct narratives and their reading in the commodity environment, and further to interrogate the ethical nature of that transaction (Hilliard & Hendley, 2004; Wenner, 1991, 1994, 2004, 2006, 2007, 2008a, 2008b, 2009a, 2009b, 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2012).

Dirt theory advances thinking about the context of hailing and the reliance on idealized identities in the mediasport interpellation. It embraces a tripartite iterative critical strategy that focuses first on the inherently dirty meanings that hailing necessarily invokes to facilitate reading and interpretation in the commodity environment. Recognizing that readers are often cognizant that hailing in commodity narratives seeks to enlist them and often to work them over, the second prong of the approach considers reading dynamics, including resourcefulness and resistance. Still, as commodity narratives seek to use dirt and bend meanings to strategic advantage, dirt theory recognizes that the press to naturalize ideology and enlist our sympathies inescapably brings ethically problematic connections. Thus, a third concern focuses on the ethical character of the hail and the transaction of dirt and reading in the mediasport interpellation. Brief comment on elements considered in dirt theory, detailed extensively elsewhere (c. f., Wenner, 2007, 2009) follows.

Finding Dirt

Dirt as “matter out of place” (Douglas, 1966, p. 35) facilitates transferring power and logic from old to new settings (Enzenberger, 1972; Hartley, 1984; Leach, 1976). The communicative force of porting dirt is recognized when we say “sex sells” or celebrity athletes use the “power of sport” to sell something unrelated. In applying old logics to new stories, dirt employs “cultural borrowing” (Wenner, 1991, p. 392) to galvanize familiar understandings, impose restraints, and pollute meaning. As such workings of contagion undergird dirt theory, interrogation “follows the dirt”. In assessing commodity narratives invoking sport, one must track the sensibilities that dirt facilitates about gender, fandom, and consumption. What are its origins and character? Where does it land? How is importation negotiated? How do entailments shape meaning in new contexts? As dirt moves, what distortions and fallacies are embraced or masked? Such concerns frame assessment of reading dynamics and the propriety of how dirt interacts with characterizations of gender, fan and consumer identities.

Constructing Readers

Readers necessarily soil new texts with old dirt. Anchored in what readers bring to texts, reception theory (Machor & Goldstein, 2001; Tompkins, 1980) shares preoccupation with dirt. Dirt analysis embraces Iser's (1974, 1978, 2006) concern with the (1) context-