

# How the Print Media Affect Sports and Violence: The Problems of Sport Journalism

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## *Abstract*

In the research on the influence of the media it is generally assumed that the presentation of violence in the media promotes violent behavior. However, there is no empirical evidence of how this takes place. Problems in sport reporting concern particularly its journalistic self-understanding, its understanding of sport and its presentation of violence. This paper discusses the low prestige and the great influence of sport journalists, and reports on the results of research on the literature on sport and violence in the print media. The search for profit-increasing captions and texts leads to overemphasis of the unusual and scandalous. Unfairness and aggressiveness on the part of successful athletes, as well as spectator violence, are accentuated and appear normal. Here reporting reflects a development to which it itself contributed.

## **The Printed Media and Research on their Effect**

Ovid, Shakespeare, Goethe and other influential poets are occasionally made responsible for deaths and suicides of their readers. The "Werther effect" was named after the hero who committed suicide in Goethe's "The Trials of the Young Werther". According to this theory, the number of suicides committed under the influence of suggestion and imitation supposedly increased. For this reason, the sale of Goethe's work was even occasionally forbidden by the ruling powers. Several studies have attempted to provide evidence for the Werther effect by demonstrating that, after the appearance of newspaper articles on the suicide of a famous person, the suicide rate rose (Phillips 1981, 100). Even if one considers this effect to be proven, its influence is still debatable.

It could be pointed out, on the other hand, that it is in the journalists' interest that the mass media appear as ineffective as possible. Their responsibility and the danger of censorship and other restrictions thus remain as small as possible. As we can see, research on the influence of the printed media is in part paradoxical and extremely arguable.

The printed media include newspapers, magazines, leaflets, brochures, books and posters. Each text fulfills three communicative purposes: it presents something, says something about its producers and animates the reader to certain thoughts or actions. This information is directed at readers with different levels of knowledge and different interests and goals; it is thus absorbed and assimilated differently. The printed media are a means of socialization and cultivation. They have a function in the area of education as well as in the area of leisure activities.

In general, the mass media are assumed to play an important role in society and, correspondingly, an important political role.

The impact of the printed media is not only dependent on the selection of information and on the suggestive power of its presentation, but also on the type and receptivity, the critical ability and the level of knowledge of the recipient, and also upon whether or not he or she controls the influence of one medium by comparing its information with that from other sources. Since media are meant to be received, that is to be understood and assimilated, one should not think in terms of a one-sided flow of influence where the recipient is seen as an object only, but rather in terms of a reflexive concept of the media in which processing, meaning, perception and impact of the media are seen as interacting with the recipient, who in this case is also a subject. This process can take place consciously or unconsciously and can lead over a shorter or longer period of time to different outcomes for different recipients. One can differentiate between (a) an episodic model of direct influence, (b) a model of long-term delayed influence after one episode of communication, and (c) a cumulative model after many contacts with the media having a similar character (Schulz 1986, 96ff.).

### **On the Research of Media Impact in the Federal Republic of Germany**

The senate committee for media research of the German Research Foundation (DFG) presented a survey in 1986 on the state of "Research on the Influence of Media in the Federal Republic of Germany". This report speaks in its concluding remarks of the general "impression of fragmented research results which have no coherence, and which even contradict one another" (DFG 1986, 5ff.). The quantitatively small, and the qualitatively only partially satisfactory research activities were criticized, and the conclusion was reached that the extent of research on the topic of media influence, at least that which has been published and is available to the scientific community, is rather limited (DFG 1986, 4, 5). With explicit reference to the effect of the presentation of violence, the following deficiency was pointed out: "The research up until now has shown an astounding lack of studies on the media influence on social matters, social relations and structures, and on social norms and values" (DFG 1986, 8).

A large American research committee arrived at a similar critical evaluation some time ago. Media research in the U.S.A. has always been considered to be much more advanced than elsewhere. Yet the American staff report on "Mass Media and Violence" for the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (Baker and Ball 1969) also came to a very critical conclusion in the summary on "The Effects of Violence In the Print Media":

"There is no rigorous evidence, one way or another, as to whether violence in the print media has beneficial, harmful or no effect – in the real world". ... Laboratory experiments with their controlled environments are not capable of reflecting real life situations. ... "Best guess: It is more likely that media-depicted violence has an undesirable "triggering" effect than that it has a desirable "catharsis" effect. This triggering function is probably only operative among some small fraction of the population who have predispositions toward such violence in the first place, and even then only under certain restricted circumstances". (Haskins 1969, 501).

## Problems of Research in the Field of Media Effectiveness

Normally, studies on media influence are limited to simply investigating whether or not the hypothesized effect has taken place. It is much more difficult to study this process if one considers the dynamic aspects and if the influence of intervening variables is to be explained.

Individual problems and indicators of effect research are very well documented in the literature on media and violence (see Groebel 1986, 49ff.). The following questions should be primarily dealt with in the future:

- Do specific media contents have specific influences? (Does verbal violence influence only verbal behavior, or does it also influence physical behavior?)
- Is the attitude towards violence alone influenced or is actual behavior changed?
- Does the recipient differentiate between motivational, normative and situational aspects?
- Is aggressive behavior learned or only strategies for justifying such behavior?
- Do persons with aggressive dispositions prefer consuming presentations of aggression, are these presentations responsible for the production of aggression, or are we dealing with an interactional process of reciprocal influence?

## Sport Coverage

Just as the search for general effects of violence portrayal in the printed media left more questions open than it answered, a quick look at the more limited area of sport reportage provides fewer insights than problems. Two aspects are of importance here: First of all, it is necessary to differentiate between the desired standard of reporting and reality. Secondly, the question of violence portrayal must be dealt with. In regard to this second aspect, a referral can be made to the thoughts presented in the previous section.

The first question concerning ideals versus reality presents a dilemma in both the area of sport and in the professional area of journalism. Sport journalists often feel obligated to both fields and find themselves in a bind. To what degree can sport rightfully be presented as a “wholesome” event in a “wholesome” world? To what degree must the search for a good, profit-bringing headline and story necessitate overemphasizing the unusual, the abnormal, the violent and otherwise criminal?

The International Association of Sport Press established guidelines in its founding convention in Paris in July, 1924. These were also adopted by the Association of the German Sport Press in 1950, which still sees major portions of its image mirrored in these principles, which are as follows:

“The sports press aims at fulfilling an educational role. A genuine and common desire to work together in defending the moral values of their chosen career unites the sport journalists of all nations. Their main task is to preserve and foster progressive and educational endeavors which serve peace and understanding among people. A strong feeling of responsibility and a search for truth should be the spirit which guides reporting and criticism. Sport journalists are especially interested in providing youth with an exemplary model of unbiased and impartial decisions. By fighting unobjective rivalry

brought about by overzealousness in sport, they want to approach a greater goal: to improve mankind and to awaken a sense of community. Sport journalists want to replace overambition with a sense of responsibility and inner nobility. Despite the love of country which everyone naturally feels, sport journalists see themselves as pioneers of a cultural cooperation whose fruits are seen in sport competition. They are obligated to the principle of comradeship in sport, which is very suitable for supporting the spirit of harmony, justice and reciprocal respect in human society" (Digel 1983, 44. My transl., K. W.).

Such is the beauty of guidelines nobody takes seriously. Considering these guidelines, the accusations against the printed media concerning their presentation of sport and violence can only be explained, as has occasionally been stated, by the fact that the primary interest of these journalists must be to insure the circulation of their newspaper. The consequent dangers and results are usually not dealt with further.

Digel, the author of the book from which we quoted the guidelines, has also made a statement on the present state of sport reportage. He depicts how the portrayal of sport in the media, especially in television, has turned into a rite of deceptive simplicity when compared to live sport. Exhibition sport has nothing more to do with our idea of fairness and of respecting the rules and the opponent. A new hierarchy of values determines to a great extent the consumers' attitude and has a major effect on the practice of sport itself. Now the means justify the ends; if it is successful, it is condoned. This also applies to the willingness of people to act aggressively in sport.

Digel accredits this development primarily to the double standard of the reporting and to the general use of language by the journalists. The sport journalists of West Germany interpret the foul play of German players in international competition as breaking the rules less often as when the same behavior is observed in opponents. In this case, it is immediately called by its name and branded as foul play. However, when a German player commits a breach of the rules, it is usually reinterpreted as a strategic tactic of the game and is pardoned. One may very well assume that this is not a specifically German phenomenon, and that the national reportage of international competitions in some other countries is even more strongly biased. Reporting, then, becomes in the truest sense of the words an example of a double moral standard.

Digel carries on to explain that, according to the stimulus-response theory, the media obtain an omnipotent function and therefore become dangerous as a manipulative instrument. The media can present conditions in such a way that feelings of revanchism and chauvinism arise. He therefore repeats: journalists are able to influence the actions of athletes and viewers through their use of language.

The aggressive, emotionally arousing effect of sport coverage has also been emphasized by other authors. Volkamer (1979) came to the conclusion that aggressive reporting eliminates the tabu against aggressive wishes of the viewer, reduces inhibitions, creates images of an enemy, presents aggressive actions as socially acceptable, and perverts sport.

The social subsystem of sport also performs political and, in this country, increasingly economic functions. This development is intensified by sport reportage; it is only through the broad popularity of the sport stars, the constant reception of information on sport, and the combination of success and product image that sport has become interesting for industry (Obrovsky 1983). If it

promises success, aggression is condoned. In an earlier report on deviation and conformity in the institution of sport, it was established that the greater the professionalization of sport, the greater the emphasis on victory as the goal of athletic efforts when compared to the means with which this victory is to be achieved, and the more important the economic and other consequences of victory are, then the greater the likelihood that the rules of sport will be broken in favor of other interests (Weis 1976, 312).

These interests, external to sport, affect not only sport itself, but its reportage as well. Especially in the case of violence portrayal, this can lead to a dangerous vicious circle from which the producers and the consumers can disengage themselves only with much difficulty: The media present violence in the interest of an optimal and profit-bringing dramaturgy and create a product for the market. The recipients accept this attractive offer; they want to see the violence, and can then be influenced in their own attitudes towards the use of violence. This alarming development is then picked up by the media in their reporting and is thus further nourished. In this way, outsiders are also influenced. The call for more police control of fans, for example, incited by the media, is taken over by politicians as part of public opinion and is converted into reality. Additional police intervention can, however, as often described, destroy the internal control systems and self-regulatory mechanisms of the fan subculture, and thus foster the escalation of violence on all sides. This applies to the confrontation between fan groups, as well as between the fans and the police. The media very seldom have the intention of breaking this vicious circle. To effectively counteract the printed and other media, it is necessary to use the most influential medium, television. Only once has a serious attempt been made to portray the escalating effect of the media and, through this critical portrayal, to have a de-escalating effect on the media and on all those concerned: the television documentary, "Violence in the Stadium – Headlines and Reality" (Graham and Weis; 45 minutes on German Channel Two; first televised March 5, 1980 with a repeat on May 31, 1985), attempted exactly this.

In contradiction to the reproaches of exaggeration on the part of the press, it can be pointed out that, in cases of real catastrophes resulting from violence (the spectator catastrophe in the Hamburg Stadium on July 9, 1979, with 62 injured, and in the Brussels Stadium on May 29, 1985, with 39 dead), the European daily press (not the popular press) attempted to report in an objective and well-balanced manner. Here, however, the reality in life surpassed the reality produced by the media. Considering the catastrophe in Brussels, doubts as to the influence of media reporting may increase: After the Brussels catastrophe, almost all the media expressed the opinion that things would worsen or, the opposite opinion, that, due to the shock, things would become more peaceful. In the long run, however, nothing has changed in the behavior of British or continental European fans; only the politicians and the police have assumed new activities.

## **The Sport Journalist: Career Situation, Self-Evaluation and Perception of his Recipients**

### *Career origins and work conditions*

The following remarks refer especially to the study by S. Weischenberg with the fitting title, "The Outsider of the Editorial Office. Structure, Function and Conditions of Sport Journalism" (1976). This study is only based on a non-representative sample of  $n=47$ , but it has hardly been superseded by more recent studies. About half of all sport journalists were not employed as journalists before their present jobs. They were recruited from typical middle-class jobs such as white-collar workers and businessmen, and had no special training in journalism. The other half of those questioned, who came to be sport journalists through their inter-field mobility, could generally look back on several years of employment as a journalist; 86% of them came from the local editorial offices (cf. pp. 239ff).

For most press organizations, sport was a matter for the local editorial department. In the meantime, independent sport editorial offices have increased in number. The quality of sport reportage is often criticized (p. 252). This lack of quality is further aggravated by external work conditions and the often tremendous time pressure, which hinder the production of journalism with impeccable use of language.

### *Self-evaluation of sport journalists*

Sport journalists assume that other journalists (especially political journalists – the elite) rank them on the bottom rung of the editorial status ladder (p. 272). They themselves estimate their status to be on the next to last step, one above the "miscellaneous". It has therefore become typical of sport journalists that their self-image is characterized by an inferiority complex compared with those of journalists from other departments. At the same time, they have the feeling of being isolated within their own medium (cf. pp. 269f).

This estimation of sport journalism's importance contrasts strongly with its actual public influence. "When publishers hire sport editors, one can conclude that they are needed, even if they are considered to be only hillbillies who are hardly entitled to pass beyond the receptionist's desk. Their actual importance, however, becomes clear if one considers the fact that sport is often used as the most powerful factor in competition within the media. Among other things, the volume of sport reportage, which has greatly increased in recent years, can be seen as an indicator of this. This is especially true for those newspapers mainly sold on the streets. This points to an aspect which distinguishes sport journalism from almost all other departments: The statements and reports of sport journalists are consumed to a degree that most other departments can only dream of (269). However, sport journalists often have no clear picture of their recipients and the effect of their own news portrayal.

This all leads to a quite ambivalent picture of sport journalists. A predetermined status position or definition of their role puts them on the lowest level. This contradicts the prevailing opinion among sport journalists that "you get especially good training, and above all, you learn to write in the sport department" (p. 267).

### *The recipients as seen by sport journalists*

Two models of communication can be primarily mentioned in connection with the sport journalist – recipient relationship. According to the first model, the readers act as formers of opinion who, with their expert knowledge and understanding, exercise a control function. This model should be especially fitting for the appropriate technical journals and their clientele. The second model, which assumes one-way communication, is more applicable to the field of the popular press. In this model, the readers remain relatively anonymous for the sport journalists; readers, listeners, and viewers represent a fictitious dimension (p. 273). In this manner, sport journalists develop stereotypes of their consumers; with an increase in the circle of recipients, these stereotypes are more likely to diverge from reality (p. 273).

What are the characteristics of these stereotypes? Contrary to the media's consumers of political subject matter, the readers of sport journalism are clearly assumed to be in the lower, less privileged classes of society. At the same time, sport journalists assume that this section of the population is interested in sport mainly as a source of entertainment. This, however, is a contradiction of the self-image of these journalists, as long as they see their main task in providing information and writing commentaries. This dedication to information is thus largely declamatory. Ideas of roles emerge which do not correspond with actual behavior. About 20% of the journalists questioned believed that they were not hindered by tabus in their reporting (p. 302). A further 75% considered their more or less direct influence on the business of sport to be important (p. 301). One can imagine that this trend will increase.

This is all the more true due to modern mass communication in which sport journalists have more than ever taken over the function of entertainers to the disadvantage of their task of providing information. This development in the media from informing to entertaining is, however, not restricted to the area of sport alone.

### *The journalistic concert*

A further trend in sport reporting, which I shall choose to call an internal journalistic "stupidification effect", has meanwhile become increasingly prominent. The sport publishers have recognized that sport must be depicted in its full social relevance and that, in a pluralistic society, one can not withdraw to an oasis of reporting free of value judgments (Emig 1987, 100). Indeed, there is also reportage on social, political, medical, economical, judicial and technical aspects of sport. This became obvious in the reports on the Brussels catastrophe. At the same time, however, it became more than clear that socially relevant reportage on sport events was not written in the sports department, but in other departments (such as the political) which were considered to be more important. The reports from the sport departments are supposed to be limited to competitive and top sports coverage. If, however, sport journalism is no longer responsible for reports on the social conditions of athletic developments or large events, then it is no longer connected with life situations and the needs of people, and thus loses its communicative function of integration. It runs the danger of becoming socially dysfunctional (see Emig, 1987) and stupidifies.

## **The Portrayal of Violence in Sport in the Printed Media**

The generally negative appearance of the state of research on media influence which has been illustrated is also applicable to the sub-area of the effect of portrayals of violence in sport in the printed media. The deficiencies are also clearly mirrored here. No serious pilot studies are existent which, although usually very weak due to their methodology, could at least prepare for larger-scale research. Instead, we are more likely to find depictions which have been developed from individual everyday theories, whose conclusions are assumed to be correct and are fostered with the help of scientifically matured popular knowledge. Finally, evidence is brought in the form of individual anecdotal cases, which again are susceptible to generalization.

In order to investigate the question of which role the mass media play in the phenomenon of violence in or around sport, the German Department of the Interior in Bonn, via the Federal Institute for Sport Science in Cologne, commissioned a group project, of whom this author was a member, to write a report. Both this expertise (Hahn et al. 1987a) and the individual project reports (Hahn et al., 1987b) will be published. The following comments, as well as some of the thoughts above, refer to the part of the expertise called "The Portrayal of Violence in Sport in the Printed Media and their Effects – a Report on the Literature" (Weis 1987). All of the following results refer to a computer-aided evaluation of the literature which, within a time period of just under six weeks, evaluated the directly available literature (a total of 76 contributions). Regarding the chosen literature, it is worth mentioning that ten German and American data banks for literature on the social sciences came up with hardly any references to relevant publications on the exact topic.

### *Causes of Violence*

In the view of the available literature, it was not possible to deal with the original topic "The Portrayal of Sport and Violence in the Printed Media and Their Effects" in the desirable form. In evaluating the literature at hand, an additional attempt was made to specify the causes of violence of which the different authors wrote. Here a differentiation was made according to the perspective from which an author approached the theme: a) the athletes' perspective, b) the common perspective of athletes and viewers, c) the viewers' perspective only. The results are presented below.

According to the literature evaluated in the first category, the media have no perceptible influence on violent behavior among professional and other active athletes. The emphasis on success and the means used in the hope of guaranteeing this success are considered to be the major factors responsible for the increasing amount of violence. The more sports are professionalized, the more winning is emphasized as the goal of athletic efforts, as opposed to the means with which this should be achieved, and, finally, the more important the economic and other results of a victory become, the more likely is the probability that the rules of sport will be broken to the advantage of other interests, leading to an increase in acts of violence.

It is only in the second group of publications, which considers the perspective of actors as well as viewers, that the clear influence of the media is dealt with.

Beyond this, the suggested causes of violence show that, in the constant growth of violence on the sport field, interaction between individual and social aspects plays a role.

In the third group, spectator violence is attributed to the influence of the media. At the same time, it is made clear that individual interests play a role in the brutalization that should not be underestimated.

### *Consequences of these causes*

An observable consequence of the above-mentioned causes, which the authors list in the first category (professional players), is above all an increasing commercialization of sports, which are becoming more and more aggressive and which even include the training of fouls as an indispensable way to success. In the second group (viewers and professionals), the authors assume a new hierarchy of values, in which the aggressive model athletes or the influence of the athletic idols lead to a concept of enemy groups or a sort of chauvinism. Regarding the third group, the authors found that the factors mentioned above lead to criminalization of the fans, that the fans' behavior is predicted and predetermined, and that as a result the brutality of acts of violence increases.

### *Portrayal in the printed media and consequences thereof*

Regarding all three groups (professionals, viewers and professionals, viewers), it can be said that all authors assume that violence in and during sport is exaggerated in the printed media, as it is in other media as well. This distorted depiction in the media is made responsible for the following:

For the first group (professionals), the perception of sport is negatively influenced by the printed media due to distortions in their portrayals (Pilz 1981) and, further, the media are considered to amplify the use of violence (Pilz 1974).

In the second group (professionals and viewers), the media are reproached for being dangerous, manipulative instruments due to their omnipotent function, which as a result substantially influence behavior (Digel 1983). Further, it is assumed that conjectures in the newspapers concerning upcoming scuffles were the reason for especially brutal fights among ice-hockey players (Weis 1981). At the same time, it is assumed that portrayals of violence contribute to the more positive public evaluation of athletic successes and the aggressive means which serve them (Pilz 1982).

For the third group (viewers), reports on spectator violence in the media are seen as a predictor for further violent actions by the fans. Several authors assume that the portrayals in the printed media tend to increase the extent of rioting (Hall 1978; Gabler et al. 1982; Weis 1982; Heitmann et al. 1985; Horak et al. 1985).

This all shows that, regardless of the standpoint from which the authors view the phenomenon of violence around sport, the media are reproached for reporting on the sport events unrealistically, distortedly and not in accordance with the truth. It appears that the primary interest of sport journalists is to increase the circulation of their papers. In the sport-journalistic dilemma between news-reporting and scandal-seeking, the search for a good, profit-bringing headline and story leads to overemphasis of unusual, abnormal, violent and otherwise criminal elements to the disadvantage of the portrayal of the

(wholesome?) world of sports. According to these authors, the effects and dangers thus provoked have no apparent influence on the journalists and their manner of portrayal.

*The portrayal of the phenomenon of violence in sport in the course of the last ten years*

The investigation also dealt with the question of how much change has taken place in the course of the last ten years regarding the causes, consequences and measures which have been written about in the literature. As an example, the years prior to 1979 will be compared with the time period 1984/1985.

The following trends were found in the available literature:

1. In the course of time, a switch in the argumentation has taken place from the general socialization and social conditions in the time period up until 1979, to factors within sport and individual social conditions in the years 1984/1985. In the years 1974-1976, special experiences of socialization, commercial interests, political interests and the frustration-aggression hypothesis were in the foreground of argumentation, as opposed to 1984/1985 when professionalization of sports, rivalry among fan groups, the game situation, family disorganization, alcohol and the frustrations of everyday life were the main topics.

2. At the same time, one can see that in the course of these years, the number and variety of the arguments has clearly increased, especially in the area of measures to be taken. Prior to 1979 there were only 36 different causes, 11 consequences and 21 different measures named; in 1984/85 the causes mentioned had increased to 42, the consequences to 12 and the measures derived there from to 60 (by about the same number of publications: 1974-79: 13; 1984/5: 12).

In the area of consequences a clear trend can be recognized, despite the almost equal number. While the argumentation in the time period up until 1979 was rather undifferentiated and global (e.g. transfer of aggression learned in sport to social situations, the compulsion to aggression etc.), in the period 1984/85, many concrete statements were made (e.g. property damage, offences against property, increased action of the police).

The trend is particularly obvious in regard to measures. In 1974-79, the counsel given in this area was restricted to general instructions such as information, limitation of commercialization etc. In 1984/85, it was already possible to differentiate between recommended, executed and successful measures (e.g. recommended measures: aiding those who have committed violence in finding a new identity, increased control of the fans in sports clubs and fan clubs; executed measures: increased police action, prohibition of alcohol, stronger sectioning off of blocks with grid barriers; successful measures: social counseling, for example by street workers, removal of gang leaders, liability of the clubs). Furthermore, the development of a very differentiated catalogue of measures has been attempted by different parties (e.g. by the police and in individual research reports.)

In view of the frequency counts at hand, it becomes clear that the presentation of causes, consequences and measures has undergone a strong numerical increase in this ten-year period. It cannot, however, be proven on the basis of the available

literature that, beyond a depiction of the causes, any conditioning factors or causal connections with the observed consequences were dealt with.

The authors are merely in agreement that a monocausal relationship between a single cause and the effect in regard to violence in and around sport cannot generally be assumed. Such a narrow explanation of these relationships would not do justice to the phenomenon.

### On the Media, on Order and Fear

"As did everyone else, I also knew that the Federal German media insisted on emphasizing the dramatic and extraordinary, the sudden change over continuity. They report on the train that has an accident, not the one that arrives on time. Generally, however, life is neither dramatic nor especially interesting. As elsewhere, in the Federal Republic of Germany the picture provided by the media only conveys part of reality. For someone living in the same country, this may not be of much importance; he need only to open his eyes and he has his own corrective lenses for distortions. This correction is not available to an outsider, who can easily win the impression that the country is in a deep crisis – ... The Germans are perfectionists and need their order; as soon as things develop somewhat out of the ordinary, as soon as complete success is not guaranteed, they can become quite unraveled. In short, the state of their feelings influences their capability of judgement ... In war as in peace, the old tendency of the Germans to exaggerate and to act irrationally persists; heroism was once in vogue; now it is fear" (Laqueur 1985, 9f. My transl. K. W.).

These words were written not long ago by a good journalistic authority on the Germans at the beginning of his book "What's Going on With the Germans?" They could just as well be placed at the beginning of media reports on the narrow world of violence, sport and viewer rioting. They stem from private experiences, convey personal prejudices, and find some backing in popular generalization. Their conclusions are not less meaningful than the insights of various expert reports of ours on the portrayal of sport and violence in the printed media, for empirically sound works on truth and distortion in the news coverage of sport and violence are lacking to the same extent as empirically sound works on research on the effect of violence portrayal in regard to sports. – The question of whether there are any reasons to limit this criticism of sport reportage and the empirical research on the consequences of the media's portrayal of violence in sport to the German scene is a theme which I shall not discuss here.

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## **L'influence de la presse sur le sport et la violence: Les problèmes du journalisme de sport**

### *Résumé*

Dans les recherches sur les effets des publications il est généralement présumé, que la représentation de la violence dans la presse encourage l'attitude violente. Or, il manque les justificatifs empiriques comment ceci devrait se passer. Les problèmes du reportage sur le sport concernent particulièrement son évidence journalistique, sa compréhension du sport et ses représentations de la violence. L'étude discute le peu prestige et la grande influence des journalistes de sport et rapporte sur les résultats d'une prospection littéraire sur le sport et la violence dans la presse. La recherche de titres et de textes qui soutiennent la bonne vente résulte à l'exagération de l'inhabituel et le scandaleux. L'illoyauté et l'agressivité des athlètes à succès ainsi que les excès des spectateurs sont accentués et paraissent d'être normal. Ici, le reportage miroite un développement qu'il a influencé lui-même.

## **Der Einfluß der Printmedien auf Sport und Gewalt: Die Probleme des Sportjournalismus**

### *Zusammenfassung*

In der Medienwirkungsforschung wird allgemein angenommen, Gewaltdarstellung in den Medien fördere gewalttätiges Verhalten. Es fehlen jedoch die empirischen Belege, wie dies geschehen soll. Probleme der Sportberichterstattung betreffen besonders ihr journalistisches Selbstverständnis, ihr Sportverständnis und ihre Gewaltdarstellungen. Der Beitrag erörtert das geringe Prestige und den großen Einfluß der Sportjournalisten und berichtet über die Ergebnisse einer Literaturrecherche über Sport und Gewalt in den Printmedien. Die Suche nach umsatzfördernden Überschriften und Texten führt zur Überbetonung des Ungewöhnlichen und Skandalösen. Unfairness und Aggressivität erfolgreicher Sportler sowie Zuschauerausschreitungen werden hervorgehoben und erscheinen als normal. Hier spiegelt die Berichterstattung eine Entwicklung wider, die sie selbst beeinflusste.

## **La Influencia de los Medios de Prensa sobre Deporte y Violencia: Los Problemas del Periodismo deportivo**

### *Resumen*

En la investigación de efectos de medios se supone generalmente que la representación de la violencia en los medios fomente el comportamiento violento. Sin embargo faltan muestras empíricas cómo debe efectuarse esto. Los problemas de la información deportiva conciernen principalmente a su autocomprensión periodística, su comprensión del deporte y sus representaciones de la violencia. El aporte discute el bajo prestigio y la gran influencia de los periodistas deportivos e informa sobre los resultados de una indagación literaria sobre deporte y violencia en los medios de prensa. La búsqueda de títulos y textos estimulantes para la venta lleva a una acentuación exagerada de lo insólito y escandaloso. Se reclaman el juego sucio y la agresividad de jugadores con éxito, tanto como disturbios provocados por espectadores, apareciendo éstos como lo común. Aquí la información refleja un desarrollo que ella misma ha influenciado.

## Влияние прессы на спорт и насилие: проблемы спортжурнализма.

### Резюме:

В исследованиях по вопросам воздействия средств массовой информации считается вообще, что изображение насилия содействует насильственному поведению людей. Однако это мнение не подтверждено эмпирическими данными, доказывающими каким образом осуществляется такое влияние. Проблемы спортивного репортажа относятся особенно к пониманию роли журналистики, к представлению о спорте и к изображению насилия. Статья описывает незначительный престиж и сильное влияние спортжурналистов и излагает результаты литературного поиска о спорте и насилии в прессе. Тяга к заглавиям и текстам, действенным в рекламном отношении приводит к подчёркиванию необыкновенного и скандального. Уделяется особое внимание негативным сторонам успешных спортсменов, как агрессивности и отсутствию корректности и приличия или хулиганству зрителей. Такие черты показаны как нормальные. Таким образом репортаж отражает развитие, которое возникло под его же влиянием.

## 出版メディアのスポーツと暴力への影響：スポーツジャーナリズムの問題

### <抄録>

メディアの影響に関する研究において、一般的にメディアの暴力の表現は暴力的行進を促進するものと捉えられている。しかし、この現象がいかに生起するか、実証的裏拠はない。スポーツ報道の問題は、特にそのジャーナリスティックな捉え方、スポーツの理解、そして暴力の表現に関わっている。本稿は、スポーツジャーナリストの低い地位と多大な影響力を論議し、出版メディアのスポーツと暴力に関する文献研究の結果を報告する。収益をあげるための見出しと記事を追求うことによって、非日常性とスキャンダルの過度の強調につながっている。選手の成功の一要因は不正と攻撃性によること、また観客の暴力などが過度に強調され、それが正常であるとアピールされている。この点において、報道自身がもたらしてきた結果を反映している。