8-1-2012

"Was Anyone Out There Watching Last Night?": The Creation and Early History of New England Sport Network, 1980-1989

Tanya Lee Lovejoy
Southern Illinois University Carbondale, tlovejoy@siu.edu

“WAS ANYONE OUT THERE WATCHING LAST NIGHT?”: THE CREATION AND EARLY HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND SPORTS NETWORK, 1980-1989

by

Tanya L. Lovejoy

B.A., University of Southern Maine, 2001
M.A, San Francisco State University, 2006

A Dissertation
Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Doctor of Philosophy degree

Department of Mass Communication and Media Arts
in the Graduate School
Southern Illinois University Carbondale
August 2012

DISSERTATION APPROVAL

"WAS ANYONE OUT THERE WATCHING LAST NIGHT?":
THE CREATION AND EARLY HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND SPORTS NETWORK,
1980-1989

by

Tanya L. Lovejoy

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial

Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the field of Mass Communication and Media Arts

Approved by:

Dr. William Babcock, Chair

Dr. William Freivogel

Dr. Jacob Podber

Dr. Deborah Tudor

Dr. Bobbi Knapp

Graduate School
Southern Illinois University Carbondale
April 25, 2012

AN ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION OF

Tanya L. Lovejoy, for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in Mass Communication and Media Arts, presented on April 25, 2012, at Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

TITLE: "WAS ANYONE OUT THERE WATCHING LAST NIGHT?": THE CREATION AND EARLY HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND SPORTS NETWORK, 1980-1989

MAJOR PROFESSOR: Dr. William Babcock

In the United States, regional sports networks broadcast games of home teams to audiences in specific communities, or geographical areas. Ownership of regional sports network by sports teams presents a unique type of vertical integration. Regional sports networks use distinctive programming to connect to local sports culture. This dissertation explores the historical significance of New England Sports Network (NESN), a team created, owned and operated regional sports network, which broadcasts Boston Red Sox baseball games and Boston Bruins hockey games throughout the New England region. Using elements of cultural studies, specifically political economy and textual analysis, this dissertation examines the impact of the ownership structure of NESN on NESN programming and how NESN uses programming to connect to local sports culture. This dissertation employs the theoretical frameworks of the sports/media complex and the base and superstructure model to support the argument that regional sports networks function not only on an economic level, but on a political economic and cultural level as well.

Historically, NESN is the first successful team created, owned and operated regional sports network. NESN's creation established a new form of sports media ownership where sports team owners could essentially form private media corporations to increase earnings and extend operations across industries. NESN utilizes specific visual and aural techniques to differentiate NESN programming from other national and regional sports broadcasters. NESN also uses the

same techniques to connect to local sports culture and to the everyday lives of sports consumers. The televised sports text offers NESN a space where the network can function on both a political economic and cultural level. Additionally, NESN presents a real world example of how the sports/media complex has become a more intricate theoretical framework.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my grandfather, Leslie L. Hurd. Although he passed away nineteen years ago, he was the most passionate and devoted Boston Red Sox fan I ever knew. Like many Red Sox fans of his generation, he was unable to see his beloved team win the 2004 World Series after an eighty-six year deficit. Also, to the best of my knowledge, because my grandfather never subscribed to cable, he never watched NESN and always remained a loyal viewer of WSBK-TV.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to acknowledge those who were involved in guiding and supporting me through the dissertation process. First and foremost, I would like to thank my dissertation advisor, Dr. William Babcock. While most of our conversations focused on this project, we always seemed to end up discussing baseball. Being a Cleveland Indians fan he was able to sympathize with a Boston Red Sox fan, and as a dissertation chair, he always made sure I was heading in the right direction with this project and with my academic career. Second, I would like to thank my committee members – Dr. William Freivogel, Dr. Jacob Podber, Dr. Deborah Tudor, and Dr. Bobbi Knapp. I also wish to express gratitude to the professors whose guidance in the classroom helped contribute to the completion of this project – Dr. Eileen Meehan, Dr. Novotny Lawrence, and Dr. Michele Torre. Throughout the dissertation process, there have been many other professors, colleagues and faculty members who have assisted me in a number of ways, from humorous conversations to discussions on surviving the academic world. I would especially like to thank Ms. Linda Gassel, who without her assistance I think I would have spent more time being lost and confused during the entire process. I would also like to thank my family, particularly my parents, who have always supported me and encouraged me to do what I love. Last, but not least, I would like to thank my husband, Chris, for his immense patience and endless support.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

On March 21, 1984, New England Sports Network (NESN), a regional sports network created, owned and operated by the Boston Red Sox baseball team, the Boston Bruins hockey team, and local television broadcaster, WSBK, went on the air (Craig, 1984b). Since 1984, there have been seven team owned and operated regional sports networks on the air in the United States (Walker & Bellamy Jr., 2008). NESN is the first team created, owned and operated regional sports network, and, as of today, continues to televise Red Sox and Bruins games, as well as other sports related programming, to cable subscribers in Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont. What is the historical significance of NESN? More specifically, how has the ownership structure of NESN impacted NESN programming? Additionally, how has NESN used its programming to connect to local sports culture?

Sports teams may have created regional sports networks solely for economic reasons. However, the creation of regional sport networks by sports teams has had an impact on the overall sports media industry. Regional sports networks utilize programming to connect to local communities or specific geographical areas, and are usually associated with a particular team, or teams. For most sports consumers, those teams are already an important part of local sports culture. A team that creates and maintains a regional sports network in a specific community is connecting to the everyday lives of sports consumers through television programming that centers on the home team, or teams. NESN will serve as a case study for this dissertation.

This dissertation focuses on the creation and early history of NESN from 1980 to 1989. These years cover the creation of the network prior to its debut in 1984 as well as the first five years of operation. To establish an historical context for the creation of NESN, this dissertation begins with a brief overview of the history of the cable television and satellite industries beginning in the 1940s through 1989. Focusing on pay television in the 1960s and cable and satellite technology in the 1970s and 1980s, this dissertation then examines how cable networks used sports programming to compete with broadcast television and to establish new cable channels, such as ESPN, TBS, and other regional sports networks. Because NESN was created and maintained broadcast operations within the Boston television market, this dissertation also touches upon the history of the development of cable television in Boston from 1970 up until 1989. This dissertation uses the theoretical frameworks of the sports/media complex and the base and superstructure model to support the argument that regional sports networks function on both a political economic and cultural level. In addition, this dissertation utilizes the overarching methodology of historiography and applies elements of cultural studies, primarily political economy and textual analysis, to examine the impact of the ownership structure of NESN on NESN programming and how NESN uses programming to connect to local sports culture.

The following chapter introduces and defines the key concepts associated with this dissertation. First, there is a brief discussion on regional sports networks and their importance to sports teams and sports consumers. Second, this chapter explains the theoretical frameworks of the sports/media complex and the base and superstructure model. Third, this chapter discusses cultural studies and how it is used to examine the ownership structure of NESN, NESN programming, and the way NESN programming is linked to local sports culture. Finally, this chapter provides a rationale followed by a brief discussion of the research goals.

Regional Sports Networks

In the United States, regional sports networks broadcast games of home teams to audiences in specific communities, or geographical areas. The programming of regional sports networks is targeted towards local fans of a particular team, or teams, and generally consists of pre-game and post-game coverage, as well as other sports related shows (Walker & Bellamy Jr., 2008). Local fans associate regional sports networks with a particular team, or teams. Because regional sports networks restrict programming to local teams, regional sports networks are connected to the surrounding communities and culture in which they operate. Historically, regional sports networks have had a considerable economic impact on sports consumers. When most regional sports networks began operations in the early 1980s, sports viewers paid an extra fee beyond the basic monthly cost to have the network added to their cable channel package. From the beginning of the 1980s to the end of the 1990s, fans of home teams that owned and operated regional sports networks had to pay to see televised games, which had once been available free from a local broadcaster. Today, most regional sports networks are offered with basic cable packages and viewers do not have to pay an extra monthly fee to watch regional sports networks.

For some home teams, regional sports networks have become a vital financial resource. “A corollary to the importance of local and regional broadcasting to major league teams is that each team receives varying amounts of money for broadcast rights” (Bellamy Jr., 1988, p. 77). Regional sports networks need local team television rights to succeed. From an economic standpoint, the best way to guarantee a successful regional sports network is for a team to allocate or manage ownership interests of their own regional sports network (Walker & Bellamy Jr., 2008). In this case, a team owned and operated regional sports network guarantees a team, or teams, a dependable source of income and a steady flow of revenue. Also, owning and operating a regional sports network has enabled some team owners to become media owners (Walker & Bellamy Jr., 2008). Historically, advancements in cable television and satellite technology provided sports teams the resources to create regional sports networks. For example, before the 1984 baseball season, NESN purchased an uplink to the RCA Satcom 1-R Satellite (Craig, 1984a). This uplink allowed the network to utilize the satellite technology in the transmission of programming. To distribute the programming to cable television audiences, the network had to obtain a cable system provider to carry and broadcast the network.

The Sports/Media Complex

Regional sports networks have an impact on various economic and cultural factors in society. From an economic standpoint, sport teams that own and operate regional sports networks are more profitable than sports teams that do not own and operate regional sports networks (Walker & Bellamy Jr., 2008). This is due to the varying amounts of money teams pay for regional and local broadcasting rights. Sports teams that own and operate regional sports networks also have an economic advantage over local television broadcasters because of the siphoning of programming from free television to pay television. For home teams that do not own and operate regional sports networks, connecting to local sports consumers on a cultural level is more difficult because the broadcasting of home games, at times, is relinquished to national broadcasters, such as NBC or FOX, or national cable television networks, like ESPN or TBS.

Theories of the sports/media complex provide a framework for understanding how various economic and cultural factors work together in the sports and media industries. According to Sut Jhally (1984), the concept of the sports/media complex can be traced back to the convergence of spectator sports and urbanization in the late 19th century. Urban upper class spectators attended team events, such as off-campus football games, which featured extravagant pre-game lunches and post-game parties. Working-class spectators attended sporting events in more industrialized locations. For example, some members of the working class living in urban areas attended boxing matches at neighborhood or city gymnasiums (Jhally, 1984; Riess, 1991). Between 1870 and 1900, spectator sports became profitable due to the increase in newspaper circulation (Jhally, 1984). As the circulation of newspapers increased, advertising revenue for newspaper publishers also increased. Spectator sports became a source of advertising for big-city newspapers. Owners of newspapers and their foremost advertisers "invested in sports and stadiums" (Jhally, 1984, p. 44), and big-city newspapers developed sports departments as well. At the turn of the century, sports coverage in newspapers increased 50 percent (Oriard, 2001). The newspaper industry augmented the growth of the professional sports industry in which sports organizations became reliant on mass media to function and succeed.

Starting in the 1920s, the development of commercial radio complicated the relationship between sports and media. The issue of ownership rights in the sports and media industries, the experiences of radio listeners, and the role of sports broadcasters became a part of the sports/media complex (Oriard, 2001). In the 1950s and 1960s, sports consumers became an essential piece of the sports/media complex where the audience became "a commodity for sale to advertisers" (Jhally, 1984, p. 44). Television offered sport broadcasters, as well as sports teams, an economical way to reach sports audiences. "Narrowcasting," (Barnouw, 1990, p. 495) which targeted specific audiences with specialized programming, enabled television broadcasters to use sports programming to reach sports audiences. Furthermore, "network competition for the sale of these audiences to advertisers increased the value of 'television rights' to various sports and provided commercial sports organizations with a massive infusion of capital" (Gruneau, 1989, p. 136). Professional sports organizations became more reliant upon money from mass media organizations to function and to reach mass audiences. Television networks vied for the broadcasting rights to professional sports that were more successful and appealed to mass audiences as well as advertisers.

Jhally (1989) explains the sports/media complex more succinctly stating "the cultural experience of sports is hugely mediated" (p. 78) due to the majority of sports viewing occurring through a medium, such as cable television. Economically, "professional… sports are dependent upon media money for their very survival and their present organizational structure" (Jhally, 1989, p. 78). The *mediated* experience of watching sports on television becomes a *cultural* experience for sports consumers. Sports consumers participate in sports culture and contribute to the economic survival of sports teams by watching games, and other sports related programming, on television. Lawrence A. Wenner (1989) places the sports/media complex in a larger social context where the sports/media complex functions alongside audiences and content. In other words, the sports media industry impacts sports consumers through the content that the sports media industry produces: programming. Televised sports programming has mediated the cultural experience for sports consumers further by creating a space where "the television spectator must be told what he is seeing… and must be invited to identify with the specular image" (Morse, 1983, p. 54). Additionally, televised sports programming provides an outlet for sports consumers to become a part of the sport/media complex by watching games, advertisements, and other sports related programming.

The sports/media complex brings together the sports and media industries into a relationship where each benefits from the other. Yet, the sports/media complex does not distinguish between different types of media, such as broadcast television or cable television, the way sports broadcasting rights function for different types of sports or sports media outlets, or how the ownership structure of a sports media organization may impact its cultural product, for instance television or radio programming. Although the sports/media complex stresses the ways sports consumers contribute economically to the success of sports teams by watching games, advertisements, and other sports related programming, it essentially ignores how sports consumers are affected culturally by mediated sports. Overall, the sports/media complex provides a basic theoretical framework that explains how the sports and media industries function together in society. However, the sports/media complex contains socially constructed elements, such as audiences and texts. This dissertation uses the sports/media complex to examine how regional sports networks function on both a political economic level and a cultural level, by analyzing the sports/media complex in conjunction with ownership structure and televised sports programming.

The Base and Superstructure Model

In *The German Ideology*, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (1964/1845-1846) offer an early understanding of the base and superstructure model asserting that the structure of society evolves "directly out of production and commerce, which in all ages forms the basis of the State and the rest of the idealistic superstructure" (p. 48). Marx and Engels (1963/1845-1846) indicate that the structure of society is dependent on the relationship between economic conditions, such as production and business. The relationship between production and business forms the base, which in turn, sets up the foundation for the superstructure. The State and social consciousness forms the superstructure, which is made up of political (the State) and ideological processes. The base determines the superstructure, or rather; economic processes determine political and ideological processes in society. Tom Bottomore (1983) explains the concept of base as meaning "the economic structure of society" (p. 42). The base "conditions the existence and forms of the state and social consciousness" (Bottomore, 1983, p. 42). The formation of the superstructure is dependent upon the base, or the economic structure of society. As a result, the state and social consciousness of a society, or the superstructure, cannot exist, or be created, without an economic structure, or the base.

Raymond Williams reinterprets the Marxist approach to the base and superstructure model. Williams (1977) defines the superstructure as "institutions; forms of consciousness; political and cultural practices" (p. 77). The base, or economic structure, sets up the foundation of the superstructure. For Williams (1977), the base represents economic processes that change over time. These economic processes can conflict with each other and with the cultural and political processes represented by the superstructure. In other words, economic, cultural, and political processes are all connected in the real world and cannot be examined in isolation. Further, cultural and political processes are not directly derived from economic processes, and economic processes cannot be easily separated from cultural and political processes. The base and superstructure model represents cultural, political, and economic processes that function together and alongside each other in society. For this dissertation, Raymond Williams's reworking of the base and superstructure model is used as a theoretical framework to analyze how the ownership structure of NESN impacts NESN programming and how NESN utilizes programming to connect to local sports culture. The ownership structure of NESN and NESN programming are analyzed as being linked to each other and tied to the everyday lives of sports consumers.

Cultural Studies

According to Vincent Mosco (2009), “cultural studies has sided with the view that culture is ordinary, a product of everyday life that is widely produced, distributed, and consumed” (p. 215). In other words, cultural studies looks at culture, popular or otherwise, as existing in and functioning in the real world, and as being a part of everyday life. Raymond Williams also repositions cultural studies from the idea that culture is superior to everyday life and not available to everyone in society to “the premise that culture is the product of ordinary, everyday life, produced by all social actors, rather than just by a privileged elite” (Mosco, 2009, p. 213). Williams (1961) states, “the process of communication is in fact the process of community” (p. 38). In communities, people share their everyday lives and develop social relationships. Everyday lives and social relationships are centered on politics, family life, religion, education, and other cultural factors that are shared by communities. Culture is integrated into “a whole world of active and interacting relationships” (Williams, 1961, p. 39), which connects people to each other and to institutions that create cultural artifacts. Through communication, culture becomes “a whole way of life” (Williams, 1961, p. 40). “A whole way of life” (Williams, 1961, p. 40) includes people and institutions, the social relationships between people and institutions, and the cultural products created by people and institutions.

Douglas Kellner (2011) divides cultural studies into three methodological approaches: political economy, textual analysis, and audience reception. A political economic approach to cultural studies focuses on “the importance of analyzing cultural texts within their system of production and distribution” (Kellner, 2011, p. 10). Political economy examines factors such as corporate conglomeratization and ownership structure, media markets, and globalization, and how those factors impact cultural texts and media audiences. Textual analysis involves examining cultural texts, such as television programming, for narrative structure, ideological positions, and specific discourses embedded within the cultural text (Kellner, 2011). Audience reception is concerned with how audiences create meanings from images, the narrative structure, ideological positions, and the various discourses embedded within the cultural text (Kellner, 2011). This dissertation utilizes a political economic approach to cultural studies, as well as textual analysis, to examine the historical significance of NESN.

Mosco (2009) describes a political economic approach more precisely as "the study of the social relations, particularly the power relations, that mutually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources, including communication resources" (p. 2). The production, distribution, and consumption of resources links political economy and mass communication to the study of media institutions and media consumers where media institutions control the production process, as well as the distribution of resources. Media consumers then take part in the consumption of those resources. Nicholas Garnham (1997) discusses political economy in conjunction with the base and superstructure model. Base represents material production. The surplus from the labor within the base, or from material production, determines other forms of human activity within the superstructure. "Thus the superstructure remains dependent upon and determined by the base of material production in that very fundamental sense" (Garnham, 1997, p. 53). The superstructure becomes less dependent upon the base as surplus from material production increases. However, "the superstructure of culture… remains subordinate" (Garnham, 1997, p. 53) depending on the relationship between the removal, distribution, and allocation of the material surplus within the superstructure. The material surplus is distributed and allocated within the superstructure based on class relations, availability of resources, labor power, and time.

For team owned and operated regional sports networks, such as NESN, the removal, distribution, and allocation of material surplus is comparable to how regional sports networks are distributed and allocated within local television markets. Cable service providers distribute most regional sports networks to sports consumers. Sports consumers that do not have access to cable services may not have access to games of their favorite sports team, especially if that team airs games exclusively on a regional sports network. Access to cultural products, such as regional sports networks, is controlled by the material surplus that is removed, distributed, and allocated through cable television technology. Because regional sports networks produce the material surplus, or programming, regional sports networks impact access to regional sports networks for sports consumers. The base becomes part of the superstructure through the distribution and allocation of the material surplus; therefore, the material surplus becomes a part of the culture. In the case of regional sports networks, the programming, or material surplus, becomes a part of the culture for consumers that have access to the material surplus.

This dissertation examines culture as "a whole way of life" (Williams, 1961, p. 40). NESN is an institution operating in a community. For sports consumers, NESN is part of everyday life and is watched by large segments of the community. This dissertation utilizes a political economic approach to cultural studies to analyze the ownership structure of NESN. In addition, this dissertation uses textual analysis to explore how NESN connects to local sports culture through its programming. Textual analysis allows for close readings of NESN programming as well as the narrative structure of the text. Combining political economy and textual analysis illuminates how cultural texts, such as television programming, function "within the system of culture within which they are produced and distributed" (Kellner, 2011, p. 10). Furthermore, political economy "can help elucidate features and effects of the texts that textual analysis alone might miss or downplay" (Kellner, 2011, p. 10). The base and superstructure model, along with the sports/media complex, is applied to explain how the ownership structure of NESN and NESN programming are connected and function together in society.

Conclusion

The importance of this dissertation is twofold. Historically, NESN is the first team created, owned and operated regional sports network. Since 1984, other teams, such as the New York Yankees and the Baltimore Orioles, have used this type of ownership structure to establish successful regional sports networks. In the same historical era, corporate owned regional sports networks, such as SportsChannel and Home Sports Entertainment failed or were later bought out by major media companies, such as News Corporation and Comcast Corporation. NESN instituted a business model for other team created, owned and operated regional sports networks. Examining the type of ownership structure of NESN establishes a new direction for studies on sports media, regional sports networks, and mass media ownership.

Second, spectator sports are an important part of our culture. Television has brought sports into the homes and everyday lives of consumers, essentially bringing consumers closer to their favorite sports team, or teams. Andrew Zimbalist (2006) points out, "In our increasingly automated and visual culture, sports represent one of the few opportunities for communities to find identity and come together. It is hard to imagine our society without spectator sports" (p. 5). Regional sports network provide an outlet for consumers to create identity and to connect to the community and hometown culture. Sports consumers generally associate regional sports networks with a specific team or teams that are significant to local sports culture. A team that creates and maintains a regional sports network in a specific community is connecting to the everyday lives of sports consumers through television programming that focuses on the home team. Analyzing how NESN uses programming to connect to local sports culture establishes a better understanding of the relationship between sports teams, sports consumers, and the television industry.

This dissertation combines political economy and textual analysis in a replicable methodological framework that guides future research in media history and cultural studies. Mosco (2009) suggests that cultural studies should “return to its roots, which maintained that culture is popular and that it reflects the needs and aspirations, including political ones, of widely placed social actors” (p. 232). Using cultural studies, specifically political economy and textual analysis, to examine the ownership structure of NESN and NESN programming demonstrates how a popular form of culture, like sports, has both a political economic and cultural impact on the sports media industry and on local sports culture. In addition, the base and superstructure model allows this dissertation to examine how the ownership structure of NESN and NESN programming are linked and function together in society. By using Raymond Williams’s rethinking of the base and superstructure model, this dissertation goes beyond the notion that the base directly affects the superstructure; this dissertation looks at society as a process that encompasses social relations between, and within, political economic and cultural spheres. Most importantly, the base and superstructure model permits this dissertation to examine NESN as both a political economic and cultural institution.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The academic studies that ground this dissertation on the creation and early history of New England Sports Network (NESN) range from informational secondary sources, such as texts that provide concise histories on television broadcasting (Barnouw, 1990) and cable television programming (Mullen, 2003), to analyses of the relationship between the sports industry and the media industry from either an economic standpoint (Zimbalist, 2006), a cultural standpoint (Morse, 1983; Whannel, 1983), or both (Whannel, 1992). Other studies examine corporate ownership in the sports and media industries (Danielian, 1939; Bellamy Jr., & Walker, 2001; Harvey, Law, & Cantelon, 2001; Winseck, 2011). Regional sports networks are rarely the focus of academic studies. However, the subject does appear in studies that center on the sports media industry (Cave & Crandall, 2001; Walker & Bellamy Jr., 2008). Detailed academic studies on individual regional sports networks, such as NESN, are absent. A few scholars briefly discuss NESN in relation to sports culture (Sutton, McDonald, Milne, & Cimperman, 1997) and the sports media industry (Walker & Bellamy Jr., 2008).

The subsequent chapter examines various academic writings that ground this dissertation. First, this chapter presents studies that focus on cable television and satellite history. Then, there is an assessment of academic studies that use the base and superstructure model as a theoretical framework. A discussion on the base and superstructure model as a theoretical framework will establish a clearer understanding of the concept. Next, this chapter explores cultural studies that utilize the methodologies of political economy and textual analysis to examine media ownership and television programming. Lastly, there is an extensive discussion on sports media research, which covers topics such as regional sports networks, NESN, the sports/media complex, the base and superstructure model, and political economic and cultural studies. This chapter concludes with an explanation on how the reviewed literature sets up an historical and theoretical foundation for this dissertation.

Cable Television and Satellite History

A number of academic studies on the history of cable television and satellite technology are important to this dissertation as secondary sources. Some studies focus on the historical development of cable television programming and satellite technology (Streeter, 1987; Inglis & Luther, 1997; Mullen, 2003). Other studies present a broader history of the electronic media industry (Dominick, Messere, & Sherman, 2004) and television (Barnouw, 1990; Hilmes & Jacobs, 2003), in general. Michele Hilmes (2002) offers a cultural history of broadcasting in the United States, which focuses on audiences and texts, as well as social discourses and institutions. She examines broadcast media "as conduits for social and cultural power" (Hilmes, 2002, p. 4). Cultural producers, such as mass media institutions, manage the creation and distribution of programming, in a sense, controlling cultural products and content for audiences. However, audiences are not helpless against mass media institutions. Audiences have the power to choose what programs to consume, how much to consume, and what meanings to infer from the programs (Hilmes, 2002).

Timothy Hollins (1984) traces the historical development of cable television in the United States from the 1940s through the early 1980s. Hollins (1984) focuses on pay television and pay-per-view, economic uses of cable television, the role of consumers, and local and national cable services. Additionally, Hollins (1984) presents an historical snapshot of the growth of cable television in Boston. He touches upon financial summaries, licensing information, and the franchising process. In the 1970s, states and municipalities controlled the cable franchising process. Most city managers thought that cable television was "too risky, politically as well as economically, to justify spending tax dollars to construct a cable system" (Synchef, 1973, p. 243). Private ownership of cable television systems restricted access for viewers and limited control over telecommunications technology; whereas, municipal ownership of cable television systems increased localism if the cable television technology was used to serve the public interest. Robin A. Prager (1989) analyzes the cable franchising process in Massachusetts focusing on the years 1973 to 1981. Prager (1989) points out that small communities could not maintain their own cable systems; therefore, a cable provider, such as Cablevision, had to rely on revenue not only from Boston, but also from the rest of Massachusetts as well.

Richard A. Gershon (1990) presents a regulatory history of pay cable television focusing on the 1975 *Cable Television Report and Order* and the 1977 court case *Home Box Office, Inc. vs. the Federal Communications Commission*. One major component of both the 1975 *Cable Television Report and Order* and *HBO v. the FCC* was the anti-siphoning rules related to cable television programming, specifically sports. The lifting of the anti-siphoning rules in 1977 allowed national cable television networks to utilize sports programming to compete with local broadcasters. The combination of cable television and satellite transmission technology may have led to an increase in the number of regional sports networks in the 1980s.

The aforementioned secondary sources provide concise historical information on the cable television and satellite industries. For this dissertation, Hilmes (2002) offers an example of how cultural analysis can be used to examine the ownership structure of NESN and NESN programming. She focuses on audiences, institutions, and the television text, and how all of these elements impact each other. Hollins (1984) touches upon the historical development of cable television in Boston, and Synchef (1978) and Prager (1989) provide practical and thorough examinations of the cable franchising process at the municipal and state levels. All three studies establish a framework for examining the growth of cable television in Boston. Additionally, Gershon (1990) offers historical information that focuses on the impact of anti-siphoning rules on sports programming and the establishment of cable sports channels, such as ESPN, TBS, and regional sports networks.

The Base and Superstructure Model as a Theoretical Framework

The base and superstructure model has been used widely in the fields of political economy and cultural studies. Nicholas Garnham (1983) examines the political economic implications of information technology distribution in the United Kingdom. Mimi White (1992) uses the base and superstructure model to analyze the relationship between television programming and the television audience. Renee G. Lee and Jeff B. Murray (1995) apply the base and superstructure model in their study on the negative effects of advertising. Each of these studies offers examples on how to use the base and superstructure model as a theoretical framework to examine the political economic impact of media institutions and the cultural influences of mediated texts.

Garnham (1983) examines the political economic implications of information technology distribution in the United Kingdom. Information technologies, such as cable television and satellite, have been introduced into the cultural sphere as:

> An attempt not only to sell new hardware products, but also as an attempt by a range of cultural producers… to find new means of delivering audiovisual products for viewing on the domestic TV sets, which circumvent the control of that supply at present exercised by the publicly regulated broadcasting institutions. (Garnham, 1983, p, 118)

Most cultural producers operate in markets under economic constraints where cultural products are created for commercial purposes, or simply for companies to make money and succeed.

Cultural producers create products for audiences that serve as commodities, such as cable television programming.

Garnham (1983) argues against commercial broadcasting “as a mode of cultural production and consumption” (p. 120), and encourages a different form of broadcasting that is not dependent upon commercial markets. Garnham (1987) cites “it is cultural distribution, not cultural production, that is the key focus of power and profit” (p. 30). Creating and maintaining audiences is the foremost objective for cultural institutions. Cultural institutions create and maintain audiences by controlling the content and, most importantly, the distribution of programming.

Although Garnham (1983, 1987) does not directly cite the base and superstructure model as a theoretical framework, the base and superstructure model discreetly supports the theoretical framework of his reasoning. Garnham (1987) defines culture as “the production and circulation of symbolic meaning, as a material process of production and exchange, part of and in significant ways determined by, the wider economic processes of society with which it shares common features” (Garnham, 1987, p. 25). In this statement, the economic processes of society can be interpreted as the base, where the material process of production and exchange occurs. The economic processes of society determine how cultural products, which contain meanings, are produced and distributed in the superstructure. Further, Garnham (1983, 1987) demonstrates that the base, or the economic processes of society, is also part of the superstructure and not autonomous. Cultural institutions, which operate in commercial markets, maintain economic control through audiences and content distribution.

In her study on the relationship between the television text and the television audience, White (1992) focuses on the ideological processes of television programming. White (1992) is mainly concerned with how cultural artifacts, such as television programming, create specific positions and meanings for users, or television audiences. Television texts contain and insinuate specific meanings, or beliefs, ideas and values for audiences. The meanings of television texts converge and collide with commercial messages. Television audiences become a commodity through the placement of commercial messages in conjunction with the television text, which in turn positions audiences as potential consumers.

For White (1992), television production is an ideological process that commodifies audiences through messages in the television text and the placement of commercial messages in conjunction with the television text. The base, or the economic foundation of society, includes the modes of production, and determines the superstructure. White (1992) refers to the superstructure as the arrangement of cultural, political, legal, and ideological systems. Cultural producers own the modes of production, or the material and economic practices, which are within the base. Because the base determines the superstructure, the superstructure represents the economic interests of cultural producers. The economic interests of cultural producers become a part of the cultural and ideological systems within the superstructure.

Renee G. Lee and Jeff B. Murray (1995) use the base and superstructure model to examine the negative effects of advertising. Lee and Murray (1995) define the base as the relations and forces of production, and the superstructure as the State and popular culture. “The relationship between the base and the superstructure is reciprocal” (Lee & Murray, 1995, p. 140). In other words, both economic and cultural forces have an impact on cultural production and on each other. Additionally, the relationship between the base and the superstructure functions as social control (Lee & Murray, 1995). This means that images in advertisements, which seem to be unrepresentative of any ideology, have the power to influence consumers, and may benefit cultural producers even more by hiding "all connections to social interests and context" (Lee & Murray, 1995, p. 141).

The above studies demonstrate how to use the base and superstructure model as a theoretical framework for analyzing the political economic and cultural impact of media institutions and media texts. Although Garnham (1983, 1987) does not clearly use the base and superstructure metaphor, his argument focuses on the notion that media institutions, commercial or otherwise, function concurrently within the cultural (superstructure) and economic (base) spheres of society. For media institutions, audiences are commodities in the distribution process of information technologies. Positioning the audience as a commodity brings attention to the importance of the audience in the distribution and consumption process of cultural products, such as cable television programming. However, Garnham (1983, 1987) seems to take away the power that audiences may have in their decisions to purchase certain tiers of cable television programming, or to even purchase cable television programming at all. Media institutions appear to have complete control over audiences in that media institutions control distribution on an economic level as well as programming on a cultural level.

Like Garnham, White (1992) also positions the audience as a commodity in the production process, but focuses more on the audience as a commodity in the consumption process of cultural products. Audiences are commodified through the placement of commercials in relation to the television text. In viewing commercials during television programming, audiences become consumers in the production process. For White (1992), the production process is an ideological process where the television text contains meanings for audiences. White (1992) does not discuss the role of media institutions in the production process. The production process is also an ideological process for media institutions in that the meanings that are embedded within the television text are based on the beliefs and values of media producers.

In their study on the negative effects of advertising, Lee and Murray (1995) suggest not only examining the cultural factors that have led to harmful images in advertising, but also the economic conditions that have led to harmful images as well. Furthermore, Lee and Murray (1995) take into consideration the power of media institutions. Advertisements that seem unbiased are beneficial to media institutions and give media institutions the power to control messages that are conveyed to consumers, in turn, giving media institutions more influence over consumers. Similar to Garnham (1983, 1987), Lee and Murray (1995) position consumers as powerless against the messages in advertisements and media institutions. They do not examine other factors that impact the messages in advertisements, such as the ownership structure of a media institution.

Cultural Studies

This dissertation utilizes cultural studies, primarily political economy and textual analysis, to examine the historical significance of NESN. As mentioned before, Kellner (2011) divides cultural studies into three methodological approaches: political economy, textual analysis, and audience reception. This dissertation employs political economy to analyze the ownership structure of NESN and textual analysis to assess NESN programming. Political economic studies that ground this dissertation concentrate mainly on media ownership in the communications, film, and television industries (Danielian, 1939; Wasko, 2001; Winseck, 2011). Other studies (Hanke, 1990; Kellner, 1995) offer examples of how to use textual analysis as a methodology in examining film and television programming.

N. R. Danielian (1939) presents a succinct history of telecommunications company AT&T. Although the history does not pertain directly to this dissertation, Danielian (1939) provides vital information on how to conduct a thorough and precise historical analysis of a corporation. He begins with a corporate genealogy, which traces the ownership structure from the corporation to the parent company. Danielian (1939) consults documents, such as financial reports, investor communications, newspapers, press releases, advertising expenses, and court cases. The economic information is derived from scholars, government experts, and a 1935 Federal Communications Commission report on AT&T. The history of AT&T demonstrates that modern corporations are "political entities" (Danielian, 1939, p. 195), and within corporations, there are specific processes by which corporations operate and function. Janet Wasko (2001) takes a similar approach to a political economic analysis of the Disney Corporation. In her analysis, Wasko (2001) includes cultural products, such as film and television programming, corporate structure and activities, owners, company managers, employees, stockholders, and Disney's relationships with other companies.

Dwayne Winseck (2011) presents a brief overview of current trends in media ownership. For media corporations, the most common type of ownership is "vertical integration between the major U.S. television networks and Hollywood studios" (p. 21). In this case, vertical integration involves major media companies acquiring other media companies in order to maximize profits and maintain control over the production and distribution of their own products. For example, in 1985, Twentieth Century Fox, owned by News Corporation, acquired several independent television stations and created the Fox Network (Winseck, 2011). This allowed Twentieth Century Fox to produce and distribute films for theatres, which were later broadcast on Fox television stations. According to Winseck (2011), one of the effects of vertical integration on the media industry is that it has permitted film studios to distribute programming through broadcast, cable, and satellite television channels. “Television networks, in return, gain access to a steady source of film and television programs” (Winseck, 2011, p. 21). For some media companies, such as News Corporation and Comcast Corporation, sports are a key source of programming for their broadcast, cable, and satellite television channels.

The above political economic analyses present various methodologies and frameworks for this dissertation. Winseck (2011) sets up a foundation for analyzing the ownership structure of NESN. He focuses on the most common and current type of media ownership: vertical integration. The concept of vertical integration is also common in the sports media industry and can be applied to examine the ownership structure of NESN. Although Danielian (1939) does not present a contemporary history of AT&T, he does provide information on how to research and write a comprehensive history of a corporation. However, Danielian does not touch upon the cultural implications of AT&T. Wasko (2001) combines a corporate history of Disney with a cultural analysis of Disney products, such as film and television programming. She presents a close textual reading of Disney films, which calls attention to the importance of the visual text as a cultural product. Most importantly, Wasko provides a succinct methodology that combines historiography, political economy, and textual analysis.

In his study on gender and race representation in 1980s films, Douglas Kellner (1995) uses textual analysis to examine the *Rambo* film franchise. Through the use of low camera angles, lighting, and slow motion, Rambo is portrayed as “a superweapon” (Kellner, 1995, p. 66) within the filmic text. Fast-paced action shots are employed to signify Rambo’s superhuman ability and close-ups focus on Rambo’s muscular physique. In contrast, the protagonists are presented in close-ups that focus specifically on their angry faces rather than their entire bodies and are shown primarily in long shots during the battle scenes. Robert Hanke (1990) employs textual analysis to study representations of men in the primetime television program *thirtysomething*. In his analysis, Hanke (1990) examines various textual elements of each episode, such as characterization, narrative, and dialogue. Like Kellner (1995), Hanke (1990) offers an example of how textual analysis can be used to uncover hidden meanings presented in media content. In the studies, Kellner (1995) and Hanke (1990) focus on visual, aural, and narrative elements, such as camera angles, camera shots, dialogue, and characterization, which are used to create and present fictional images in film and television programming. Kellner (1995) and Hanke (1990) both find that socially accepted depictions of gender and race are reinforced through fictional representations in film and television programming. While the authors' findings are crucial to media and cultural studies, their analyses establish a methodological framework for using textual analysis to examine NESN programming in this dissertation.

Sports Media Research

The academic studies that focus on mediated sports range from the sociological to the cultural (Morse, 1983; Whannel, 1983, 1998) and from the economic (Jeanrenaud and Kesenne, 2006; Zimbalist, 2006) to the political economic (Jhally, 1984). Studies on regional sports networks concentrate on either the negative impact that regional sports networks have on consumers (Cave & Crandall, 2001; Jeanrenaud & Kessene, 2006), or the economic effects of regional sports networks on sports teams and sports media markets (Bellamy Jr., 1988; Bellamy Jr. & Walker, 2001). Few scholars stress the cultural importance of regional sports networks. Academic studies on specific regional sports networks, such as NESN, are nonexistent. This dissertation is concerned with political economic studies, rather than economic studies, as well as cultural studies that focus on the televised sports text. In addition, this dissertation examines sports media research that utilizes the theoretical frameworks of the sports/media complex and the base and superstructure model.

Within the academic realm, studies on regional sports networks focus mainly on the economic effects of regional sports networks. A few studies touch upon the cultural impact of regional sports networks. From a cultural standpoint, James R. Walker and Robert V. Bellamy Jr. (2008) state "RSNs [regional sports networks] play to the traditional source of a baseball's fan base: the fan of a local or nearby team" (p. 248). Although this statement establishes a framework for further examination on the cultural importance of regional sports networks, the authors do not analyze a specific regional sport network or offer any detailed evidence on how regional sports network use programming to connect to local sports culture. However, Walker and Bellamy Jr. (2008) say local home sports teams are important to local consumers and touch upon the concept of regionalization. Regional sports networks foster regionalization by offering programming geared toward local consumers, such as post- and pre-game shows. In examining the historical progression of regional broadcasting and the Chicago Cubs, Bellamy Jr. and Walker (2001) point out "professional sports… are an important dimension in the lives of millions of people and… in the psychic lives of the cities that have franchises" (p. 43). Historically, the Cubs have been closely associated with WGN in the Chicago media market. Both WGN and the Cubs are symbols of the city of Chicago, and are the perfect example of a home sports team and television network representing a city, or geographical area.

Generally, Walker and Bellamy Jr. (2008) focus on the economic implications of regional sports networks in relation to broadcast rights for Major League Baseball (MLB). Fees for regional broadcast rights have increased due to "the dual revenue stream of cable and satellite television” (p. 175). Advertising and subscriber fees for cable and satellite supplement broadcast money for most MLB teams. Further, the dual revenue stream of advertising and monthly subscriber fees provided by regional sports networks gives teams with regional sports networks a financial advantage over teams without regional sports networks (Bellamy Jr., 1988). Because regional sports networks use local game broadcasts as a key source of programming and advertising, they retain more market power than teams that do not air games on regional sports networks (Bellamy Jr. & Walker, 2001). In other words, teams that own and operate regional sports networks maintain a more profitable organization unlike teams without regional sports networks.

Claude Jeanrenaud and Stefan Kesenne (2006) state “vertical integration of teams and regional sports networks, along with bundling by cable companies, restrict competition and harm consumers’ interests” (9). Teams that own and operate regional sports networks limit competition within local television markets by siphoning programming from local broadcasters. Also, because regional sports networks are offered on cable television systems, viewers may have to pay to watch games of their local team, or teams, which local broadcasters once provided at no additional charge. Martin Cave and Robert W. Crandall (2001) argue that regional sports networks may not offer “optimal” (p. F20) programming for viewers. Today, most regional sports networks, such as Fox Sports Midwest or Comcast SportsNet Bay Area, offer viewers a mix of local programming, such as games and pre- and post-game shows, and national programming that focuses on boxing, poker, or college games from outside the broadcast area. Cave and Crandall (2001) interpret this type of programming lineup as limiting choices for viewers and shifting away from the purpose of regional broadcasting, which is to target local viewers with local programming.

The above studies establish a foundation for examining the cultural implications and economic implications of regional sports networks. Bellamy Jr. and Walker (2001) stress the cultural importance of regional sports networks in specific cities. Regional sports networks create a sense of localism, or regionalism, for consumers of home teams in specific communities or geographical areas. However, Bellamy Jr. and Walker (2001) do not discuss how regional sports networks impact the everyday lives of sports consumers through programming. What they do provide is a useful understanding of the economic implications of regional sports networks for MLB teams.

Jeanrenaud and Kessene (2006) also discuss access to regional sports network in relation to consumers' interests. Consumers' interests refer to the economic interests of sports viewers in that viewers have to pay to watch regional sports networks. Therefore, regional sports networks harm the economic interests, as well as the consumers' interests, of viewers. Further, Cave and Crandall (2001) argue that regional sports networks do not offer a wide selection of programming for sports viewers, and regional sports networks, such as Fox Sports Net Midwest and Comcast Sports Bay Area, limit the amount of localized programming. Most team owned and operated regional sports networks are not owned by major media corporations, such as News Corporation and Comcast. For that reason, team owned and operated regional sports networks, such as NESN, may offer more localized programming.

As mentioned before, academic studies on individual regional sports networks are absent. NESN is briefly mentioned in a few studies, but is not the focus of any specific analysis. Walker and Bellamy Jr. (2008) touch upon the historical significance of NESN in relation to MLB and television, and the ownership structure of NESN. One study (Zimbalist, 2006) discusses the economic implications of NESN, while another study (Sutton, McDonald, Milne, & Cimperman,

1997) touches upon the cultural implications of NESN. Most NESN studies are found in popular books that focus on the history of the Red Sox (Mnoonkin, 2006).

Walker and Bellamy Jr. (2008) cite that NESN is the first team owned and operated regional sports network. However, the authors overlook the fact that NESN is the first team created regional sports network. Elsewhere, Walker and Bellamy Jr. (2008) refer to the fact that the Red Sox partially share in the ownership of NESN. Because the focus of their study is on the relationship between MLB and the television industry, the authors do not mention that the Bruins own NESN as well. According to Andrew Zimbalist (2006), NESN has added substantially to the financial worth of the Red Sox. The economic implications of NESN are shown as impacting just the Red Sox. Zimbalist (2006) does not consider the economic value of NESN to the city of Boston, to the surrounding geographic area, or to the Bruins. Also, the possible cultural value of NESN to sports consumers and the community is not mentioned. William A. Sutton, Mark A. McDonald, George R. Milne, and John Cimperman (1997) optimistically cite the relationship between sports consumers and the Red Sox stating the team's "failure to win the championship [World Series]… has not stopped consumers from vigorously supporting the Red Sox by attending games and watching the games on NESN" (p. 15). The authors do not offer any evidence for this argument.

The preceding studies position NESN as a subject for scholarly research. However, most academic studies on regional sports networks lack balanced examinations on both the economic and cultural implications. Regional sports networks are detrimental for consumers on an economic level, yet foster a sense of localism, and represent specific teams, as well as cities, communities, or geographical areas. Regional sports networks augment profits for teams that own and operate regional sports networks which leave teams that do not own and operate regional sports networks at a financial disadvantage. The ownership structure of a team owned and operated regional sports network, such as NESN, has not been thoroughly examined at the scholarly level. In addition, regional sports network programming, which is geared toward local sports fans, has not been carefully analyzed.

Regional sports networks impact various economic and cultural factors in the sports media industry, such as ownership structure and televised programming. The sports/media complex provides a theoretical framework for examining the economic and cultural effects of regional sports networks, as well as mediated sports in general. Academic studies that utilize the sports/media complex as a theoretical framework range from analyses of televised sports (Messner, Duncan, & Wachs, 1996; Messner, Dunbar, & Hunt, 2000) to an explanation of the economic and cultural factors associated with the sports media industry (Jhally, 1984). The following studies provide various methods for using the sports/media complex as a theoretical framework to examine both the economic and cultural impact of mediated sports. The sports/media complex is linked to the base and superstructure model, which, in one study (Hoberman, 1984), is used to analyze the ideological impact of mediated sports.

Michael A. Messner, Margaret Carlisle Duncan, and Faye Linda Wachs (1996) examine television coverage of the 1993 NCAA Final Four Men's basketball and Women's basketball tournaments focusing on how the sports/media complex constructs audiences for the televised sports industry. They analyze three games each from the men's tournaments and women's tournaments looking specifically at visual and aural framing, as well as verbal commentary. Visual and aural framing includes aesthetic elements, such as editing, camera angles, graphics, and sound, presented in the games and in the post and pre-game coverage. Verbal commentary refers to the language the sports announcers use during games and in the pre-game and post-game shows. From the analysis, Messner, Duncan, and Wachs (1996) conclude “the television industry actively builds audiences for men’s games, while failing to do so for women’s games” (p. 105). The overabundance of men’s sports coverage is partly due to the decisions that television producers make to broadcast more men’s sports than women’s sports in a given season. Furthermore, the verbal commentary used in women’s sports coverage labels female athletes, and women’s sports, as “the derivative, inferior, gendered ‘other,’ while framing men athletes and their games as the universal, superior (nongendered) standard” (Messner, Duncan, & Wachs, 1996, p. 106). The sports/media complex affects television coverage of women’s sports and how female athletes are represented in the television text. In this sense, economic factors, such as the decisions made by television producers, directly impact cultural factors, such as how images of women are presented in televised sports programming.

For their study on the representation of gender in televised sports programming, Michael A. Messner, Michele Dunbar, and Darnell Hunt (2000) present a textual analysis of various sports programs and the television advertisements that were aired during the broadcasts of the sports programs. They examine the programs and advertising concentrating on “the narrow portrait of masculinity” (Messner, Dunbar, & Hunt, 2000, p. 380) in the television text and in the commentary. The scholars “allowed the dominant themes to emerge” (Messner, Dunbar, & Hunt, 2000, p. 381) from the textual analysis. These dominant themes include images of athletes in relation to aggression, violence, performing while injured, sports as warfare, and bravery. Messner, Dunbar, and Hunt (2000) conclude, “taken together, these themes codify a consistent and (mostly) coherent message about what it means to be man” (p. 390). Further, these themes of masculinity are driven by both the economic and cultural factors of the sports media industry, which come together to form the sports/media complex.

According to Messner, Dunbar, and Hunt (2000), a third factor of the sports/media complex is “the huge network of multi-billion-dollar automobile, snack food, alcohol, entertainment, and other corporate entities that sponsor sports events and broadcasts” (p. 391). In addition to sports programming, commercials shown in conjunction with televised sports reproduce and reinforce common ideals about hegemonic masculinity and present masculine images frequently associated with aggression and violence. This characteristic of televised sports signifies that the sports media industry is “dominated by men who have been raised in a system that has taught them to equate sports with men and masculinity” (Messner, Duncan, & Wachs, 1996, p. 107). Historically, men have dominated sports media ownership, which, in turn has impacted images presented in the televised sports text. For this dissertation, sports media research that utilizes the sports/media complex establishes a framework for analyzing the relationship between economic and cultural factors associated with the sports media industry. Moreover, the abovementioned studies provide examples on how to employ textual analysis as a methodological framework in conjunction with the sports/media complex to further assess the relationship between sports media ownership and the televised sports text.

Jhally (1984) discusses capital accumulation in relation to the material, or economic, and cultural factors of the sports media industry. According to Jhally (1984), “while professional sports organizations are cultural institutions, their existence is based on them as capitalist enterprises that are largely privately owned and are all profit-oriented” (p. 42). The sports industry and the mass media industry produce commodities, such as sports programming. Both industries rely on capital accumulation, which is derived from the consumption practices of consumers, for success. Further, mass media companies also own the means of production, or communication technologies used to create commodities such as cable networks or television programming. Because mass media companies own the means of production, mass media companies also control television programming for viewers. Viewers participate in consumption practices by watching television programming, including advertisements and the programming itself. The consumption practice of television viewers creates a surplus value for the mass media companies that own the means of production. This in turn gives more power to mass media companies in the control of television programming and communication technologies, such as cable networks.

Jhally (1984) does not explicitly use the base and superstructure model in his analysis of the material and cultural factors of sports media. However, the base and superstructure model is inherent in the fact that Jhally is looking at the material and cultural factors of sports media. Material factors are associated with the base, and cultural factors are associated with the superstructure. More specifically, material factors represent the means of production, which are owned by mass media institutions. The means of production functions on capital accumulation, which supports the economic conditions of mass media institutions. The economic conditions impact audiences through control of programming and communications technologies. “The economic role of the media is thus worked out within a cultural context” (Jhally, 1984, p. 48), or rather, the base, or economic structure of mass media institutions, operates within the superstructure, or culture.

Jhally (1984) further points out that mediated sports function as material, economic, cultural, and ideological institutions in society. Academic studies on mediated sports examine either, “the material and economic contexts,” (Jhally, 1984, p. 55) or “the ideological and cultural” (Jhally, 1984, p. 55) functions of mediated sports. Jhally (1984) stresses that material and economic factors function alongside cultural and ideological factors, in relation to television audiences and the ownership and control of mass communication technologies and programming. In this sense, the base, or economic conditions of sports institutions, functions alongside the superstructure through programming, mass communication technologies, and television audiences. The sports/media complex is related to the base and superstructure model as sports teams rely on economic factors, such as media money, to present programming to audiences. Programming provides a way for audiences to participate in sports culture.

Hoberman (1984) positions sports as an ideological institution and a part of everyday life. Sports remain ideological and a part of everyday life even in societies where sports have become commercialized by the media industry. Hoberman (1984) says sports do not fit the Marxist notion that ideology is derived from economic conditions, or that the base determines the superstructure. Sports represent an institution that is already cultural, as well as ideological, because sports are a part of everyday life. Therefore, sports are inherently part of the superstructure.

Hoberman (1984) and Jhally (1984) provide similar, yet different, frameworks for analyzing the cultural influences of NESN programming. Hoberman (1984) argues that sports are already a part of the everyday lives of consumers; therefore, sports are inherently part of the culture and ideological. Although this reasoning establishes a solid foundation for sports as an ideological and cultural institution, it does not take into consideration other factors, such as the ownership structure of a sports media institution. Jhally (1989) offers a theoretical framework, specifically the sports/media complex, for examining sports teams as both economic and cultural institutions. However, Jhally (1984) does not apply the sports/media complex to an analysis of an actual sports media institution. Further, Jhally (1984) overlooks the effects of the sports/media complex on televised programming. This dissertation develops a more nuanced framework of the sports/media complex, which is based on an historical, as well as a cultural, analysis of a sports media institution that exists and functions in the real world.

The following studies present various approaches to sports media research. Some studies take a political economic approach focusing on ownership structure and the sports media industry (Bellamy Jr. & Walker, 2001; Harvey, Law, & Cantelon, 2001). Other studies use textual analysis to examine televised sports programming (Morse, 1983, Whannel, 1983) as well as the impact of sports broadcasters' commentary (Desmarais & Bruce, 2009). Additional studies discuss culture in relation to sports spectators and television (Real & Mechikoff, 1992; Lever & Wheeler, 1997). For this dissertation, each study establishes a framework for using cultural studies, mainly political economy and textual analysis, to examine the ownership structure of NESN and NESN programming. Because this dissertation utilizes historiography as the overarching methodology, the first study that is discussed provides the most beneficial and comprehensive historical study on sports and television.

In *Center Field Shot: A History of Baseball on Television*, Walker and Bellamy Jr. (2008) present a succinct history on the relationship between baseball and the television industry. Walker and Bellamy Jr. (2008) focus on various aspects of the baseball and television industry dynamic, such as economic and cultural factors, government regulation, and technological innovations. Most importantly, the authors touch upon historical information regarding regional sports networks and NESN. Although the authors do not ground the research in one specific theoretical framework, their methodological approach provides a guideline for this dissertation. Walker and Bellamy Jr. (2008) utilize primary sources, such as newspapers, trade journals, magazines, sports archives, and interviews. In relation to the television industry, Walker and Bellamy Jr. (2008) present information drawn from television broadcast ratings, press releases, personal communications, FCC documents, and court cases. The authors supplement the primary sources with secondary sources, such as academic journal articles and books.

According to George H. Sage (2000), a political economic approach to sports media research examines three factors, which includes corporate ownership, government involvement in the professional sports industry, and market structure. Corporate ownership in the professional sports industry relies on privatization "and is structured to maximize profit" (Sage, 2000, p. 266). Corporate ownership in the professional sports industry is often tied to media ownership. Harvey, Law, and Cantelon (2001) identify five common models of sports media ownership. The first model refers to sports teams that are owned by major media conglomerates, such as AOL Time Warner (Atlanta Braves, Atlanta Hawks, and Atlanta Thrashers) and News Corporation (Los Angeles Dodgers). The second model involves horizontally and vertically integrated media companies that own sports teams, but are not global conglomerates. The third type of ownership structure focuses on corporations that own sports teams, but earn key assets from other entertainment venues, such as Las Vegas casinos. The fourth sports media ownership type concerns venture capitalists that also own software or computer corporations in addition to sports teams. The final sports media ownership model is integrated media companies that operate on a regional or local level, such as the Buffalo Sabres, which are owned by Adelphi Communications (Harvey, Law, & Cantelon, 2001).

The current trends in sports media ownership signify that "ownership of sports franchises is becoming increasingly important to the competitive strategies of media interest as they compete for control of delivery and infrastructure and media market share" (Harvey, Law, & Cantelon, 2001, p. 454). Today, ownership of sports franchises has become more salient in terms of media integration. Overall, Bellamy Jr. and Walker (2001) find that "some combination of corporate ownership and vertically integrated ownership of teams and television distribution outlet" (p. 42) is ideal for sports broadcasting markets. Yet, corporate ownership in the professional sports industry is counterintuitive to the concepts of community and localism. Professional sports are an important part of everyday life and at times a reflection of the cities where professional sports franchises operate.

For this dissertation, Harvey, Law, and Cantelon (2001) present a basic understanding of corporate ownership structure in the sports media industry. However, the authors do not discuss a model which focuses on the ownership structure of team created, owned and operated regional sports networks. Harvey, Law and Cantelon (2001) overlook sports media institutions that are owned by sports teams. In the case of NESN, the Red Sox and the Bruins own NESN, NESN does not own the sports teams. Since 2001, the sports media industry has gone through some major changes particularly for sports media ownership. For example, News Corporation no longer owns the Los Angeles Dodgers, but still holds interests in sports programming with ownership of several regional sports networks. This alone indicates a need for updated research on sports media ownership as to the historical importance of regional sports networks. Although Bellamy Jr. and Walker (2001) touch upon the impact of sports media ownership regarding community and localism, neither study analyzes the actual televised text of sports programming and how the text is impacted by ownership structure.

Michael R. Real and Robert A. Mechikoff (1992) analyze the impact of televised sports and advertising, "examining the deep play at work in media sports spectating" (p. 324). The televised text allows sports consumers to participate in sports culture on a daily basis. Further, the televised sports text presents images that can be interpreted in multiple ways "within the interpretive framework of fans" (Real & Mechikoff, 1992, p. 324). Sports fans understand particular representations in the televised sports text, which are, at times, only comprehensible in the context of their national, regional, or local sports culture. The televised sports text contains aesthetic elements, such as on-screen graphics, emotional and entertaining commentary, close-up shots, and instant replays. The aesthetic elements, along with advertising and television technology, draw in home viewers and offer "other material unavailable to the live spectator in the stadium" (Real & Mechikoff, 1992, p. 325). Overall, Real and Mechikoff (1992) conclude televised sports "provides a language or interpretive structure that at once reflects, explains, and interprets social life" (p. 337). In other words, televised sports programming influences sports culture through the televised text and is connected to the everyday lives of sports fans.

Janet Lever and Stanton Wheeler (1993) cite sport as an institution that "brings people together across age, class, regional, and ethnic boundaries and gives them a shared focus for discussion and, perhaps, especially, an opportunity to express identification, commitment, and emotion while doing little permanent damage" (p. 142). Sports are a shared experience and impact individual identification. Individual sports consumers are part of a collective membership in communities where sports teams represent cities and communities. Mediated sports are socially constructed, crucial in the formation of identification, and create local and regional identities among sports consumers in specific communities (Clarke & Clarke, 1982; Hargreaves, 1982). In addition, mediated sports, such as regional sports network programming, allow audiences to partake in sports culture, and in the culture of a city and sports team.

Sutton, McDonald, Milne, and Cimperman (1997) describe the process of participating in the culture of a sports team as "fan identification" (p. 15). Fan identification is the "personal commitment and involvement customers have with a sports organization" (p. 15). Regional sports networks cultivate fan identification by providing specific programming to local audiences within communities. Lever and Wheeler (1993) argue that television, in general, may weaken fan identification in sports. Sports have become a source of mass media entertainment, which has changed loyalties and commitments that consumers once presented in childhood. In other words, the profit-driven values of sports organizations and media institutions have become more salient than the cultural importance of any sports team or sports organization.

For this dissertation, Sutton, McDonald, Milne, and Cimperman (1997) offer a way to measure fan identification. Although they apply fan identification to motivational factors, such as time and money, which they associate with why people watch sports, they do not connect fan identification to the televised sports text. Lever and Wheeler (1993) offer a more nuanced idea of identification that focuses on television as one of the central causes in the growth of sports consumerism. However, they overlook the fact that the content, as well as live commentary, presented in televised sports programming may have an impact on sports culture and sports consumerism. Real and Mechikoff (1992) connect sports fans to the televised text, but do not present a textual analysis of televised sports programming. Each study stresses the importance of the televised sports programming in the everyday lives of fans and sports culture.

Turning to cultural studies and televised sports programming, Garry Whannel (1998) discusses how textual analysis can be used as a methodology to examine the relationship between sports viewers and the televised sports text. Whannel (1998) suggests focusing on the narrative structure, modes of address, and “points of identification” (p. 232) within the television text. “Points of identification” (Whannel, 1983, p. 61) refer to the instances that connect sports consumers to the television text. Television presents “points of identification” (Whannel, 1983, p. 61), such as close-ups of certain players, different camera angles, and a particular selection of shots. These aesthetic elements connect sports viewers to the television text as the aesthetic elements signify a sense of reality for viewers. For example, a fan watching a game on television can see something that he/she would not normally see in the stadium, such as a close-up of a particular player. Modes of address within the television text, such as game announcers speaking to the home audience, also offer viewers “points of identification,” (Whannel, 1998, p. 232) and can heighten reality for viewers as well. Although each televised game provides viewers with the anticipation of what might happen and which team will win, television dictates the narrative structure of entire seasons (Whannel, 1983). National television schedules omit some games and some teams from national broadcasts. This, in turn, reminds viewers what games and which teams are important.

Margaret Morse (1983) also examines the relationship between viewers and televised sports. She looks at the differences between televised sports and sports presented in the stadium and how those differences may impact the connection viewers have with sports on a sociological and ideological level. Morse (1983) presents a textual analysis of televised football that focuses on aesthetic elements, such as the use of slow motion, long camera lenses, close-up shots, editing, camera placement, sound, on-screen graphics, and broadcasters’ commentary. She analyzes the mise-en-scene of the televised text, which includes lighting, crowd shots, colors, and uniforms. Morse (1983) discovers that the televised sports text offers “a closed diegetic world represented by switching video cameras and narrated by announcers-commentators” (p. 48). Additionally, the televised sports text offers spectators several viewpoints that can change throughout a broadcast. Various aesthetic elements and shifting perspectives of the televised sports text can create collective identifications within specific localities and impact the content presented in the televised sports text (Morse, 1983).

While visual and aural elements presented in the televised sports are essential to constructing meanings and messages for television viewers, sports commentary may also influence local sports culture by calling attention to specific meanings and messages that are associated with particular sports teams or geographic areas. In countries, such as New Zealand and France, televised rugby matches differ as to how commentators cover the sport (Desmarais & Bruce, 2009). The key distinctions are length of broadcasts, type of audiences, focus of commentary, and the technique of the sportscasters. New Zealand commentators educate viewers, while, at the same time, acknowledging the expertise of diehard rugby fans. In France, commentators entertain viewers while playing to the national tradition of the sport. Additionally, sportscasters recognize regional audiences particularly in the Southwest of France where fans are extremely well informed and are “imagined as having a strong traditional family following handed down from one generation to the other” (Desmarais & Bruce, 2009, p. 133). The techniques used by the commentators vary in tone, pitch, accent, attitude, speed, volume, and depth. Because sportscasters in New Zealand educate, more than entertain viewers, the focus of the commentary is on the game, is serious in tone, and is comprised of strong and masculine language. In France, the sportscasters utilize witty, dismissive language, such as puns and onomatopoeia. Also, their speech is more cheerful and slower paced than in New Zealand rugby coverage (Desmarais & Bruce, 2009).

Despite the dissimilarities between sports commentary in New Zealand and France, Desmarais and Bruce (2009) point out that for both countries it is a “balancing act of communicating to different groups” (p. 134). This line of thought can also be applied to sportscasters in the United States. National televised sporting events present teams that are based in different cities. In this case, sportscasters need to provide commentary that connects to specific fans in those cities while simultaneously maintaining a national audience. Furthermore, in order for a sportscaster "to capture and hold an audience it is necessary to create commentary that connects with it" (Desmarais & Bruce, 2009, p. 134). Sportscasters for regional sports networks need to provide commentary that holds the attention of a local audience, and relates to a local audience as well. For example, many regional sports networks use sportscasters that are former players or from the local area. Being a former player signifies that a sportscaster may be more knowledgeable about the team or city. Moreover, a local sportscaster, specifically one who grew up in the region, may connect more easily with viewers simply because of the sportscasters' accent or the sportscasters' personal connection to the city and team.

The preceding studies offer various ways on how to use textual analysis to examine the televised sports text. Whannel (1983) and Morse (1983) provide precise methods that focus on various aural and visual aesthetic elements. Desmarais and Bruce (2009) examine sports commentary taking a narrow approach which focuses on how commentators use language to create a sense of localism for fans. Whannel, (1983) and Morse (1983) touch upon economic factors of mediated sports. However, sports media ownership is not the focal point of the economic aspects. Overall, Whannel (1992) stresses the importance of analyzing the economic level of mediated sports in relation to the cultural level of mediated sports. Whannel (1992) argues that "the production of entertainment is both a cultural-ideological and an economic practice" (p. 6). The economic practices of sports institutions, as well as media institutions, support the cultural production of mediated sports. Regional sports networks operate on a more localized level than national sports broadcasters, such as ESPN and FOX Sports, and may impact programming differently.

Conclusion

The literature reviewed contains the most relevant and useful theoretical frameworks, methodologies, and findings. However, the studies are not without limitations. One major weakness is that none of the historical studies present efficient guidelines for exploring the history of a specific regional sports network. Another disadvantage is that the majority of studies use either political economic analysis (Bellamy Jr. & Walker, 2001; Harvey, Law, & Cantelon, 2001) or textual analysis (Whannel, 1983; Morse, 1983) as methodologies. A few studies (Real & Mechikoff, 1992; Wasko, 2001) combine political economy and textual analysis. Yet, even those studies lean more toward one methodology or the other. Finally, although some of the studies are concerned with content, as well as sports commentary, presented in the televised sports text (Messner, Dunbar, & Hunt, 2000; Desmarais & Bruce, 2009), there are no focused studies on the relationship between sports media ownership and sports programming.

Overall, the intention of this dissertation is to add to the aforementioned literature of sports media history research. For cable television and satellite history, this dissertation provides a clear understanding on how sport teams utilized cable television and satellite technology to establish regional sports networks and to create niche programming within local television markets, which targets local sports consumers. Also, this dissertation presents a comprehensive examination of a specific regional sports network and seeks to bring attention to the importance of the relationship between sports media ownership and sports programming. According to Real and Mechikoff (1992), "the symbiosis between sports and media contribute to the continued growth of each and increases the presence of sports in the everyday environment of sports fans" (p. 326). Before the Red Sox and the Bruins created NESN, the teams were already an important part of the local sports culture. Over the years, NESN programming has allowed fans to connect to the Red Sox and the Bruins on a daily basis. Ultimately, this dissertation combines political economy and textual analysis in order to analyze the ownership structure of NESN and how NESN uses programming to connect to local sports culture. Most importantly, this dissertation uses the academic literature to build a solid theoretical framework for understanding how, historically, political economic and cultural factors, such as sports media ownership and sports programming, are tied together and function in the real world.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

This dissertation examines the historical significance of New England Sports Network (NESN). More specifically, this dissertation analyzes the impact of the ownership structure of NESN on NESN programming and explores how NESN uses programming to connect to local sports culture. This dissertation utilizes the overarching methodology of historiography, as well as elements of cultural studies, mainly political economy and textual analysis. Political economy is employed to analyze the ownership structure of NESN and how the ownership structure of NESN impacts NESN programming. Textual analysis is used to assess how NESN connects to local sports culture through televised sports programming. The theoretical frameworks of the base and superstructure model and the sports/media complex are used to conduct a critical analysis of how NESN functions as both a political economic and cultural institution in society.

The following chapter focuses on the various methods used in this dissertation. This chapter begins with a discussion on the historical sources used, the location of the sources, and how the sources explain the historical significance of NESN. Second, this chapter details how political economy and textual analysis are applied to examine the ownership structure of NESN and NESN programming. Then, there is a discussion on how the theoretical frameworks of the base and superstructure model and the sports/media complex are employed to conduct a critical analysis of how NESN functions as a both a political economic and cultural institution. Finally, this chapter concludes with a discussion on how the use of historiography and cultural analysis elucidates the historical significance of NESN, as well the political economic and cultural importance of NESN's ownership structure and NESN programming. Additionally, this chapter touches upon the limitations of the methodologies.

Historiography

Historiography, or historical research, “is a form of inquiry into the past that asks questions about the things people have done and elicits answers based on evidence. In that process there is a story to be told and truth to be found” (Startt & Sloan, 1989, p. 2). Historical research relies on facts to explain the unfolding of past events and how those events create a particular story. For example, this dissertation uses historical sources, such as company papers, trade journals, newspapers, and television programming, to tell the story of how NESN was created and how the network functioned in the first five years of operation. Historians base research on evidence, interpretation, and narrative (Startt & Sloan, 1989). Evidence generally refers to the historical record, or “an account of what real people in the past did or failed to do” (Startt & Sloan, 1989, p. 3), such as a newspaper article or company memo. Interpretation focuses on how the past is put together from the evidence available to the historian. Narrative involves presenting history through writing and telling a story.

Historical research allows scholars to study the past in terms of the human condition (Startt & Sloan, 1989). Historians can examine preceding events and attempt to understand them as to how those events impacted people, the relationships between people, and the social circumstances of a particular point in time. In addition, historical research takes into account the thoughts and actions of people, and can be used with other methods, such as political economic analysis and textual analysis, to present a more nuanced depiction of a past event (Startt & Sloan, 1989). Communication history, which focuses on “how people communicated and how communications interacted with society in the past” (Startt & Sloan, 1989, p. 15), enables scholars to combine various histories, such as political, economic, and cultural history, to study the historical significance of a mass communication institution, such as NESN. This dissertation utilizes a mixed approach that centers on historiography and cultural analysis, specifically political economic analysis and textual analysis.

The historical evidence for this dissertation is derived from various primary sources and secondary sources. The primary sources consist of newspapers, trade publications, and magazines. The newspapers include: *Boston Globe* (Boston, Massachusetts), *Boston Herald* (Boston, Massachusetts), *Burlington Free Press* (Burlington, Vermont), *Chicago Tribune, Christian Science Monitor, Globe & Mail*, *Hartford Courant* (Hartford, Connecticut), *New York Times*, *Portland Press Herald* (Portland, Maine), *Providence Journal* (Providence, Rhode Island), *Worcester Telegram* (Worcester, MA), *Union Leader* (Manchester, New Hampshire), *Wall Street Journal*, and *Washington Post*. Major newspapers, such as *Chicago Tribune*, *New York Times*, and *Wall Street Journal*, are accessible online through the ProQuest Historical Newspapers database; *Globe & Mail* and *Washington Post* are available online through the LexisNexis Academic database; and *Christian Science Monitor* is available online through the LexisNexis Academic database and at the Morris Library (Southern Illinois University Carbondale) on microfilm. The majority of newspapers, such as *Boston Herald*, *Burlington Free Press*, *Hartford Courant*, *Portland Press Herald*, *Providence Journal*, *Worcester Telegram*, and *Union Leader*, are obtainable on microfilm at the Boston Public Library. *Boston Globe*, the most comprehensive newspaper source for this dissertation, is available at Morris Library on microfilm.

For this dissertation, *Boston Globe*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Globe & Mail*, *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *Washington Post* are used to provide information on the history of the cable television and satellite industries, sports and cable television programming, and regional sports networks. *Boston Globe* is also used to locate evidence on the development of cable television in Boston. Although *Boston Globe* offers the most useful information on the creation and early history of NESN, other New England-based newspapers, such as *Boston Herald*, *Burlington Free Press* (Vermont), *Hartford Courant* (Connecticut), *Portland Press Herald* (Maine), *Providence Journal* (Rhode Island), *Worcester Telegram* (Massachusetts), and *Union Leader* (New Hampshire), are examined to determine if other communities throughout New England received the NESN cable channel.

In addition to newspapers, other primary sources are examined for historical evidence as well. *Variety*, a trade publication, is consulted for historical information on the cable television and satellite industries, sports and cable television programming, and regional sports networks. *Variety* is available on microfilm at the Morris Library. Magazines, such as *Adweek* and *Businessweek*, are also used to provide information on the history of the cable television and satellite industries, sports and cable television programming, and regional sports networks. Both magazines are accessible online through the LexisNexis Academic database.

All primary sources cover the years 1940 to 1989. More specifically, the primary sources that provide evidence on the history of the cable television and satellite industries, as well as sports and cable television programming, focus on the years 1940 to 1989. Because sports teams were not given the opportunity to expand local broadcast rights until after the Federal Communications Commission relaxed broadcasting rules and new direct-to-home technology was introduced in 1979 (Cave & Crandall, 2001), the historical evidence that focuses on regional sports networks is taken from information published from 1980 to 1989. As far as the development of cable television in Boston, the years examined are 1970 to 1989, which is a crucial timeframe in relation to the history of cable television in Boston. Finally, the historical evidence that pertains to the creation and early history of NESN is derived from information presented in the primary sources from 1980 to 1989, explicitly focusing on March and April of 1984. The historical information from March and April of 1984 covers the few weeks prior to NESN's debut on March 22, 1984 as well as NESN's first month of operation. The secondary sources for this dissertation provide beneficial historical evidence on NESN, regional sports networks, sports media, and the cable television and satellite industries.

Cultural Analysis

According to Kellner (1995), cultural analysis of media focuses on "how media culture transcodes the positions within existing political struggles and in turn provides representations which mobilize consent to specific political positions through images, spectacle, discourse, narrative, and the other forms of media culture" (p. 62). In other words, mediated texts contain socially constructed images, which are embedded with various meanings and ideologies. Cultural analysis is used to concisely examine mediated texts in order to understand how various meanings and ideologies are produced, presented, and interpreted. This dissertation employs elements of cultural analysis, primarily political economy and textual analysis, to examine the ownership structure of NESN and NESN programming. Combining political economic and textual analysis provides a way to better understand how ownership structure may impact the meanings and ideologies embedded within the televised sports text, and how those meanings and ideologies are associated with local sports culture.

Political economic analysis focuses on the production, distribution, and consumption of resources (Mosco, 2009). Political economic analysis examines how media institutions control the production and distribution of resources and how media consumers take part in the consumption of those resources. Institutional political economic analysis concentrates on "the organizational structure of the economy, not the market," where "the production, distribution, and exchange of goods and service" (Mosco, 2009, p. 52) are the driving influence. Institutional political economy allows scholars to analyze organizational structures, such as NESN, in terms of history, sociology of company actions, limitations and access to technology, societal values, laws, and culture. For this dissertation, institutional political economic analysis is used to examine the ownership structure of NESN.

Tracing the ownership of a company involves analyzing various primary sources, such as company records, financial reports, and incorporation papers. Other primary sources, such as newspapers, magazines, trade publications, and court cases, are consulted to provide additional historical information that may not be available in company records. Because NESN was incorporated in Massachusetts, company documents, such as annual reports, limited partnership certificates, and articles of organization, can be found by contacting the Secretary of the Commonwealth, Corporations Division, located in Boston. Annual reports, limited partnership certificates, and articles of organization may refer to financial information, the people who started and operated the company, and how the company was incorporated in Massachusetts. Transcripts of court cases can be found online through the LexisNexis Academic database. For this dissertation, tracing the ownership of NESN will lead to historical information that explains how NESN was created and how the network functioned as a media corporation within the local area.

This dissertation examines culture as "a whole way of life" (Williams, 1961, p. 40). NESN is interpreted as impacting the everyday lives of sports consumers through NESN programming. For sports consumers, watching televised sports programming is a way to connect to a specific team or teams. Sports on television have become part of the everyday lives of consumers through consumption practices and routines. Consumers can rearrange daily schedules and establish daily rituals for televised sports viewing (Real, 1998). In this dissertation, NESN programming is analyzed for specific visual and aural elements which allow NESN to connect to local sports culture on a daily basis.

The programming of NESN is examined through textual analysis. Textual analysis focuses on how specific cultures in specific historical times made sense of their world through media, advertising, clothing, and other cultural products (McKee, 2003). Researchers analyze these cultural texts as situated within a specific historical time and interpret a range of textual meanings. These meanings demonstrate how cultures understand the world. Cultural texts, such as television programming, create specific positions and meanings for consumers of those texts (White, 1992). For this dissertation, textual analysis will uncover meanings presented in NESN programming which relate to local sports culture.

The textual analysis begins with a brief examination of fictional sport films and television programs prevalent in the 1980s. This establishes a foundation for the primary textual analysis and sets up a general framework for the various visual and aural elements used in fictionalized representations of sports, which sometimes carry over into live televised sports broadcasts. For instance, in most sports films, a visual technique, such as slow motion, is regularly used to emphasize important moments in the action. In films such as *Raging Bull* (1980) and *Rocky III* (1982) slow motion highlighted the knock out of an opponent by Jake LaMotta or Rocky Balboa; in *The Natural* (1984), the deliberate, slowed movement of Roy Hobbs' bat signified an upcoming big hit as well as a critical moment in the text. In live sports broadcasts, slow motion is used in instant replays, which highlight previous action within the televised event. Fictionalized references to local sports culture are also identified in the films and television programs and analyzed as to how those perceptions reproduce common themes associated with local sports culture presented in the live televised sports text. For example, the television program, *Cheers* (1982-1993), set in Boston, focused on local sports culture featuring occasional guest stars, such as Wade Boggs and Luis Tiant of the Boston Red Sox, the mise-en-scene of the bar, and the characters, who were avid Boston sports fans.

The primary textual analysis examines a Red Sox-Mariners game in which pitcher Roger Clemens set a MLB record striking out twenty batters in a single game. According to an online article celebrating the 25th anniversary of the record breaking game, which NESN originally aired live on April 29, 1986, “Clemens' performance drew many followers to this new channel called NESN, and fans kept coming back for each of his outings, hoping to see a similar performance from the Rocket” (“Roger Clemens 20 Strikeout,” 2011). The textual analysis of the NESN game (1986) focuses on visual and aural elements, which are further assessed for references to local sports culture. To establish a general framework for a textual analysis of a regional sports network telecast, a St. Louis Cardinals baseball game, which aired July 8, 2011 on FSN Midwest, owned by FOX Sports, is examined. A rebroadcast of a Houston Astros baseball game which was originally televised on Home Sports Entertainment, a regional sports network that was on the air in 1986, is also analyzed, as well as national baseball broadcasts which originally aired on NBC Sports and ABC Sports. All baseball broadcasts were rebroadcast on ESPN Classic, a program featured on the ESPN cable channel, in 2011. Because the games were edited for rebroadcast a certain amount of manipulation is expected regarding the number of innings and amount of action presented in the rebroadcast. However, the original game action, such as particular plays, the broadcasters’ commentary, and specific visual and aural elements, is predicted to not have changed. Analyzing other baseball broadcasts aired in 1986 allows for a comparison of the various visual and aural elements utilized by both national and regional sports networks.

The overall textual analysis focuses on two key elements: visual techniques and the game announcers' commentary (aural techniques), which are assessed for references to local sports culture. The analysis of the visual text begins with an examination of camera shots, the use of slow motion instant replay, on-air graphics, changes in points-of-view (Morse, 1983), the mise-en-scene, and "points of identification" (Whannel, 1998, p. 232), which give television viewers a way to connect to the televised text and to local sports culture. For instance, during live sports broadcasts, camera shots, specifically crowd shots and shots of the stadium (Morse, 1983) pull television viewers into the televised text. Home viewers become a part of the televised sports text by seeing the onscreen crowd and different shots of the stadium. This, in turn, allows television viewers to participate in local sports culture by giving them a sense of being at the actual game. In addition, on-air graphics provide "points of identification" (Whannel, 1983, p. 61) for television viewers. Periodically, on-air graphics are used to alert television viewers of upcoming promotions at future games, to explain statistical data of a home team player, or advertise a local charity or event. Generally, the on- air graphics are combined with game announcers calling attention to the information being presented.

The examination of the game announcers' commentary focuses on narrative structure, modes of address (Whannel, 1998), aural techniques used in conjunction with visual techniques, such as crowd shots, as well as references to elements of local culture, and voice (Desmarais & Bruce, 2009). In many live sports broadcasts, the game announcers set up the narrative for specific games and speak directly to home viewers. For example, in the NESN broadcast (1986), the game announcers welcome back television viewers after a commercial break stating: "… if you just joined us," and then proceed to recap the game for the home audience. During locally aired sporting events game announcers tend to discuss people, such as a particular coach, ownership, or even former players associated with the home team. Generally, local fans are already familiar with the latest news or gossip about the home team prior to broadcast, and have a tremendous amount of knowledge regarding the home team. Additionally, characteristics of the local culture are often highlighted within the commentary of regional broadcasts. The voice of a specific broadcaster, or broadcasters, can also provide a sense of localism for home viewers. For instance, the voice of Los Angeles Dodgers broadcaster Vin Scully not only represents a tradition associated with Dodgers baseball, but also symbolizes a key piece of Los Angeles sports culture. A recognizable narrative, an identifiable element of local culture, and the familiar voice of a broadcaster offer viewers means to connect to the home team, as well as to local sports culture.

Critical Analysis

In historical research, critical analysis is employed at the level of interpretation (Sloan, 1991). First, meanings are found in historical facts, such as people, events, and ideas. Then, the meanings of those facts are explained as to how they fit into the broader historical, social, and cultural context. This dissertation uses the theoretical frameworks of the base and superstructure model and the sports/media complex to critically analyze the historical and cultural information. The theoretical frameworks of the base and superstructure model and the sports/media complex permit the information to be interpreted in relation to a broader historical, social, and cultural context.

Raymond Williams's (1961) reworking of the base and superstructure model is used as a theoretical framework to analyze the impact of the ownership structure of NESN on NESN programming. The base and superstructure model allows this dissertation to analyze political economic factors, such as ownership structure, and cultural products, such as sports programming, as having an impact on each other and local sports culture. To present a critical analysis that connects to the sports media industry, this dissertation also uses the theoretical framework of the sports/media complex to examine the connection between the ownership structure of NESN, NESN programming, and local sports culture. NESN is a cable television network that provides a mediated product to sports consumers. In this sense, NESN creates a *mediated cultural* experience for sports consumers. The sports/media complex allows NESN programming to be interpreted as economically beneficial for the network, but also as a way for NESN to connect to local sports culture. For example, the programming that NESN offers is geared towards specific sports fans. NESN provides fans of the Red Sox and the Bruins with targeted programming that fits the interests of those specific consumers. Fans of the Red Sox and Boston Bruins partake in the culture of the teams by watching the teams on NESN. In turn, NESN is guaranteed a specific audience for their programming.

Conclusion

Historiography, political economic analysis, and textual analysis are valuable methodologies for this dissertation. However, the limitations of the methods cannot be overlooked. First, because original broadcasts of the baseball games were unavailable, the games analyzed are rebroadcasts aired on ESPN Classic. Although the amount of manipulation is limited as to the original televised sport text (i.e. a live baseball game cannot be recreated for a rebroadcast) some manipulation of the original text is expected. For example, the games are edited to fit into a two-hour time slot, which means ESPN had to shorten or cut out some innings.

Information that may have appeared in the original televised text will not be examined in the textual analysis. At the same, because the games are available on cable television, and recordable, the games can be watched an unlimited number of times, which allows for a more thorough analysis. Secondly, because this dissertation employs only two of the three methodologies that, according to Douglas Kellner (2011), comprise cultural analysis, the findings may not fully illuminate the historical significance of NESN. A more defined study on the effects of NESN programming on local sports fans may be warranted. Adding reception studies to the political economic and textual analysis in a future study may provide a more nuanced explanation of the historical significance of NESN.

Lastly, textual analysis is a method used to measure how NESN uses its programming to connect to local sports culture on an interpretative level. In other words, the results of the textual analysis only explain how NESN used its programming to connect to local sports culture. Textual analysis does not provide definitive proof that NESN programming is connected to local sports culture. Other arguments toward the limits of textual analysis are that it is only significant to narrative film, it does not take into consideration the production and audience reception of a text, it overlooks the naturalness of the text as a whole, and it diminishes a film by reducing it to its “systemic skeleton” (Stam, 2000, p. 193). To evade these limitations of textual analysis, this dissertation places NESN programming into the larger context of NESN’s history. Furthermore, while this dissertation does not take into account the reception of NESN programming, this dissertation does employ political economy to examine how the ownership structure of NESN impacts NESN programming through specific production techniques and how NESN uses those production techniques to connect to local sports culture.

Overall, the methods discussed in this chapter are used to conduct a comprehensive analysis of the creation and early history of NESN. Historiography is employed to gather information and to tell the story of NESN. Political economic analysis and textual analysis are used to examine the ownership structure of NESN and NESN programming. The theoretical frameworks of the base and superstructure model and the sports/media complex are used to conduct a critical analysis of the historical and cultural information. The combination of the methodologies helps to highlight the importance of the ownership structure of NESN and how the ownership structure of NESN impacts NESN programming. Additionally, the mixed methodological approach of this dissertation helps to explore how NESN connects to local sports culture via the televised sports text.

CHAPTER 4

THE HISTORY: CABLE, SATELLITE, SPORTS, AND NESN

In the 1940s, cable television began as a technological method to extend the reach of broadcast signals into remote areas (Mullen, 2003). Communities were able to use cable technology to deliver specialized programming to local television viewers (Le Duc, 1973). The technology of cable television, and later satellite, promised a future filled with an almost endless selection of channels and a variety of programming. Televised sports were a major source of programming for cable television both nationally and locally. In the 1980s, regional sports networks were formed to broadcast local telecasts of home teams (Walker and Bellamy Jr., 2008). A home team that creates and maintains a regional sports network in a specific community connects to the everyday lives of sports consumers through television programming that focuses on the home team. New England Sports Network (NESN) is the first team created, owned and operated regional sports network, and, as of today, continues to televise Red Sox and Bruins games as well as other sports related programming throughout the New England region. This chapter explores the historical significance of NESN. In addition, this chapter establishes an historical framework for analyzing the ownership structure of NESN and NESN programming.

The following chapter presents the creation and early history of NESN from 1980 to 1989. To establish an historical context for the creation of NESN, this chapter begins with an overview of the cable television and satellite industries beginning in the 1940s. While cable television was still evolving from a community-based technology to a viable industry, pay TV, which began before the 1960s, allowed cable providers to use local programming to compete with television broadcasters on a national level. This chapter intertwines the history of pay TV with the overall history of the cable television industry. Focusing on pay television in the 1960s and cable and satellite technology in the 1970s and 1980s, this chapter then examines how cable networks used sports programming to compete with television broadcasters and to establish new cable sports channels, such as ESPN, TBS, and various regional sports networks. In addition, this chapter briefly touches upon the development of cable television in Boston and throughout the New England region beginning in the 1970s up until 1989. This chapter then ends with a summary of the historical findings and a discussion on the historical importance of NESN.

From Innovation to Industry: Cable Television and Satellite History (1940-1989)

CATV (community antenna television) originated technologically from broadcast television (Mullen, 2003). During the 1940s, residents in isolated communities and interior regions began setting up high-ground antennae and extending wires from the antennae to homes in order to receive television signals (Hilmes & Jacobs, 2003). In 1947, L.E. (Ed) Parsons in Astoria, Oregon constructed an antenna on top of his hotel. Parsons was able to receive a signal from KRSC, a broadcast television station in Seattle. Eventually he placed an antenna at the highest point in town, which amplified and extended the reach of the signal. Parsons later wired the entire town of Astoria, and charged $125 per household for cable services (Mullen, 2003; Dominick, Messere, & Sherman, 2004).

During the 1950s, about a dozen CATV systems began appearing throughout the United States. Technologically, the amplification of weak broadcast signals and the use of microwave relays allowed for the addition of three to five channels on some cable systems (Mullen, 2003). In Pennsylvania, R.J. Tarlton built the first full master antenna system using a cable instead of a relay system to route the broadcast signal into individual households. Tarlton was able to link individual households to three separate television stations (Hollins, 1984). Throughout most of the 1950s, CATV remaining fairly localized. However, with the rapid development of cable television technology, such as pay TV and subscription services, CATV soon evolved from a local medium into a national medium (Mullen, 2003).

The advent of pay TV in the 1950s allowed cable providers to offer programming that was more universal and appealed to audiences on a national level, such as movies and sporting events. On February 26, 1952, Telemeter, owned in part by Paramount Pictures Corporation, demonstrated "a new development in subscription television for the home" ("TV By Subscription," 1952, p. 34). With the proposed subscription system, home television viewers would be able to use a coin box to pay for and receive up to seven broadcast channels and one additional cable channel. The Telemeter service would cost $6 for the attachment of the device to a receiver and an extra $150 to string the cable from the home to a telephone pole ("TV By Subscription," 1952). In November of 1953, the Telemeter Corporation offered their first subscription TV selection to seventy-five homes in Palm Springs, California (Pryor, 1953).

A year earlier, the Jerrold Electronic Corporation based in Oklahoma City launched Telemovies, charging a monthly rate of $9.50 (Mullen, 2003). The Telemovies system would not be used until 1957 when the films *Pajama Game* and *River Gambler* were transmitted into the homes of residents in Bartlesville, Oklahoma ("New Film Is," 1957). In 1958, the Telemovies system in Bartlesville ceased operation due to "lack of support" (Gould, 1958, p. X9). Before the demise of the Telemeter system, *New York Times* reporter Jack Gould (1957) speculated on the future of pay TV. According to Gould (1957), pay TV had the potential of being a "practical success or a promotional turkey" (p. 98) where proponents of the service, mainly the film and sports industries, saw a means to attract more audiences.

Enticing home viewers to purchase entertainment that was already provided free from traditional television broadcasters was one of many obstacles facing pay TV. Sports promoters, as well as film producers, could not predict that there would be a home audience for sporting events and feature films. However, sports teams, such as the Brooklyn Dodgers and the New York Giants, who would soon be making their cross country trek from New York to the West Coast, "expressed hope that toll TV ultimately [would] make baseball fans pay much more for their loyalty to the national pastime" (Gould, 1957, p. 11). By the end of the 1950s, the impending success of pay TV was contingent upon how much it would cost not only the sports, film, and television industries, but also how much it would cost consumers.

Although the future of pay TV remained uncertain into the 1960s, nevertheless, some organizations began utilizing the latest technology to create pay TV networks. In 1964, Matthew Fox started Subscription Television, Inc. (STV) which used television cable technology to bring programming to the Los Angeles and San Francisco television markets. Viewers paid an installation fee and programs were "selected via a telephone dial system" (Barnouw, 1990, p. 350). The pay-per-view programming included first-run movies, opera, and sporting events. The newly relocated San Francisco Giants and Los Angeles Dodgers could "be seen only via Subscription TV, Inc., not by commercial television" (Barnouw, 1990, p. 350) in their respective television markets. "Figures projected by Matthew Fox and Pat Weaver [president of STV] suggested that both film industry and major league baseball would gross revenues even exceeding those earned through 'free television'" (Barnouw, 1990, p. 350).

During the 1960s, leading media corporations began recognizing the economic and commercial advantages of cable television. By 1965, it was estimated that 1,700 systems were bringing cable television into the homes of 2 million subscribers. Cable television was expanding into major cities and urban television markets (Smith, 1965). Cable television technology enabled metropolitan areas, such as San Diego, to relay programming from other cities, such as Los Angeles. In the Midwest, less populated areas could watch television programs that originated in Chicago and New York (Gould, 1957). The commercial potential of cable television technology was predicted to lead to big media corporations integrating with, or even acquiring, smaller media companies (Schumach, 1968). Additionally, cable companies were seeking to produce their own television programming, which would be offered independently from broadcast television programming. The potential creation of local programming by cable companies indicated the possibility of cable television channels siphoning box office money from movie theaters and programming from local broadcasters as well (Gould, 1968).

As some media corporations began gearing their services toward cable television, and in some cases, pay TV, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) began to realize the financial and commercial benefits of the latest media technology. The FCC released *The First Report and Order on Cable Television* in 1965 regulating microwave signal use and its possible harm to local broadcast stations (Mullen, 2003). “Cable systems had to carry all TV stations within 60 miles and couldn’t carry shows from distant stations that duplicated those offered by local stations” (Dominick, Messere, & Sherman, 2004, p. 30). In 1968, the FCC allowed cable expansion in smaller television markets, while banning further cable growth in urban television markets (Hollins, 1984). This decision prohibited cable development in the top 100 television markets (Streeter, 1987). In 1969, a new copyright bill allowed the importation of out-of-town signals in cities, such as Phoenix, San Diego, and Rochester, New York which were smaller than cities in the top 50 television markets. In some metropolitan areas, such as cities in the Northeast where major television markets intersected, the introduction of out-of-town signals would improve the reception of some local channels and provide viewers with an excess of channel options. For example, towns located around Worcester, Massachusetts, a small city situated in the central part of the state, could potentially receive up to 17 cable signals from Boston, Providence, Rhode Island, two cities in New Hampshire and Connecticut, as well as Springfield, Massachusetts (Lydon, 1969).

While the FCC appeared to be more interested in the regulation of cable television, government control of pay TV was, at first, less restricted. In 1967, “the FCC concluded that pay TV and free TV are not very different in one respect. The paying viewer, as with his nonpaying peer, prefers sports and movies over programs promising high cultural enrichment” (Gould, 1967, p. 75). In other words, regardless of the capability of pay TV, as well as cable television, to provide individualized programming within local communities, television audiences favored generalized programming already presented on broadcast television. To counter this premise, the FCC called for an expansion of channels in smaller communities. “Cablecasting,” a technique that was not dependent on advertising, focused on creating more community related programming “with strong local roots” (Smith, 1968, p. SM39).

Despite a few obstacles in the 1960s, the cable television industry began to flourish in the 1970s. By the end of the decade, 4,000 cable systems were operating in the United States “with more than fifteen million homes subscribing” (Barnouw, 1990, p.493). Additionally, the prospect of a localized medium that offered specific programming in smaller communities and served the needs of local television viewers was no longer feasible. Cable television became an entertainment necessity and not just a technological improvement. The community aspect of cable television was quickly pushed aside for economic interests. CATV had laid down the foundation for the cable television industry.

In 1970, the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation formed a commission to examine the future effects and potential of cable television. The Sloan Commission would “make certain that cable TV, in addition to relaying regular programming of existing TV stations, achieved its maximum potential in other areas of public service” (Gould, 1970a, p. 95). Concurrently, the FCC was facing the difficulty of establishing guidelines as to how cable television would impact communities on a political economic level. Some of the issues under consideration included ownership of newspapers and cable television systems located in the same cities, copyright laws, importation of cable programs over wide distances, and the amount of money cable television franchises should spend to operate in particular communities (Gould, 1970b).

In December of 1971, the Sloan Commission purported that “cable television has the potential to revolutionize the nation’s culture, journalism, politics, and community needs and services” (Gould, 1971, p. 94). Additionally, the commission recommended that cable television be introduced nationwide “on a controlled basis” (Gould, 1971, p. 94). Cable operators were encouraged to continue originating local programming despite the competition it posed to local television broadcasters (Gould, 1971). Program origination rules were established in 1969 and required cable systems with more than 3,500 subscribers “to create an outlet for local expression” (“FCC Weighing Fate,” 1972). To deter the siphoning of sports programming from broadcast television to pay television, the commission proposed that Congress should select which playoff and championship games would be aired on free television (Gould, 1971). Other recommendations regarding the future of cable television included barring the ownership of cable franchises by television networks to ensure variety in programming (“Cable ‘Abundance,’” 1971), assigning cable television regulation to municipal, federal, and state authorities, and classifying cable television as “television of abundance” (Gould, 1971, p. 94), where into the next decade cable television would bring communities together and transmit television programming to audiences on a national basis. The idea of "abundance" rested on the notion of "greater choice" ("Cable 'Abundance,'" 1971). Television viewers in some cities would have more program choices in news and entertainment, which would be beamed in from other cities. Cable channels would be set aside for services, such as public information, health and welfare, and local community news ("Cable 'Abundance,'" 1971).

In 1972, the FCC once again attempted to keep cable television tied to its community roots with the release of another *Cable Television Report and Order*. The new "rules were aimed toward improving localism in cable programming, but they also allowed cable operators to carry more of the broadcast signals they felt would subsidize local programming operations" (Mullen, 2003, p. 76). "Must carry" rules required cable systems in major television markets to transmit local broadcast channels, and "public access" rules guaranteed that public television channels would be transmitted as well. "The FCC ensured that cable television would be eagerly adopted by local communities and the long-neglected principles of localism would be upheld" (Hilmes & Jacobs, 2003, p. 62). In the top 50 television markets, cable television systems could carry up to three independent stations and three full network stations. In the top 100 television markets, cable television systems could carry up to five independent stations as well as three full network stations. Control of the cable franchising process remained in the hands of local governments with the FCC setting "minimum franchise standards," (Michie, 1972, p. 53) such as construction rules, restrictions on franchise fees and licenses, and other technological criteria.

To achieve a nationwide cable system, in 1973 the government repealed a ban on new licenses for cable franchises, which was implemented a year earlier. Soon after, 800 applications for cable licenses were filed. Despite the cancellation, communities still faced the uncertainty of awarding cable franchises. In many cities, 10 to 20 cable companies were competing for franchises. Some city officials sought to operate municipally owned cable systems instead of allocating cable services to private corporations ("Cable TV Impact," 1973). Furthermore, in some cities cable television was also deemed "too risky, politically as well as economically, to justify spending tax dollars to construct a cable system" (Synchef, 1973, p. 243). The 1970s marked the realization of cable becoming less of a technological utopia and more of a social encumbrance. Cable television, which once "reflected a pervasive climate of technology-centered optimism" (Mullen, 2003, p. 73), demonstrated that regardless of any technology exhibiting "the potential for solving numerous social problems and dilemmas" (Streeter, 1987, p. 178), the enthusiasm associated with new technology could actually be the cause of some societal challenges.

The early stages of the cable television industry brought forth problems associated with media ownership, programming, and control. New oligopolies had been formed instead of community owned cable companies (Streeter, 1987). This was partly due to the fact that the FCC had ruled against ownership of cable and broadcast television outlets in the same market (Shafer, 1973). Moreover, television broadcasters were still concerned with the siphoning of free programming to pay television, and regulation of the latest media technology was still to be ascertained. Nevertheless, cable television was projected to overcome social impediments into the next decade. Due to ongoing advancements in cable television technology, such as direct-to-home satellite transmission, fiber optics, improvements in pay TV and subscription services, and two-way channels, television was set to become the centerpiece of everyday life in the 1980s. Despite the positive outlook for cable television, more choices in programming did not necessarily mean more variety or an abundance of amenities. Numerous selections in sports and news could actually "mean a multiplicity of mediocrities… and cable channels... representing various commercial formats rather than public interests" (Shales, 1978, p. G1).

Although public access channels still existed in some communities, for the most part, cable television programming began to fragment audiences. "Narrowcasting," which targeted specific audiences with specialized programming, "democratized television" and, in a sense, viewers became "their own programmers, selecting form a large menu of choices" (Barnouw, 1990, p. 495). To attract viewers to the almost boundless choices in programming, cable networks had "to strike a delicate balance between providing what [was] old… and convincing their viewers that their schedules were new and specialized" (Mullen, 2003, p. 28). By the end of the 1970s, cable television had grown into an economically viable industry based on advertising and subscription fees, as well as niche programming (Hilmes & Jacobs, 2003). Programming, which was once free to anyone with a television set, had become a commodity for cable television companies, and presented a surplus of choice for viewers. Television audiences would soon discover that more options meant higher costs.

While cable was proving to be a challenge to the broadcast television industry, as well as the FCC, pay TV was prospering in some markets. In 1977, National Subscription Television (NST) charged Los Angeles residents $17 a month for movies and sports programming. Home Box Office, Inc. (HBO), a new cable channel featuring pay-per-view sporting events and films, had 800,000 subscribers across 200 cable systems. In metropolitan television markets, cable companies began spending millions of dollars to experiment with pay TV systems expecting to gain "tremendous profits" ("Still Pitching For," 1977, p. 111). Large media corporations, such as Warner Cable Corp. and Time Inc., started directing their services toward pay TV via the introduction of new systems and the acquisition of smaller media firms ("Still Pitching For," 1977).

In 1977, only 10% of households that subscribed to cable had pay TV services. In order to receive pay TV services, viewers had to pay for a decoder in addition to monthly subscription fees. Furthermore, pay TV programming had to make it to the air before viewers could even contemplate signing up for services ("Still Pitching For," 1977). At the beginning of the 1970s, restrictions on pay TV programming, specifically feature films and sporting events, were predicted to be detrimental to the future success of pay TV. Experts in the television industry thought that providers of sports programming, as well as films, would be more likely to sell their programming to cable television companies because it would be easier to negotiate for broadcast rights ("Pay TV Falls," 1970). Yet, the limitations put on cable television as to ownership, local program origination, and the siphoning of broadcast television, aided the success of pay TV.

For cable television, as well as pay TV, the 1980s was expected to be a more prolific decade. According to *Chicago Tribune* journalist Rogers Worthington (1980), in the 1980s cable television viewers would be bombarded with a continuous selection of films, specific programming, such as sports, children's and religious shows, as well as independent programming transmitted from major cities. Viewers could also be expected to pay extra for premium cable packages in addition to a monthly subscription fee. Other purported advantages of cable television included a 24-hour news channel (Ted Turner's CNN), the possibility of at least 100 channels, and pay-per-view services (Worthington, 1980). By 1981, many cable channels were already providing a variety of programming to cable television subscribers. Channels, such as Bravo and ARTS, offered cultural shows that featured musical performances and specials on specific films. HBO and Showtime, both pay TV services, delivered movies, as well as original programming, to roughly 10 million subscribers (Unger, 1981).

In 1982, basic cable channels, such as WTBS, ESPN, and USA Network, were reaching the majority of subscribers. Cable systems generally paid cable networks a fee per subscriber to offer channels in basic cable packages (Barnouw, 1990). Basic cable channels depended on "local and regional broadcast signals and advertiser-supported cable services" (Dominick, Messere, & Sherman, 2004, p. 113). With the "must carry" rules ending in 1985, broadcasters had "to negotiate some form of compensation from the cable system in return for their signals being carried on the cable" (Dominick, Messere, & Sherman, 2004, p. 113). In 1986, the FCC implemented new "must carry" rules, which, much like the old rules, required cable systems to carry local television stations. However, the new "must carry" rules allowed cable operators to select which television stations to carry ("Cable Systems Ordered," 1986, p. C13). The money that cable systems paid to cable networks, as well as subscription fees and advertising, determined whether or not a cable network succeeded. In the early 1980s, many cable networks were "facing deep losses because of high programming costs and insufficient advertising revenues" (Storch, 1982, p. D11). The situation eventually improved for cable networks throughout the 1980s.

Despite the high cost of installing cable franchises in communities, new cable systems were built in metropolitan areas, such as Dallas, Pittsburgh, Omaha, Cincinnati, and Portland, Oregon. The franchising process for municipal cable systems began to impact local broadcasters in some communities where local governments sought to exchange "community studios and other facilities" (Brown, 1981, p. A1) for cable franchises. At the time, only local officials could approve cable franchise licenses and only a few states had regulatory commissions that monitored cable television services and rates. To counter the effects of new cable franchises on local broadcasters, some cities were experimenting with municipal ownership of cable systems or even cooperative ownership of cable systems. For instance, in St. Paul, Minnesota local residents could purchase $10 memberships to raise money for the franchising process. The membership fees combined with loans from local banks and other financial institutions helped wire the entire community of St. Paul (Brown, 1981).

In 1984, Congress passed the Cable Communications Policy Act, which relaxed many of the FCC rules regarding ownership and cable television. By 1985, many major media corporations that owned cable television operations acquisitioned broadcast television companies. In March of 1985, Capital Cities purchased ABC, which added broadcast television outlets to the 7 television stations and 54 cable systems already owned by Capital Cities. Time, Inc., a magazine company, turned to ownership of cable systems as well as cable channels, specifically HBO, which allowed Time, Inc. to produce original cable programming (Jones, 1985). Because there were no restrictions on how many cable systems a company could own, companies were allowed to purchase more than one cable system at a time (Landro, 1985). This lack of control on cable television ownership stifled competition where large cable companies were seen as “gaining excessive power to influence program distribution” (“U.S. Report Endorses,” 1988, p. D22). Federal regulations in place in the 1980s encouraged the monopolization of the cable industry. By 1988, Tele-Communications, Inc., the biggest cable company in the United States, owned or controlled cable systems with roughly 10 million subscribers out of the 42.7 million cable subscribers nationwide (“U.S. Report Endorses,” 1988).

The Cable Act of 1984 also “endorsed localism and set up a system of community regulation tempered by federal oversight” (Dominick, Messere, & Sherman, 2004, p. 31). Local communities were given more power in the franchising process and cable systems were allowed to establish their own cable rates (Dominick, Messer, & Sherman, 2004). In 1988, the National Communications and Information Administration recommended a deregulation of the cable industry. The Administration suggested that the ban on the ownership of cable systems by broadcast television networks be lifted to open “local cable markets to more competition” (“U.S. Report Endorses,” 1988, p. D22). The Administration also proposed that the FCC limit cable television ownership to prevent “concentrated ownership in the cable television industry” (“U.S. Report Endorses,” 1988, p. D22). Many communities feared that a reregulation of the cable industry would impact local cable franchises. Local cable franchises paid a percentage of their revenues to local governments and had to follow specific guidelines in establishing cable systems (“U.S. Report Endorses,” 1988). More competition at the local level could possibly create markets where smaller cable companies would be bought out by larger cable companies that did not have to follow local restrictions. Additionally, allowing broadcast television stations to own cable networks could limit the growth of cable systems in some markets and prohibit independent television broadcasters from competing with cable outlets (Duke Jr., 1988).

By the end of the 1980s, the cable industry was still facing harsh criticism regarding ownership concentration, unregulated rates, lack of market competition, and substandard customer service. For consumers, cable rates “had increased more than any other single product” (Carter, 1989, p. D7). Cable television, which had started as a technological method of improving television broadcast signals in rural communities, became a national supplier of television programming. Cable programming, such as sports, films, and news, was being delivered to consumers at a cost. Although cable television, and pay TV, provided consumers with an excess of programming choices, much of the cable programming remained fairly identical across cable channels. Cable franchises were becoming a necessity in major cities where cable providers competed with local television networks for programming and ownership interests. While the FCC attempted to control cable television, and in some instances pay TV, by the 1970s another major advancement in technology, which had surfaced in the 1950s, gained the attention of the television industry: satellite.

With satellite technology, signals are beamed without the use of a coaxial cable. In the 1950s, this characteristic allowed programming to be sent from cities to smaller communities via an ultra-high frequency (UHF). In 1953, WPIX in New York began beaming sports programming to television stations in Pennsylvania (WTVU and WLEV). The signal, which originated from Madison Square Garden, was sent to the WPIX transmitter and then beamed to a receiver antenna located in the Pocono Mountains. The signal was then relayed through a microwave relay to the WTVU transmitter in Scranton. WLEV, in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, was able to receive the WPIX signal without a relay antenna. In 1953, WPIX announced plans to provide the same service to communities in Troy and Kingston, New York, North Adams, Massachusetts, and Connecticut ("WPIX Plans Start," 1953).

Satellite technology was predicted to not only connect cities and communities across the United States, but to connect the entire globe by means of "a world-wide television network" ("TV Relay Foreseen," 1956, p. 30). In 1961, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) selected the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) to construct the first communications satellite for the United States. According to *New York Times* reporter J. W. Finney (1961), RCA also had the technology "to develop a communication satellite capable of relaying television programs directly to home receivers" (p. 24). This meant that home television viewers in the United States would be able to watch television programming beamed from other parts of the globe. Additionally, programming that originated in the United States would be sent across the world, which, in theory, could reach remote areas and communities and increase access to television and to other mass communication technologies worldwide.

In July of 1962, one of the first television images, a video picture of CBS news reporter Dave Duggan, was relayed by satellite ("Television Program Relayed," 1962). Less than two weeks later on July 23, the United States and Europe exchanged twenty minutes of television programming via satellite. The United States presented images of the Statue of Liberty, a presidential news conference, and a portion of a baseball game between the Philadelphia Phillies and the Chicago Cubs. All three U.S. broadcasting networks, ABC, CBS, and NBC, produced the programming (Adams, 1962). The success of the first satellite transmission heightened corporate interest in building and maintaining satellite services. To prevent monopolization of the satellite industry, President Kennedy signed a bill "creating a joint Government-industry corporation to operate an international communications system via earth satellites" (Phillips, 1962, p. 1). The Communications Satellite Corporation, or COMSAT, was to be financed through private funds and managed by a private enterprise, "but with representatives of the Government sitting on the board of directors" (Phillips, 1962, p. 1). COMSAT signified the interests of the industry and the federal government in establishing a commercial satellite program on an international scale. "The use of commercialization to speed up the development of new technologies would become a powerful force in the shaping of cable programming," (Mullen, 2003, p. 90). However, signing a bill that would ultimately limit the ownership of satellite technology to one corporation, overseen by the federal government, escalated the possibility of COMSAT becoming a monopoly.

On June 16, 1972, the FCC established “an open sky policy that would permit all qualified applicants to provide communication satellite service for the transmission of television, telephone, telegraph and computer signals” (“F.C.C. Sets Open,” 1972, p. 32). Although the open sky policy was fairly nonrestrictive, applicants had to have the financial and technological means to provide satellite services. Additionally, applicants would have to “prove that their service would be in the public interest” (“F.C.C. Sets Open,” 1972, p. 32). The requirement that applicants would have to use their satellite facilities to serve the public interest was dubious. Serving the public interest generally meant producing local television programming that aided the needs of communities, such as public information, programming on health and welfare issues, and community news. According to Mullen (2003), “satellites could not possibly have aided the development of local programming, since the economics of satellite use necessitate the largest possible networks of cable systems” (p. 92). The combination of satellite technology and cable led to an increase in low-cost and accessible programming where cable subscribers had to pay “an additional monthly fee” (Inglis & Luther, 1997, p. 21) for popular programming, such as sports and films. Popular programming became a mainstay for most satellite systems that operated in conjunction with cable television operators who did not have “ties to the communities they served” (Mullen, 2003, p. 92).

By the late 1970s, cable systems were using the programming of satellite networks, such as HBO, ESPN, CNN, MTV, and Nickelodeon, to cater to specific audiences on a national level. According to Barnouw (1990):

> Satellite-distributed services that enabled an existing cable system to offer, under various arrangements, not the up-to-a-dozen program choices available from early cable television but scores of choices… A cable system was essentially a local operation but could now represent, in effect, a large cluster of far-reaching networks including stations that, like WTBS Atlanta, *became* networks (or ‘superstations’) by distributing their offerings via satellite. (p. 494)

HBO, which provided cable programming only to Delaware, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania, expanded services to Arizona, California, Florida, Texas, and Washington with the aid of domestic satellites (“Time Inc. Unit,” 1975). Satellite technology also allowed HBO to charge subscribers on a per-program basis, which established a foundation for future pay TV networks (Brown, 1975), as well as cable superstations.

Superstations were local television stations that distributed on a national basis via satellite technology and cable systems. In 1977, WTCG, the first satellite superstation began operations in Atlanta. WTCG’s signal, sent out by the RCA Satcom satellite, reached 106 cable systems in 27 states. Other superstations, including WGN-TV in Chicago, KTLA in Los Angeles, and KTVU in San Francisco, were planning satellite distribution services for the upcoming year (Brown, 1977). Within two years, WTCG was available on approximately 800 cable systems and reached up to 4 million households. WTCG aired syndicated programming along with films and sports. For WTCG, sports became a key source of programming. WTCG featured 200 live sporting events, specifically college basketball games, Atlanta Hawks basketball, Atlanta Flames hockey, Atlanta Chiefs soccer, and Atlanta Braves baseball. Ted Turner, who owned WTCG, also owned the Braves baseball team and a share of the Atlanta Hawks basketball team (Brown, 1979).

In the 1970s, satellite technology expanded the reach of cable networks, which, in turn, enabled networks to provide niche programming, such as sports and movies, to national audiences. Satellite technology also presented the opportunity for satellite corporations to supply programming direct to home viewers (“Satellite TV System,” 1979). In some rural areas across the United States, television viewers were already utilizing satellite technology to receive television programming via satellite dishes. Satellite dishes could pick up satellite signals anywhere in the country through a receiver which was aimed directly at the satellite (Crock, 1980). Direct broadcast satellites (DBS) allowed television viewers in rural communities to watch cable programming without subscribing to cable services (Barnouw, 1990).

In 1984, RCA signed a contract with the United States Satellite Broadcasting Company to create and construct "two high-powered, direct-to-home broadcast satellites," ("RCA Satellite Deal," 1984, p. 4). Corporate ownership and construction of DBS systems put satellite dish owners at a disadvantage. Satellite dishes offered a way for rural communities to receive cable programming without have to pay monthly subscription fees. The FCC's involvement in direct-to-home satellite services increased the concerns of cable franchise operators and cable networks that saw DBS technology as an impending threat to the cable television industry. In 1984, the FCC ruled that local and state governments could not regulate satellite signals sent to private residences. The satellite industry welcomed the decision "as victory for competition and free enterprise" (Bennetts, 1984, p. C30). However, cable franchise operators saw it as a hindrance to cable television and would have to expand their services to include satellite networks in order to compete (Bennetts, 1984). Soon after, many satellite cable networks, such as HBO and Showtime, began to scramble "their signals… to require dish owners to subscribe to" (Dominick, Messere, & Sherman, 2004, p. 33) satellite services.

Despite the efforts of cable networks and cable franchise operators to control the distribution of programming, home satellite dishes remained fairly popular. By 1985, there were over 1 million home satellite dishes in the United States with 40,000 to 50,000 new dishes being sold on a monthly basis. The programming received by home satellite dishes ranged from sports to news, as well as programming from overseas. For the sports industry, home satellite dishes became a source of controversy. Sports leagues, such as the National Football League (NFL), resorted to legal action to restrict the use of satellite signals in receiving sports programming (Kaplan, 1985). Although the 1984 Cable Communications Act "made it legal for satellite dish owners to pick up any programming that was not scrambled" (Takiff, 1987, p. 76), it did not deter the sports industry from implementing their own method of control. In 1988, MLB instituted a technological device, the VideoCipher 1-B, which scrambled television signals before the signals reached a satellite. The technology was geared toward scrambling the signals of local broadcast television stations that were picked up by home satellite dishes. Most regional sports networks did not utilize the scrambling technology. However, Dodgervision and TSN, a regional sports network that broadcast Montreal Expo and Toronto Blue Jays baseball games, was already employing the technology ("Scrambler To Put," 1988).

During the 1960s, the FCC used satellite technology in an attempt to establish a global communications system. By the 1970s, the cable television industry began to realize the entertainment and economic potential of satellite technology. Cable providers began utilizing the programming of national cable networks, such as HBO and ESPN, to compete with local television broadcasters. Satellite technology, coupled with cable television, enabled the creation of superstations, as well as regional sports networks and other national cable networks. Superstations allowed consumers to watch regional sporting events, such as Braves and Cubs baseball, nationwide. Regional sports networks provided consumers with programming that focused on home teams, which, in turn, allowed sports teams to connect to local sports culture through targeted programming.

From Free TV to Pay TV: Sports on Cable Television and Satellite (1970-1989)

In the late 1930s, professional sporting events began appearing on broadcast television. The first full-length televised sporting event occurred on May 17, 1939 when NBC broadcast a college baseball game between Columbia and Princeton (Barnouw, 1990; Walker & Bellamy Jr., 2008). Nearly fifteen years later, cable technology was used to transmit baseball games to television viewers' homes. RJ Tarlton, who built the first full master antenna system in rural Pennsylvania, provided households with four broadcast channels, one being WPIX in New York which broadcast Yankee games. In 1953, the International Telemeter Corporation began offering cable television, as well as pay TV services, to the community of Palm Springs, California featuring televised sports from Los Angeles. By 1965, the International Telemeter Corporation had secured the rights to telecast Toronto Argonauts football matches and Toronto Maple Leafs hockey games. In 1964, Phonevision televised boxing matches for a fee. That same year, Subscription Television, Inc. (STV) began pay TV services in the San Francisco and Los Angeles television markets featuring doubleheaders of Los Angeles Dodgers baseball games. Soon after, Matthew M. Fox, owner of STV, made a deal with MLB for the sole rights to broadcast games (Mullen, 2003).

While sports became a key source of programming for domestic pay TV services in the 1960s, satellite technology was being utilized to transmit international sporting events to U.S. audiences. The opening ceremonies of the 1964 Summer Olympics were relayed via satellite technology from Tokyo, Japan. The games were then broadcast on NBC in the United States (Gould, 1964). Two years later, the 1966 World Cup was broadcast via satellite to a global audience of around 400 million people (Strout, 1967). In the 1970s, satellite technology was also used to create networks that broadcast nationally from local regions. HBO, the first satellite-carried cable network, debuted on November 8, 1972 airing a National Hockey League (NHL) game from Madison Square Garden (Kunz, 2007). In 1968, media mogul, Ted Turner, bought a local Atlanta broadcast station and changed the call letters to WTCG (Turner Communications

Group). WTCG telecast old movies, a few syndicated television series, professional wrestling matches, and local sports, such as the Atlanta Braves, the Atlanta Hawks, and the Atlanta Flames. Turner acquired the Braves baseball team in 1976 intending to expand sports coverage throughout the south. That same year, Turner purchased an uplink to an RCA communications satellite creating the first satellite superstation: WTBS (Mullen, 2003).

Sports were the most obtainable source of programming for cable television networks. Cable stations could pick up as many distant signals as they wanted without the permission of the sports teams or leagues involved. For instance, a New York Knicks-Boston Celtics basketball game, played in New York and not available on broadcast television in New York, could be transmitted via a cable network from a Boston television station and broadcast in the New York television market (Koppett, 1972). Professional sport leagues, such as MLB, the NHL, the National Basketball Association (NBA), and the NFL, found the ability of cable networks to import sports programming from outside local television markets troubling to home sports teams. In 1972, the FCC proposed a professional sports blackout rule for cable television networks. Per the recommended rule, any professional sports home game could not be transmitted on a cable television network if a professional sports game of the same sport was already being broadcast on a television station located within 35 miles of the cable network's community without permission from the home sports team or the sports leagues involved ("CATV Facing Sports," 1972).

The intention of the blackout rule was to protect the broadcast territory of home sports teams. However, representatives of the professional sports leagues thought the blackout rule to be less helpful in averting future problems associated with the cablecasting of sports. For example, with the new blackout rule for cable television, a team, such as the New York Knicks could play an away game in another city and a different game from another professional sport would air in New York instead of the Knicks games, or a cable station in New York could carry a basketball game involving a more appealing NBA team, such as the Los Angeles Lakers, in place of the Knicks away game. Also, if a home team, such as the Knicks, were playing on the road, the New York television market could potentially be inundated with six or seven NBA games per week, which would be transmitted from various locations via cable television networks to the New York television market (Koppett, 1972).

Nonetheless, the professional sport leagues supported the planned blackout rule because "indiscriminate showing of a sports event in the market of another team would weaken the financial structure of their industry" ("Senate Unit Kills," 1974, p. 53). In 1974, a Senate Judiciary Committee rejected the proposed blackout rule ("Senate Unit Kills," 1974). A year later, in 1975, the FCC began drafting a new rule which would "provide a 35-mile radius of same game protection" ("FCC Drafting New," 1975, p. 13). With the new rule, local sports teams and their sports leagues could impose their own blackout rules concerning home games. The rules would prevent the importation of the same game in a television market within 35-miles. Local sports teams and their sports leagues would be able to notify cable systems "concerning when 'blacked' home games are to be televised by distant TV stations carried by the system" ("FCC Drafting New," 1975, p. 13).

Despite the sports industry's backing of the new blackout rule, sports leagues still construed cable television, as well as pay TV, as a threat to broadcasting rights and as a deterrent to home game attendance. Up until the 1970s, *The Sports Broadcasting Act of 1961* "allowed professional sports franchises to... negotiate the sale of national broadcasting rights as a collective unit" (Hilmes, 2002, p. 206). With the advent of cable television and satellite technology, both national networks and pay TV networks were able to expand television coverage and by-pass local broadcasting rights. Cable networks did not have to "pay for the right to broadcast games outside their local areas" (Sweeney, 1976, p. 5). Although local stations continued to air games of both regional and local teams, expansion of television coverage, as well as local blackouts, which made "the broadcast of an event unviewable in the area in which it was being held, so as not to undercut attendance," (Hilmes, 2002, p. 206) became a source of contention for professional sports teams, the sports leagues, and the sports media industry.

During a 1976 House subcommittee hearing, then MLB commissioner Bowie Kuhn expressed his concern that cable television jeopardized "the viability of professional baseball" (Sweeney, 1976, p. 5) because it enticed fans to watch games at home rather than going to games at the ballpark. Kuhn cited WSBK-TV in Boston as an example of a local station that was being impacted by the 1975 sports blackout rule. WSBK had paid a considerable amount of money for exclusive broadcast rights to Boston Red Sox baseball games. Because 11 other cable systems were within 35 miles of the Boston television market, other stations, such as WPIX-TV and WWOR-TV in New York, were able to air New York Yankees and New York Mets games in the Boston television market. To Kuhn, this was "'unfair competition,'" (Sweeney, 1976, p. 5) which was also occurring in other sports media markets, such as San Diego where the Padres competed with the importation of baseball games from the Los Angeles (The Dodgers) and Anaheim (California Angels) television markets.

Broadcasting rights and declining game attendance were not the only matters that concerned the sports industry during the 1970s. In 1977, the United States Court of Appeals lifted the anti-siphoning rules for sports programming aired on cable television (Harris, 1977). The anti-siphoning rules, established in the 1975 *Cable Television Report and Order*, were intended to put an end to the siphoning of broadcast television programming to cable. For sports, any event that had been aired two years prior on broadcast television could not be shown on cable. Furthermore, any special sporting event, such as the Olympics, that occurred at intervals greater than two years could not be shown on cable. Finally, sports programming, in general, could not take up any more than 90% of a cable network's programming schedule (Gershon, 1990).

The lifting of the anti-siphoning rules in 1977 had a tremendous impact on both the cable television and satellite industries. The cancelling of the rules allowed cable and satellite networks to utilize sporting events to establish specific programming strategies and to compete with television broadcasters. Although HBO began using sports programming in 1972, the lifting of the anti-siphoning rules led to an increase in pay-per-view programming and airing of special sporting events, such as boxing and wrestling matches, on cable television. The lifting of the anti-siphoning rules in 1977 could also be perceived as detrimental to the public interest, which was what the anti-siphoning rules, among other government regulations regarding the cable television industry, were intended to protect (Walker & Bellamy Jr., 2008). In a sense, the cancelling of the rules, which allowed for more sports programming to be moved from free television to pay television, impacted the interests of sports consumers, who had to begin paying for programming that was once available for free on local broadcast television stations. Ultimately, the lifting of the anti-siphoning rules marked the beginning of the deregulation era, where "corporate interests and the public interest [were] often seen as the same" (Walker & Bellamy Jr., 2008, p. 232).

In June of 1979, *Chicago Tribune* journalist Bill Jauss, referring to the future of cable television and sports, predicted, "for the insomniacs and insatiable fans, it could result by the end of the year in a TV channel that shows sports programs 24 hours a day" (p. D1). The Entertainment and Sports Programming Network (ESPN) went on the air roughly three months later. ESPN offered twenty-four hours of sports programming seven days a week, presenting collegiate sports and Canadian Football League matches (Mullen, 2003). By the end of 1979, ESPN had saturated "the market… and diluted the big networks' sports packages" (Jauss, 1979, p. D2). Due to the success of ESPN, the majority of sports broadcasts began moving from free television (ABC, CBS, and NBC) to ESPN in the early 1980s. By 1982, ESPN offered 24-hour programming as part of basic cable services meaning that there was "no extra cost… above the basic cable fee" ("Alternative TV For," 1982, p. D5) for consumers.

In the 1980s, WTBS, one of the first cable superstations, became a major competitor to ESPN. Superstations are local networks that lease satellite space to broadcast nationally. Early on, superstations were successful due to national reach. However, as Walker and Bellamy Jr. (2008) point out "national television time, once it reaches a mass audience, is simply too valuable to devote too much time to the regular-season baseball games of a single city's team" (p. 166). WTBS utilized sports programming, primarily Atlanta Braves baseball games, to establish itself as a national network. Although WTBS utilized other sports leagues, such as the NBA and the NHL, to solidify national coverage, local coverage of the homegrown baseball team did not help the Atlanta Braves become as Turner once predicted, "America's Team" (Walker & Bellamy, Jr., 2008, p. 166).

Superstations were once seen as detrimental to the baseball and television dynamic. MLB executives thought superstations to be financially damaging due to the fact that television networks, such as WTBS and the Chicago Cubs' WGN, telecast games into the markets of other local television networks. Superstations gave some teams, like the Atlanta Braves and Chicago

Cubs, financial advantage over other teams, promising “a steady flow of income from station operations” (Bellamy Jr., 1988, p. 79). The Cubs and the Braves were also able to reach more out of town fans, and distinguish themselves from adversary teams (Bellamy Jr., 1988), or in the case of the Cubs, other home teams, such as the Chicago White Sox. In 1984, then MLB commissioner Peter Ueberroth expressed his concerned that superstations, such as WTBS and WGN, and later WWOR and WPIX in New York, would stifle “network sales, minor league attendance and even the attendance of the poorer major league teams” (Geller, 1984, p. 2). At the time, the four superstations had a national audience reach of 52 million viewers combined. *New York Times* reporter Henry Geller (1984) pointed out that Ueberroth’s complaint was salient because the federal government privileged “one participant – the cable industry” (p. 2).

By 1984, there were two methods for broadcasting sports programming: cable networks and commercial television. The implementation of the 1976 Copyright Act allowed cable networks “to import any signal, and thus thousands of cable systems [could] carry the superstations with their myriad sports events, even though no stations in the communities with cable can present the events” (Geller, 1984, p. 2). Geller (1984) called for the federal government to remain neutral in the superstation debate arguing:

> Cable is a pay service competing with local broadcasters for the sports audience. It brings many channels of programming to people in core cities, but can’t practically serve the outlying sparsely populated areas. Broadcasting is supported by advertising, and does serve wide areas. (p. 2)

Perhaps that was the problem with superstations: Superstations were not free to consumers in smaller cities outside of Chicago or Atlanta. Fans living on the outskirts of superstation cities could only see the teams’ home games if they had, and paid for, cable.

Throughout the 1980s, cable television networks became the primary outlet for professional sports programming. Although ABC, CBS, and NBC carried some form of sports programming, professional sports leagues, such as MLB and the NHL, lacked national television broadcasting contracts. Other professional sports leagues, such as the United States Football League (USFL) and the NBA, had broadcasting contracts with cable networks, such as WTBS, USA Network, and ESPN. By 1987, ESPN had roughly 42 million subscribers and gained a national broadcasting contract with the NFL (Fabrikant, 1987). In 1989, ESPN entered into a four-year $400 million national broadcasting contract with MLB. Because local game blackout restrictions were limited, ESPN believed that nationally televised baseball games would attract more fans than local home team broadcasts. The new contract ensured that ESPN would be able to charge cable systems higher subscriber fees and that national broadcasting rights revenues for MLB would increase almost 50% into the next decade (Helyar & Cox, 1989).

By the end of the 1980s, the relationship between the big three networks and MLB appeared to reach a financial dead end, put simply, ABC, CBS, and NBC could not afford to offer MLB lucrative deals that would benefit both institutions equally and economically. For decades, MLB owners had been concerned with the possible monetary loss of gate receipts due to broadcast television. Cable television, which offered a dual revenue stream of advertising and viewer fees, appeared to offer a more financially profitable relationship. However, throughout the 1980s, some MLB owners remained skeptical as to the economic advantages of broadcasting games on cable television. MLB owners "were still seeing televised games, even on a then small cable network, not as a promotion and marketing, but as box office competition" (Walker & Bellamy Jr., 2008, p. 168).

During the 1980s, MLB had a difficult relationship with both the broadcast and cable television industries. Early on in the 1980s, the NHL, which lacked a national broadcast television contract, began a successful relationship with the cable television industry. In 1981, much to the dismay of some New York hockey fans, the Stanley Cup semifinal games between the New York Rangers and the New York Islanders were moved from free television to pay cable. At the time, only 3 million homes out of 5 million homes in the New York City area were wired for cable and only 1.3 million homes would be able to watch the games (Anderson, 1981). *New York Times* reporter Dave Anderson (1981) described the siphoning of games, which were once offered at no cost on broadcast television, as “a potential problem for viewers of TV sports wherever cable television is chipping away at the concept of free television” (p. 3).

The NHL’s relationship with the cable television industry would progress throughout the 1980s. In 1988, SportsChannel America, a regional sports network with operations in New York, New England, Florida, Philadelphia, and Chicago, outbid ESPN for the exclusive broadcasting rights to NHL games. SportsChannel paid roughly $50 million, twice than what ESPN had previously paid, for the three-year broadcasting contract. SportsChannel would produce and distribute four games per night (a total of 50 regular games per season) to approximately 3 million subscribers. Each television market would be able to “select the game with the greatest regional appeal” (Landro, 1988a, p. 30). SportsChannel intended “to create new regional sports networks and link up with existing sports networks owned by others to provide an audience of more than 30 million cable homes for NHL events” (Landro, 1988a, p. 30).

Although the regionalization of sports programming began in the 1960s with pay TV operations such as STV and later in 1969 with Madison Square Garden Network (Walker & Bellamy Jr., 2008), it became more common in the 1970s and 1980s. Cable television, with the addition of satellite technology, enabled cable companies, such as Cablevision, the parent corporation of SportsChannel, to create regional sports networks. During the 1970s and 1980s, the deregulation of cable television and pay TV led to the formation of regional sports networks in cities such as Boston, Chicago, Baltimore-Washington, Houston, Los Angeles, Seattle, Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia (Walker & Bellamy Jr., 2008).

In 1976, Ed Snider, chairman of the Philadelphia Flyers hockey team, in a joint venture with Hollywood Home Theater, a pay cable system owned and operated by 20th Century-Fox and United Artists, formed Philadelphia Regional In-Home Sports & Movies (PRISM). PRISM aired movies along with twenty-five live home games of the Philadelphia Phillies, the Flyers, and the 76ers, as well other sporting events, such as boxing matches and rodeos, to homes in Delaware, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania ("Philly PRISM To," 1976). During the early 1980s, teams in Pittsburgh, Boston, Washington-Baltimore, and Houston, were also developing regional sports networks within their respective television markets (Walker & Bellamy, Jr., 2008). By 1982, sports programming could be found on additional pay cable systems in Los Angeles, Chicago, and Washington-Baltimore. ON-TV in Los Angeles aired Angels, Dodgers, and Rams games, SportsVision broadcast Chicago White Sox games, and in Washington-Baltimore, Super TV aired sixteen home games of the Orioles. By the end of 1982, a Washington-Baltimore regional sports network was in development for Bullets basketball and Capitals hockey games (Piantadosi, 1982).

At the 32nd National Cable Television Association convention, held in June of 1983, Group W Satellite Communications announced the debut of a new pay cable sports network. The Sports Network, set to debut in the fall, would cover five regional areas featuring teams such as the Baltimore Orioles, the Milwaukee Bucks, and the Chicago Blackhawks (Smith, 1983). Earlier in 1983, Home Sports Entertainment began broadcast operations in Houston televising home games of the Astros baseball team. At the beginning of the 1983 baseball season, Home Sports Entertainment also began offering Texas Rangers games, and sixty home games of the

Pittsburgh Pirates (Cuff, 1983). The ownership of networks based in Texas and Pennsylvania extended the reach, and potential advertising revenue, for Home Sports Entertainment. A month later, The Washington Post Co. announced plans to purchase 50% of SportsChannel and 25% of the New England SportsChannel ("A Fierce Face-Off," 1983). In 1984, CBS and Cablevision Enterprises each bought a share in the ownership of SportsChannel, one-sixth in New England and one-third in New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago, from The Washington Post Co. (Vise, 1984).

By the summer of 1983, Group W Cable and several MLB teams, such as the Baltimore Orioles, Chicago White Sox, Detroit Tigers, and Milwaukee Brewers, formed regional sports networks (Unger, 1983). Before 1983 was over, The Washington Post Co., in a joint venture with Cablevision Enterprises, announced an agreement to buy PRISM (Mayer, 1983). The Washington Post Co. and Cablevision Enterprises also intended to purchase Chicago's SportsVision, which broadcast White Sox, Bulls, and Blackhawks games. The endeavor would allow fans in Chicago to see teams from Philadelphia, Boston, and New York for a fee ("Post, Cablevision Acquire," 1983). Elsewhere in the Midwest, Sports Time, a pay cable television network owned by Anheuser-Busch, considered offering basic cable packages to stations in St. Louis, Cincinnati, and Kansas City (Saltzman, 1984). In 1985, the Houston Sports Association (HSA) bought Home Sports Entertainment from Warner Amex Communications. By February, HSA signed multi-year agreements with the Houston Astros and the Texas Rangers (Almaguer & Berger, 1985).

Throughout the 1980s, national television broadcasters remained involved in the broadcasting of sporting events. By the end of the decade, professional sports teams were turning more to regional sport networks as a primary source for programming. Professional sports teams were seeking additional income and subscriber fees for regional sports networks were more reliable than commercial networks, which depended on advertising and ratings for revenue (Piantadosi, 1982). The increasing development of regional sports networks forced some national television broadcasters to merge or acquire companies that owned or controlled regional sports networks. In 1988, NBC announced the possible acquisition of Tele-Communications Inc., the largest cable operator in the United States. NBC intended to use Tele-Communications Inc. "as a springboard for introducing a nationwide sports-programming network and new business-news service" (Landro & Kneale, 1988, p. 28). NBC did not acquire Tele-Communications Inc. Instead, NBC formed a joint venture with Cablevision. The merger gave NBC partial control over nine regional sports networks, specifically Cablevision's SportsChannel franchise. NBC and Cablevision planned to create additional regional sports networks "combining national sports packages such as National Hockey League games with sports programming of national and local interest" (Landro, 1988b, B4).

By the end of the 1980s, the main dispute among the cable and sports media industries was whether or not to keep sports programming on basic cable, which would "give the basic subscriber as much as possible," (Fabrikant, 1989, p. D13) or to boost the amount of pay-per-view sporting events because cable networks could not "afford to give away so much" programming (Fabrikant, 1989, p. D13). In some major media markets, cable operators were dropping regional sports networks from their basic cable lineups. For example, in New York, Cablevision and American Television and Communications Corporation wanted to offer Madison Square Garden Network for an additional fee above the basic cable subscription cost and not as part of a basic cable package. Ultimately, Cablevision and American Television Communications Corporation decided to carry Madison Square Garden Network as part of their basic cable package. This was most likely due to the fact that SportsChannel, owned by Cablevision, stopped carrying New York Yankee baseball games, which then made Madison Square Garden Network a more financially rewarding asset for Cablevision (Fabrikant, 1989). Ultimately, Cablevision could not afford to offer both Madison Square Garden Network and SportsChannel to subscribers due to the escalating broadcasting rights of Yankee games.

During the 1980s, the creation of regional sports networks became more prevalent. As sports broadcasting rights increased, cable subscriber fees escalated and cable networks began profiting from the proliferation of cable sports programming. The development of regional sports networks forced some sports consumers to pay for programming that had once been free from a local broadcast television station. In 1989, eighteen regional sports network were in operation in the United States, as well as seven pay sports networks and several pay-per-view sports networks (Fabrikant, 1989). In the 1980s, regional sports networks had the potential to change the relationship between sports teams and sports consumers. “Cable television created the opportunity for teams to expand their presence on a more regional basis” (Rosner & Shropshire, 2004, p. 141). Because regional sports networks needed local team television rights to succeed, the best way to guarantee a successful regional sports network was for a team to allocate or manage ownership interests of their own regional sports network. “The first RSN [regional sports network] owned, at least in part, by a team is the still existing New England Sports Network [NESN]” (Walker & Bellamy, Jr., 2008, p. 174).

From Boston to New England: The Creation and Early History of NESN (1970-1989)

The economic and technological success of cable television and satellite technology led to the formation of many regional sport networks during the 1980s. Though the Red Sox and the Bruins were able to create and maintain a regional sports network, the development of cable television in the city of Boston almost proved detrimental to the creation of NESN. In 1973, Mayor Kevin H. White banned cable expansion in the city of Boston. Mayor White halted licenses for cable-franchises citing that it was “not worth tearing up the streets” (Brown, 1973, p. 75) of the city to lay down the physical cable. White also stated, “There [were] no assurances in the present technology and regulations that it [cable television] [would] provide meaningful delivery of public services for social needs” (Brown, 1973, p. 75).

Six months after Mayor White’s sanction against cable television expansion, the Massachusetts Cable Television commission lifted the ban. The commission was curious to see how rules laid out by the FCC in 1970 would impact Boston (Kenney, 1973). Since 1970, state and local governments controlled “granting licenses, standardizing services, regulating rates, and taking care of environmental concerns in setting and repairing cable systems” (Hoyt, 1970, p. 2). During this time, only three states in the United States had regulations in place for cable television; two being the neighboring states of Rhode Island and Connecticut. Rhode Island had one cable system in operation and Connecticut had no cable television service within the state. In other parts of New England, Maine had fifteen cable systems in operation, but no regulation of those systems. New Hampshire and Vermont had a combined total of roughly forty cable systems in operation; Massachusetts had fifteen (Hoyt, 1970). In 1972, Massachusetts separated state and local government control by delegating franchise licensing and cable system operation to municipalities. Massachusetts would then have the power to establish and control rates and “to review applications and service performance” (Kenney, 1972, p. 60).

According to *Boston Globe* reporter Michael Kenney, local economist and communications professor Hyman H. Goldin, saw the lifting of White’s suspension of cable television licenses in 1973 as detrimental to the development of cable television in Boston.

Goldin argued the cable television rules “were too complex to allow public participation in the franchise-granting process” (Kenney, 1973, p. 60). Golding was also concerned that the rules did not limit cross ownership or control the possible creation of a monopoly in the cable television industry. By 1973, approximately fifty cable systems were in operation in the Bay State (Kenney, 1973). A few of those systems were in Western Massachusetts featuring local news and sports coverage (O’Keefe, 1973).

In other New England states, for instance New Hampshire and Vermont, cable television technology had been in use since the 1950s and 1960s. In 1952, 2,000 homes in the town of Laconia, New Hampshire were able to receive television service via a cable line which originated from an antenna placed on nearby Mount Belknap (“Community Antenna On,” 1952). In Vermont, cable television technology was introduced in 1965, but development was slowed in the 1970s due to a debate on whether or not to regulate cable television at the state level or municipal level (“Vt. Cable TV,” 1970). Perhaps the sluggish expansion of cable television in Boston was an example of how cable television technology, which once benefited rural communities, was not yet economically feasible or even technologically necessary for larger cities.

By 1976, cable subscribers in communities outside of Boston, such as Chelsea, Everett, Malden, Medford, Somerville, and Winthrop, were receiving cable television services. However, Mayor White remained adamant about the cable television freeze still citing economic reasons (“Hub Rejected Cable,” 1976). For White, cable television was too expensive due to the cost of stringing wire, laying underground cable, building studios, hiring and paying workers, appointing local officials, and complying with state and local regulators and agencies. By the summer of 1976, 160,000 out of 1.8 million households in Massachusetts subscribed to cable television. The largest amount of subscribers resided in Winthrop, a small community just outside the city limits of Boston. In Winthrop, cable television was a technological necessity because most households received poor television reception in general, which was “caused by plane traffic at nearby Logan Airport” (Craig, 1976, p. 71).

At the start of 1979, Mayor White began rethinking the ban on cable television stating that there appeared to be “more demand by the public,” (Cowen, 1979a, p. 8) which, at the time, was based on the desire for sports programming and films (Cowen, 1979b). . "Much of the public impetus for Boston to award a cable franchise arises from the fact that many residents travel to the suburbs to watch programs absent from conventional station's schedules" (Cowen, 1979b, p. 26). Nevertheless, Mayor White remained apprehensive about cable television. Two of his main concerns were the amount of time it would take to construct a cable television franchise in the city and “the possibility the issue would be brought into the approaching mayoral election" (Cowen, 1979a, p. 8). The city planned to create a policy on cable television which would take into consideration the development of more than one franchise, a cable system design, the types of community services a city wide cable system could provide, and an appraisal of the costs of building potential franchises (Cowen, 1979a).

In October of 1979, the Massachusetts Cable Television Review Commission released a 40-page report advising "the mayor to set in motion an undertaking that could cost the winning private franchise up to $100 million and take five years to complete” (Cowen, 1979c, p. 1). Selecting one franchise, rather than two, would essentially bring in more money for the city. The report also recommended that there be no municipal ownership of a cable television franchise because Boston was too large of a city. Additionally, public funds should not be spent on a cable television franchise if private funds were available (Cowen, 1979c). In January of 1980, Mayor

White announced plans for a cable television franchise for the city of Boston. Nine companies applied for licenses, among them were four of the largest media companies: The New York Times Company, Warner Amex Cable Communications, Cablevision Systems, Inc., and The Times Mirror Company ("Cable-TV Franchise," 1980).

In 1981, Cablevision was selected to build the first cable franchise for the city of Boston. Cablevision estimated that the installation would cost $93 million over three and half years for 240,000 homes. Cablevision would offer subscribers fifty-two cable channels, including ESPN, CNN, and USA Network, for $2 per month, a much lower rate than in other cities (Sanger, 1981). In 1982, Cablevision raised $114 million for cable line construction and predicted a complete installation by December of 1984 ("Cablevision Completes $114 Million," 1982). Due to the purported low cable rates for subscribers, "virtually no one in the industry outside Cablevision, the nation's 21st largest system operator, [thought] the bid [to be] either realistic or workable" (Brown, 1982, p. D1).

In order for Cablevision to break even at the proposed rates, each subscriber would have to contribute $35 a month at a 40% penetration rate. Pay services, such as HBO for an extra $7 a month and $5.95 a month for decoders to access pay-per-view events would add to the initial monthly cost of $2 a month for viewers. Timothy Hollins (1984) states, "The very low basic rate leaves Cablevision requiring each subscriber to take several pay services and to watch pay-per-view events regularly" (p. 364). In other words, cable subscribers in Boston were more or less required to purchase *supplementary* cable services to retain *basic* cable services. Richard V. Ducey, Dean M. Krugman, and Donald Eckrich (1983) point out that "pay cable appears to be a strong influence on the demand for basic service" (p. 160). Additional programming, such as sports, pay-per-view movies, children's programming, cultural channels, and 24-hour news, may entice viewers to purchase an enhanced level of service (Collins, Reagan, & Abel, 1983). For the most part, pay services presented more viewing options for basic cable subscribers. In 1989, Robin A. Prager published a study analyzing the cable franchising process in Massachusetts from 1973 to 1981. Overall, Prager (1989) found that small communities could not maintain their own cable systems. Therefore, a cable provider, such as Cablevision, would have to rely on revenue not only from the city of Boston, but also from other areas in Massachusetts as well.

Although by the end of the 1970s cable television appeared to be on the horizon for Boston, pay TV, which did not require a cable franchise to operate (McLean, 1977), was essentially nonexistent in the Boston television market throughout most of the decade (Craig, 1974b). Historically, the technology, specifically cable television and satellite, to create regional sports networks was available in the 1970s. However, federal regulations governing control of pay TV operations hindered the possibility of any sports team or cable television outlet developing a successful and sustainable regional sport network before the 1980s. In 1974, the newly established pay TV rules restricted the amount of sports programming that could be aired on pay TV. Regular season games could not be aired on pay TV until 2 years after their initial broadcast. The new rule also dictated that at least one-third of a full season of games was to be aired on free television. One-half of the remaining games could be aired on pay TV (Craig, 1974b). Despite the restriction on programming, the new rules may have provided teams a way to possibly circumvent the limitations. Essentially, the new rules guaranteed that if a sports team broadcast games on free TV less than one-third of its total, the team would then be “unlimited in eligible number of pay cable telecasts" (Craig, 1974b, p. 103).

With the new rules, teams such as the Red Sox and Bruins could ultimately “reduce their free TV schedule to allow for more pay cable” (Craig, 1974c, p. 103). For instance, the new cable rules could allow the Red Sox to move thirty home games to pay cable. At the time, the Bruins were "effectively eliminated by the new rules [because] a clause within them [restricted] pay cable according to the heaviest TV schedule over a five-year contract" (Craig, 1974c, p. 92). Local television broadcaster, WSBK, carried thirty-four out of thirty-eight Bruins games and it would be "not worth the bother" (Craig, 1974c, p. 92) to put the remaining one to four games on pay cable. However, a year later, "the broadcasting of Bruins games on Channel 38 [WSBK] induced many sports fans outside the Boston area to go to cable to bring in a better signal" (Kindleberger, 1975, p. 41). Furthermore, there was "speculation that the addition of Red Sox games to the same channel could have a similar effect" (Kindlberger, 1975, p. 41).

By 1979, pay TV became a more lucrative choice for cable companies as well as sports teams. Pay channels were the best way for cable companies to recover start-up costs. "Despite the hype of cable companies and video visionaries, the next step isn't likely to be opera, ballet, or classic theater. It will be sports… sports mean much more money than culture" (Henry, 1979, p. 31). However, local television broadcasters were not as enthusiastic about pay TV. "The introduction of imported sports on cable TV also will divide and thus damage in some manner existing commercial TV sports contracts - no one locally more than Channel 38 [WSBK], whose principal currencies are the Red Sox and Bruins" (Craig, 1979a, p. 54). In Boston, cable channels would have to reach 100,000 households to outbid WSBK for the rights to Red Sox games. Eighty home games with a penetration of 25,000 homes could yield roughly $2 million in revenue for cable companies. The Red Sox, as well as the Bruins could sell televised games to cable systems in the suburbs and make more money from subscription fees than advertising (Craig, 1979a). Why would then the Red Sox and the Bruins find the need to create a regional sports network?

Fundamentally, the Red Sox, as well as the Bruins, had no cause to worry about losing fans to broadcast television. Gate receipts for Red Sox games at Fenway Park and ratings for televised games did not decline in the 1970s (Craig, 1979b). In creating NESN, both the Red Sox and the Bruins risked alienating sports consumers who did not have access to cable television. One possible reason for developing a regional sports network was the lack of restriction on sports rights fees and pay TV outlets. According to *Boston Globe* reporter Jack Craig (1974a):

> The Red Sox and Ch. 38 [WSBK] have reason to be unsettled by the arrival of some many Mets and Yankees games. There are no rights fees involved to either the local or out-of-teams or stations involved… three Sox-Yankee games at Fenway this season not on Ch. 38 [WSBK] will be carried to local cable hookups via WPIX-TV. (p. A13)

New York sports teams, such as the Yankees and Mets, were encroaching on the Boston television market. In 1974, 32,000 households in six Greater Boston communities could watch 172 games from both the Yankees and the Mets (Craig, 1974a).

Another possible reason for the formation of NESN was the increasing competition from other Boston area sports teams, such as the Celtics and the Hartford Whalers, and sports cable networks. In 1981, the Hartford Whalers hockey team and the Celtics began developing a pay cable network. Howard Baldwin, the president of the Whalers, intended to draw the Red Sox, as well as the Bruins, into the venture. However, the Bruins disliked the idea of Whalers games being aired in the Boston television market. The Bruins would not be able to join the Whalers and the Celtics "because it would be a violation of their territorial rights" (McDonough, 1981, p. 1). In response to the possible development of a Celtics-Whalers regional sports network, *Boston Globe* reporter Will McDonough recommended that perhaps "the Red Sox and Bruins would like to develop their own pay TV network to rival the Celtics-Whalers combine" (McDonough, 1981, p. 1).

In a January 20, 1982 interview with *Boston Globe* reporter Ernie Roberts then Red Sox co-owner Buddy LeRoux hinted at a possible announcement of a joint venture with Storer Broadcasting, owner of WSBK, and the Bruins. LeRoux stated:

> Paid TV is the future of sports. There is no question of that from a monetary viewpoint… Cable revenue is one way to cope with the inflation factor (Red Sox salaries have at least doubled since Haywood [Sullivan] and I took over four years ago) without increasing ticket prices. I don't think the full impact of cable in this area will be here for five, six years. Yet there is a possibility that our package would be ready to go on line by next fall or next spring. (Roberts, 1982, p. 1)

Three months later, in March of 1982, the Red Sox, along with the Boston Bruins and WSBK announced plans for the formation of NESN. NESN, which was to debut in October of 1983, intended to move fifty Red Sox games and thirty-five Bruins games from broadcast television to cable (Craig, 1982a).

The deal was officially set on September 1, 1982. The new pay cable network would begin airing Red Sox games in April of 1983. NESN "will televise 90 Red Sox games, 35 regular season Bruins games and Stanley Cup home playoff games" (Gammons, 1982, p. 57). WSBK-TV (Channel 38) retained the broadcasting rights to at least sixty Red Sox games, thirty-five Bruins games, and Stanley Cup road playoff games (Gammons, 1982). A subscription to the network would cost consumers roughly $10 per month. Home games would air on the new network in order to protect gate receipts and limit expenses. Road games would air on WSBK. NESN would air Red Sox and Bruins games during weeknights, while WSBK would air games on weekends. According to Craig (1982b):

> The clever schedule makes it clear to fans that, unless they sign up for pay cable, they will not be able to watch a Red Sox or Bruins game Monday through Friday… the most negative side of the shift to pay cable next spring will be the inability of the majority of the public to tune in even if willing to pay. (p. 36)

As of June 1982, only 288,000 out 2 million households in Boston subscribed to cable. "By next spring, comparatively few Bostonians will be able to pick up the Sox on weeknights… This surely will produce a negative impact among the public" (Craig, 1982b, p. 36).

In January of 1983, NESN changed their first broadcast target date to April of1984 because the network had yet to find a general manager and did not have enough programming to fill up the 24-hour broadcast schedule (Craig, 1983a). Nine months later, Peter Affe was selected as general manager of NESN. The target date for NESN's debut was then set for January 1, 1984. NESN intended to charge sports consumers $5 a month for service, which was twice the amount subscribers paid for SportsChannel (Craig, 1983d). At the time, NESN and SportsChannel were the only pay cable channels offered to New England sports fans. Local television broadcasters thought that the existence of two pay sports channels would "create a dilemma for many local systems, fearful that subscribers who opt for both sports pay channels will drop other channels more profitable to the local operators" (Craig, 1983c, p. 40).

In 1984, NESN changed their programming strategy. NESN now planned to air ninety Red Sox games instead of sixty as was originally intended. This would leave WSBK with seventy-two games to broadcast. Three Red Sox games during the week were to be broadcast on NESN. Saturday afternoon games that aired on WSBK would be rebroadcast at 7:30pm the same day on NESN. WSBK would air thirteen Saturday night games, on holidays, and on Fridays and Mondays. NESN would simulcast with NBC during Saturday national games and with ABC on Monday night national games. No Bruins home games would be broadcast on NESN during the 1984-1985 hockey season (Craig, 1984a).

By March of 1984, it appeared as if NESN had resolved one of the key issues that had been plaguing the network. In the fall of 1983, Peter Affe was named General Manager of the network. However, one month prior to NESN's regular season debut, the network still did not have a full programming schedule. NESN was uplinked to the RCA Satcom 1-R Satellite on a 24-hour basis, yet had only four hours of programming (Craig, 1984a). In order to enhance the programming schedule, NESN planned to rebroadcast WSBK games, televise pre-game and post-game shows, as well as sports-talk and magazine-type programs (McGovern, 1984). While NESN had the technological capability to beam programming due to the satellite uplink, the network still needed a cable television provider to carry the NESN cable channel.

Before the start of spring training in 1984, NESN began "negotiating with regional television cable companies" (McGovern, 1984, p. 6C) throughout Massachusetts. To extend the reach of the network, NESN would have to "sell itself to the cable TV companies, who in turn have to sell themselves to subscribers throughout the six-state region" (McGovern, 1984, p. 6C). Red Sox fans, as well as Bruins fans, were spread across the entire New England area. To be able to watch Red Sox and Bruins games a fan, no matter where they resided in New England, would have to subscribe to a cable system that carried NESN and be willing to pay an extra monthly fee above the basic cable cost.

On March 21, 1984, NESN aired a Red Sox spring training exhibition game, which was described as a "phantom telecast" (Baker, 1984a, p. 74). No cable system in New England offered the game to subscribers. At the time, cable companies generally did not air material without contracts and NESN did not have a contract with any cable company. Members of the Boston sports media were invited to watch the game at NESN's main office located in Fenway Park. Peter Affe, then General Manager of NESN, "offered no firm response" (Baker, 1984a, p. 74) when asked about NESN's plans to sign a contract with a cable company. According to Affe, five cable systems in New England had planned to air the exhibition game and two cable systems were undecided. Cable subscribers in Waitesfield, Vermont would be able to see the next two exhibition games scheduled for broadcast. Cable subscribers in the Rhode Island towns of Barrington, Bristol, and Warren, as well as subscribers in Exeter, New Hampshire, also had a chance to possibly view the final Red Sox spring training game on NESN. Cable systems in Plymouth, Kingston, and Carver, Massachusetts needed “a piece of equipment” (Baker, 1984b, p. 74) in order to telecast the exhibition games.

In spite of the setbacks, NESN aired their first regular season telecast on April 4, 1984 featuring a game between the Red Sox and the Angels broadcast live from Anaheim, California (Craig, 1984d). During the first week, NESN offered telecasts free to viewers (Craig, 1984b). However, “no cable system made it available to subscribers and not even the NESN office at Fenway Park tuned in” (Craig, 1984d, p. 49). The reluctance of cable providers to carry the network was due to the fact that the satellite system utilized by NESN induced cable systems to upgrade their equipment. Cable providers would also have to charge twice the amount for NESN that they already charged for SportsChannel (Craig, 1984d). In November of 1984, then NESN General Manager John Claiborne predicted that 600,000 homes would subscribe to NESN by January 1, 1985. In October of 1984, the amount of NESN subscribers increased from 5,904 to 12,633. Out of 296,000 New England cabled homes, about 1,600 viewers in Massachusetts were subscribing on a weekly basis. At the time, subscribers paid $11 to $13 a month for NESN (Craig, 1984f).

By 1985, the future of NESN was uncertain. Cable providers in the Boston area gradually began to add the network to channel lineups. At the beginning of 1985, Warner Amex Communications planned “to make NESN available April 1 or very soon thereafter, depending on immediate channel capacity in Wakefield, Malden, Medford, Melrose, Somerville, Everett, Winthrop, and Chelsea" (Craig, 1985a, p. 56). The intended addition of NESN to the Warner Amex Communications cable schedule seemed to enhance the reach of the network. However, many people residing within Boston city limits did not have access to NESN. In May of 1986, NESN added 6,700 new subscribers. At the time, 140 cable systems in New England carried NESN with 120,000 total subscribers. Fans wanted access to the big games and wanted "to see more of the Red Sox" (McAdam, 1986, p. D3) throughout the 1986 baseball season as the team became World Series contenders. By 1988, only 13% of the two million cable households in New England subscribed to NESN. During the 1988 Stanley Cup playoffs, American Cable added 195 NESN subscriptions just before the Bruins were set to play the New Jersey Devils. Although Continental, Greater Boston's largest cable firm, had 300,000 NESN subscribers, a million households in Greater Boston still did not have cable and therefore did not have the means to subscribe to NESN (Craig, 1988b).

Convincing cable providers to carry the network was one of the biggest obstacles that NESN had to overcome. In 1984, Adams-Russell became the first cable system to sign a contract with NESN. The Red Sox cable package was set to begin in June of 1984 on three of Adams' eight New England systems. This included 20,000 subscribers in Lexington, Norwood, Westwood, Hudson, Maynard, Acton, and Sudbury, Massachusetts. Cable subscribers would begin paying $7 to $10 per month with a gradual increase of $5 a month. Other Adams-Russell cable systems would "eventually get the Red Sox and Bruins cable games" (Baker, 1984c, p. 56). These systems were based in Peabody, Lynnfield, Fitchburg, Leominster, Gardner, Lunenburg, Templeton, Braintree, and Bedford, Massachusetts, and two locations in Maine, which would provide NESN with roughly 60,000 subscribers (Baker, 1984c).

In other parts of New England, states, such as Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, had cable television systems but cable providers did not have the technological means to carry NESN. The three largest cable systems in Hartford, Connecticut, which included Hartford CATV, Cox Cable, and United Cable, could not carry NESN due to limited channel capacity. The cable systems were also reluctant "to add another pay-sports service that would compete with SportsChannel" (Smith, 1984a, p. D4). Many cable systems in New England saw SportsChannel as an inadequate service because the network was not doing well with cable subscribers. Furthermore, many cable systems could not cover the cost of NESN and SportsChannel, and did not have the channel capacity for both networks. Another major problem for cable companies in Connecticut was that the cable systems could not "receive signals from Satcom 1R," (Smith, 1984b, p. D5) the satellite which beamed NESN programming.

Elsewhere in New England, Manchester United Cable (MUCC), which served the largest city in New Hampshire, was reluctant to sign a cable contract with NESN due to NESN's lack of programming. In order to provide subscribers with the best sports cable package, MUCC needed NESN to add more sporting events to their programming lineup (Hilliard, 1984). Even after NESN debuted in March of 1984, MUCC had "no immediate plans to add [NESN] to its system" (Nettel, 1984, p. 8D). MUCC subscribers would have to pay an extra $10 a month to add NESN and would be able to watch only fifteen games per month. NESN would also have to compete with other sports programming on channels such as WTBS and WWOR, which MUCC already carried. Additionally, MUCC would have to build a transformer to receive NESN's satellite signal. Sam Phillips, Senior United Cable Manager, stated that NESN was not simply not a "viable" (Nettel, 1984, p. 8D) option for the cable provider.

Sports fans in other parts of New England, such as Vermont and Maine, were simply unable to receive the network due to the lack of cable television systems. At the time of NESN's regular season debut in 1984, officials in Burlington, Vermont were preparing to select a company to build a cable television franchise for the city (Shafroth, 1984). Homes in Vermont were being wired for cable since the beginning of 1984. However, most of those homes were located outside of Burlington (Donoghue & Chen, 1984). Like Vermont, the growth of cable television in Maine was slow. Cable services in Maine did not begin until the summer of 1984. Red Sox and Bruins games were essentially unavailable to most of the state. Many towns had to build broadcast towers to even receive WSBK, which aired games for free ("Gray To Get," 1984).

The first Boston-area cable outlet to broadcast a Red Sox game was Natick Cablevision. Approximately 200 cable subscribers in Natick, Massachusetts paid $18.90 a month, which included the basic cable rate plus the additional monthly cost of NESN, to watch Red Sox games (Baker, 1984d). Although Natick Cablevision carried NESN, the relationship between NESN and Cablevision of Boston was complex and problematic throughout most of the 1980s. The early stages of the turbulent NESN-Cablevision dynamic began in 1981 when then Boston mayor Kevin White selected Cablevision to build the first cable franchise for the city of Boston. During NESN's first two years of operation from 1984 to 1986, Cablevision declined to offer NESN to cable subscribers. If Cablevision had added NESN to its cable television lineup roughly 28,000 subscribers would have been able to see eighty-five Red Sox games. Another alternative for Cablevision would have been to offer NESN as a separate package, which would have gained NESN about 75,000 subscribers. Craig (1985b) speculated:

> Cablevision believes that if it makes NESN available to its subscribers… it might be the catalyst for assuring the latter's survival and eventual success. But if Cablevision

> continues to reject NESN, the latter's ongoing deep deficit may in time put it out of business, providing an opportunity for Cablevision to cut deals with the Red Sox and Bruins and link them with the Celtics to offer all three teams at a single, substantial price. (p. 46)

In 1985, Cablevision offered to buy the Bruins and the Boston Garden for $50 million. The acquisition of both the Bruins and the Garden would have given Cablevision broadcasting rights to Bruins' games and ownership interest in NESN. Furthermore, Cablevision would be able to air both Bruins and Celtics games on its cable regional sports network: SportsChannel. This, in turn, would have "put NESN out of business by pulling the Bruins off the cable channel, and then selling off what would be its ownership interest in NESN" (McDonough, 1985a, p. 60). However, Jerry Jacobs, owner of the Bruins, would not give up the broadcasting rights to the Bruins or his ownership interest in NESN. According to McDonough (1985a):

> The Cablevision game plan, if it had worked, would have most likely forced NESN out of business, while at the same time virtually forcing Red Sox and Bruins games onto SportsChannel, where, with Celtics games, they could have dominated the sports cable TV market in this area. (p. 60).

A year later, in 1986, Cablevision still refused to offer NESN to cable subscribers in Boston. "The consensus says that the real reason Cablevision rejects NESN is that it hopes NESN will go under and the Sox and Bruins will turn to SportsChannel for their cable outlet" (Craig, 1986a, p. 61). In June of 1986, Cablevision General Manager, Norm Kellogg, sent a written proposal to NESN General Manager John Claiborne "to add NESN if it was offered at no cost, which in turn would be made available at no extra charge to subscribers" (Craig, 1986b, p. 54). Claiborne then sent the proposal to the owners of the Red Sox, the Bruins, and WSBK.

Cablevision intended to offer NESN to subscribers on its Metro tier service, which had 50,000 subscribers in Boston, for $12.50 a month. The Metro tier service included 39 channels, as well as SportsChannel and other cable channels that featured sports programming. "Kellogg suggested NESN could be compensated for the giveaway by increasing its advertising rates through the substantial increase in subscribers" (Craig, 1986b, p. 54). Cablevision's offer appeared ideal for NESN, who had lost $3 million since 1984. However, Claiborne was not confident about Cablevision's offer. Cablevision's key source of income was from subscription fees and not advertising (Craig, 1986b). The idea that the offer would benefit both Cablevision and NESN in the long run was unfeasible.

Cablevision's proposal was seen as a reaction to public pressure, as well as a response to the success of the 1986 Red Sox season (Craig, 1986b), which included a record breaking performance by pitcher Roger Clemens in April and an appearance in the World Series. SportsChannel, owned partly by Cablevision, was still hoping to run NESN out of business, which would "allow SportsChannel to try to add the Red Sox and Bruins to its schedule" (Craig, 1986c, p. 52). This would give SportsChannel broadcasting rights to four professional Boston sports teams: the Red Sox, the Bruins, the Celtics, and the Hartford Whalers hockey team. Ultimately, SportsChannel could become a must carry network for cable providers throughout New England. Charles Dolan, principal owner of Cablevision and a partner in the SportsChannel franchise was attempting to slow NESN's financial growth "by keeping the pay channel out of Boston… The free ride proposal is a little sleight of hand designed to hold everyone at bay until, he [Dolan] hopes, the Red Sox begin to lose more games" (Craig, 1986c, p. 52).

After two years of dead end negotiations, members of Boston mayor Ray Flynn's administration stepped in to seek a compromise between NESN and Cablevision. According to *Boston Globe* reporter Ed Quill (1986), Cablevision had been negotiating a one-year deal which would allow Cablevision to charge NESN $3 per subscriber. Cablevision would then charge subscribers $6.25 a month for the NESN cable channel. Cablevision accused NESN of going back on their deal declaring NESN greedy because NESN wanted to set the subscription cost at $6.25 a month for three years and not just one year. NESN said the two parties had never reached an initial agreement and that the possible deal with Cablevision matched the contract stipulations NESN already had with other cable systems (Quill, 1986).

On September 3, 1986, after more than two years of unsuccessful talks, Cablevision customers in Boston were finally able to watch a Red Sox game on NESN. Although NESN would be available as a part of Cablevision's Metro Tier service for no extra charge beyond the basic subscription fee, after the 1986 baseball season NESN would be included in Cablevision's Family Tier Service, which would cost consumers $16.50 plus $6.25 for NESN. According to Craig (1986d), Mayor Flynn, whose administration played a key position in bringing the two sides to an agreement, stated that the role of the administration "was not only to bring both sides together but to continue negotiations with both sides. We pointed out that while this is a private company, there is also a public interest. Public interest here is Red Sox baseball fans" (p. 58).

Throughout most of the 1980s, SportsChannel, a regional sports network owned in part by Cablevision, was the only major competitor for NESN in the Boston television market. While the chaotic negotiations between Cablevision and NESN were occurring in 1985, NESN started defending their broadcast territory. In August of 1985, SportsChannel filed a law suit against the Red Sox because the team "refused to allow the cable channel's camera and reporter access to Fenway Park" (Duce, 1985, p. 26). On behalf of SportsChannel, attorney Roderick MacLeish argued that the Red Sox were violating SportsChannel's First Amendment rights and that camera crews from Boston television stations and other New England states were allowed access to Fenway Park. Daniel Goldberg, attorney for the Red Sox, "stated the team's private property rights entitled it to decide on access" (Craig, 1985d, p. 74). According to Craig (1985d):

> SportsChannel also submitted a memorandum claiming the refusal of press credentials that prevents it from obtaining action footage and postgame interviews for use on its nightly 11 p.m. sports program was a retaliation against the Boston cable system for refusing to make New England Sports Network (NESN) available to its subscribers. (p. 74)

Suffolk County Superior Court Judge George Jacobs denied SportsChannel's request for a temporary injunction, which would have enabled SportsChannel to tape and broadcast highlights of Red Sox games (Craig, 1985e).

NESN faced a variety of obstacles throughout its creation and early history. Today, NESN is now one of the largest cable networks in New England with a reach of over 4 million households in nine television markets. NESN is available in all six New England states and is also offered nationwide through satellite services. Although Red Sox and Bruins games remain NESN's key source of programming, NESN also features other sports programming, such as college hockey and basketball, fishing, English Premier League soccer, and horse racing, as well as various in-house productions, including pre-game and post-game shows and sports talk programs. In addition, NESN delivers the latest sports news and video via its website. As of today, the Red Sox own 80% of NESN, while the Bruins control 20% of the network (Anderson, 2012; "NESN: New England's Most," 2012).

Although NESN did not debut until 1984, several historical factors directly impacted the creation and early history of the network. First, without cable television and satellite technology the Red Sox and the Bruins would not have been able to create NESN. Additionally, because federal regulations on ownership of cable networks applied to media corporations, the Red Sox and the Bruins were not only able to create NESN, but were also able to maintain control of the network without any government interference. FCC rules regarding media ownership and the cable television industry, as well as pay TV operations, generally applied to telecommunications companies or media institutions, not sports institutions. However, the FCC did retain some control over sports programming on cable television and pay TV. The removal of the anti-siphoning rules in 1977, which were intended to limit the amount of programming, including sports and films, being moved from broadcast television to cable paved the way for future cable sports networks. In a sense, the Red Sox and Bruins were able to take advantage of the lapse in government oversight on sports programming in the 1980s to move their games from WSBK to NESN.

While numerous federal regulations associated with cable television and pay TV established rules related to ownership and programming, on a municipal level, the extremely slow development of cable television in Boston, largely dictated by federal regulations related to the cable franchising process, impacted public access to NESN. Mayor Kevin White's selection of Cablevision as the primary cable provider for Boston in 1980 prevented television viewers who resided within Boston city limits from watching NESN for well over two years. Consequently, it was not until Mayor Ray Flynn, another city official, intervened in 1986 that the problems between Cablevision and NESN were resolved. Also, because Cablevision owned SportsChannel, NESN's future was, in a sense, being controlled by Cablevision. For nearly three years, Cablevision declined to offer NESN to cable subscribers. This, in turn, prevented NESN from gaining cable subscribers in the city of Boston, which slowed the reach and development of the network. Cablevision had once hoped to put NESN out of business, which would have allowed SportsChannel to become the primary source of cable sports programming in the Boston television market.

NESN's early development as a pay cable network can be compared to the initial stages of the cable television industry, specifically pay TV. Like many pay TV operations in the 1960s, one of NESN's many obstacles was gaining and maintaining paying viewers. During its first year of operation, NESN had trouble convincing consumers to subscribe to the network. This was mainly because the majority of Red Sox and Bruins fans already watched games on WSBK for free. Although the Red Sox and Bruins had loyal viewers, NESN needed willing subscribers to succeed. The overall success of NESN is perhaps attributable to the fact that unlike many other national, as well as regional, cable sports networks NESN has maintained broadcast operations in the local region, which has allowed NESN to retain closer ties to the local sports culture. This is comparable to how early cable systems in the 1940s originated in small towns and communities. In the beginning, cable television was not only used to enhance the reach of broadcast signals, it was also utilized to bring communities together and to provide programming geared towards people in specific communities and geographical areas.

Conclusion

When cable television first appeared it was a technological method for improving broadcast signals in remote areas. As cable television grew into a vast entertainment industry, it became less of a community medium. Media companies and other businesses began to see the economic advantages of cable television. Cable corporations, such as Cablevision and Tele-Communications, Inc., were able to build successful cable franchises in major cities and provide cable television services to consumers. Cable providers were able to create successful cable networks that featured niche programming, such as news, sports, and films. With the arrival of pay TV, cable television programming became more popular due to additional specialized services. Although federal regulation of cable television, as well as pay TV, remained fairly limited as to oversight and control on both a national and municipal level, satellite technology enabled the United States to build communication services which could reach television audiences on a global scale. More generally, satellite technology permitted regional cable networks in the United States to reach television audiences nationwide and to provide programming, for instance sports and other entertainment, which originated from a specific city or geographical area.

For most cable, pay TV, and satellite networks, sports became a vital source of programming. Sports ensured cable networks an audience and provided additional income due to advertising revenue and subscription fees. National cable networks, such as HBO and ESPN, offered pay-per-view sporting events or, in the case of ESPN, 24-hour sports coverage. Regional cable networks, for example TBS and WGN, aired games which focused on specific teams, such as the Atlanta Braves and the Chicago Cubs. For some sports teams, cable television, as well as satellite, enabled teams to create more decentralized sports networks which targeted local sports consumers and focused on local sports culture. Regional sports networks, such as NESN, provided teams with a steady source of income and a guaranteed audience. Additionally, regional sports networks delivered programming to sports consumers that featured home sports teams, as well as other sports related programming. Even today, live sporting events are one of the most important sources of televised programming. Although a fair amount of sporting events remain on free television, the popularity of sports programming has led to an increase of sports appearing on pay services, such as cable, satellite, and the Internet. Yet, unlike broadcast television and national cable sports networks, regional sports networks, such as NESN, still provide consumers with programming that focuses on the home team and local sports culture.

The historical importance of NESN is that it is the first team created, owned and operated regional sports network. Despite the failure of other regional sports network in the 1980s, such as Home Sports Entertainment and PRISM, the Red Sox and the Bruins used cable television and satellite technology combined with a pay TV model, ineffectively implemented by STV in the 1960s, to create a sports media institution. Today, NESN provides programming geared toward fans of the Red Sox and the Bruins, as well as other New England sports teams. Furthermore, NESN still maintains operations in the New England area and continues to be a successful local media institution.

Overall, NESN's history shows that in analyzing the history of any media organization, it is important to take into consideration a greater history, for example the history of cable television and satellite, which may ultimately impact a media organizations' entire history. It is also necessary to consider the historical relationships between media institutions, for example Cablevision and NESN, as well the historical relationships amid government organizations and media corporations. Moreover, the history of NESN highlights the importance of sports media ownership and sports programming in launching a successful regional sports network. The historical importance of NESN lies not only in the fact that the network is the first team created, owned and operated regional sports network, it is precisely that NESN is the first and, arguably, the most successful team created, owned and operated network on an economic, political economic, and cultural level.

Although the concept of a team created, owned and operated regional sports network did not emerge until the early 1980s, historical insinuations can be traced back to the beginning of cable television and pay TV up until the advent of satellite technology. For most cable, pay TV, and satellite networks sports were a key source of programming. Regional sports networks were created to provide specific programming to local audiences. NESN is the first team created, owned and operated regional sports network and has remained an important part of the sports media industry and local sports culture for 28 years. The creation and subsequent success of

NESN establishes a historical foundation for analyzing NESN’s unique ownership structure, as well as NESN programming. Furthermore, because NESN has become a media institution within a specific geographical area it maintains closer ties to local sports culture, more so than national sports broadcasters, and may have more of a bearing on local sports culture through the televised sports text. The next chapter examines the ownership structure of NESN and NESN programming.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS & FINDINGS: NESN AND THE SPORTS/MEDIA COMPLEX

According to Dwayne Winseck (2011) “one of the difficulties with measuring the impact of media ownership on content stems from the changing organizational structure of large media conglomerates” (p. 22). Ultimately, this dissertation establishes a foundation for using cultural analysis, specifically political economy and textual analysis, to examine how media ownership affects media content. More precisely, this dissertation looks at how the ownership structure of NESN, a sports media institution, influences media content, NESN programming, and how NESN uses its programming to connect to local sports culture. Analyzing the impact of sports media ownership on the televised sports text may offer a more direct approach to looking at how the primary owners of media texts maintain control over content. This chapter begins with a political economic analysis of the ownership structure of NESN. Using textual analysis, this chapter then examines NESN programming for references to local sports culture. Next, this chapter utilizes the sports/media complex, and the base and superstructure model, to critically analyze the relationship between the ownership structure of NESN and NESN programming. This chapter concludes with a discussion that focuses on the possible impact of sports media ownership on the televised sports text.

Cultural Analysis

Various primary sources, such as newspapers, trade publications, magazines, court cases, and company documents, were consulted to provide the data necessary to determine the ownership structure of NESN. Secondary sources were used to supplement information not found in the primary sources. The company documents consist of a limited partnership certificate and articles of organization. Both documents were filed in 1982 with the Commonwealth of

Massachusetts Corporations Division. Because NESN is a private corporation, annual reports were either not available or contained limited information. The analysis focuses mainly on the ownership of NESN and includes information about company managers and personnel, as well as the relationship between NESN and other cable sports networks.

New England Sports Network, Inc. (NESN) was first incorporated in Massachusetts on July 20, 1982. NESN's objective as a corporation was "to produce, provide, market and promote programming consisting of professional and amateur sports events, motion pictures, dramatic, theatrical, musical and similar productions or events for viewing by cable television subscribers" (Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1982a, p. 1). The officers of the corporation and primary directors were Joseph C. Dimino (President and Director), Edward G. LeRoux (Treasurer and Director), and Paul A. Mooney (Clerk and Director) (Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1982a). On September 1, 1982, NESN filed a limited partnership certificate with the Office of the Secretary State in Boston. The limited partnership certificate established NESN as New England Sports Network, Limited Partnership and instituted guidelines related to the joint ownership. Though the purpose of NESN as a corporation is identical to the goals stated in the articles of organization, the limited partnership certificate highlights more precisely that:

> The purpose of the partnership is to develop, own, and manage a cable television network which will be engaged primarily in the business of providing programming consisting of professional and amateur sports events (particularly sports involving professional and amateur teams located and playing their home games in the New England region)… for distribution to cable television franchises and other media associated with the cable television industry. (Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1982b, p. 2)

Furthermore, the limited partnership certificate lists the limited partners as Edward G. LeRoux and Haywood Sullivan, employees of New England Associates, primary owners of the Red Sox; Paul A. Mooney, President of Boston Professional Hockey Association, Inc., owners of the Bruins; and Daniel J. Berkery, Vice President of New Boston Television, Inc., owners of local television broadcaster WSBK. The certificate also lists Joseph C. Dimino as a general partner and states that Dimino "personally appeared before me [H. Lawrence Tafe, III, Notary Public]… who being first duly sworn, declared that he is President of New England Sports Network, Inc…" (Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1982b, p. 6).

The articles of organization and the limited partnership certificate provide historical information which establishes NESN as a media institution and outlines the institutional roles of the officers and primary directors. Additionally, the limited partnership certificate presents a breakdown of the ownership interest of the network in 1982. As of September 1, 1982, New England Associates, primary owners of the Red Sox controlled 47% of the network, while Boston Professional Hockey Association, Inc., owners of the Bruins, controlled 31% and New Boston Television, Inc., subsidiary owners of WSBK, owned 19% (Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1982b). The ownership interest of each corporation remained fairly steady until NESN's debut in 1984. However, by 1985, the distribution of ownership changed, which impacted the control of the network. According to *The Boston Globe*, in 1985, the Red Sox, the Bruins, and local television broadcaster WSBK were the primary owners of NESN. The Red Sox owned 49% of NESN, the Bruins owned 32%, and WSBK owned 19% (McDonough, 1985b). In 1988, the ownership interest shifted to the Red Sox controlling 48%, WSBK controlling 20%, and the Bruins operating the remaining 32% (Craig, 1988b).

Between 1982 and 1988, the Red Sox held the majority interest in NESN fluctuating from 47% to 49% and then down to 48%. During those same years, the ownership stake of the Bruins changed once, increasing from 31% in 1982 to 32% in 1985, and remaining at 32% in 1988. The ownership interest of WSBK followed the same pattern as the Bruins changing from 19% in 1982 to 20% in 1985 through 1988. The reason why the Red Sox held a majority interest in NESN throughout the 1980s (and still do today) is not mentioned in the company records. However, according to the limited partnership certificate, New England Associates paid approximately $26,648 in cash contributions toward NESN and intended to contribute roughly $678,000 in the future (Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1982b). This is almost twice the amount the Bruins contributed to the creation and operation of NESN. In this case, the economic interests of New England Associates, and the Red Sox respectively, are directly linked to the ownership interests of the corporation and team. Simply, the Red Sox paid more for NESN; the Red Sox were able to control more of NESN.

Although NESN's economic interests are an important factor to consider in analyzing NESN's ownership structure, other elements to contemplate are NESN's relationship with other media corporations, company managers and personnel, and the importance of the Red Sox, the Bruins, and WSBK, as well their principal owners, in the history of the local sports culture. When NESN went on the air in 1984, Haywood Sullivan, Edward G. LeRoux, and Jean Yawkey were the principal owners of the Red Sox and had been since 1976 when they bought the team for roughly $20 million from Yawkey Way Trust, the estate of deceased owner Thomas A. Yawkey (McGovern, 1984; McDonough, 1987). In 1987, Sullivan and Yawkey bought out LeRoux for $7 million, which removed LeRoux "from the Red Sox picture as an owner and general partner" (McDonough, 1987, p. 45) of the team. The strife between LeRoux and Red Sox owners Haywood Sullivan and Jean Yawkey can be traced back to 1983 when Jean Yawkey, under JRY Corporation, sued LeRoux in Suffolk Superior Court. LeRoux had previously attempted to amend the partnership agreement and restructure the management without notifying the other owners. The court found that the partnership between Sullivan and Yawkey (Yawkey Way Trust) and LeRoux was not valid. In 1984, the case was appealed. The court affirmed the initial decision of the lower court stating that LeRoux "failed to comply with the provision of the agreement requiring opinion from the partnership's counsel before amending the agreement and sought to change the fundamental rights of the general partners without a requisite unanimous vote" (JRY Corporation v. Edward G. LeRoux, Jr., 1984, p. 82).

For over ten years, the ownership structure of the Red Sox had remained the same. However, the change in the partnership in 1987 impacted the ownership structure of NESN. LeRoux was no longer a limited partner in the network. The ousting of LeRoux in 1987 allowed John Harrington, a representative of Jean Yawkey and JRY Corporation, to become a partner in the ownership of the Red Sox. Harrington would become acting president of the Red Sox "on behalf of Jean Yawkey" (Craig, 1988b, p. 33) in 1988, and president of NESN as well (Craig, 1988c). Harrington would remain with the Red Sox organization and NESN until 2001 when, sixty-eight years after Tom Yawkey purchased the Red Sox and Fenway Park for $1.15 million in 1933, Harrington sold the franchise to John Henry, Tom Werner, and Larry Lucchino. Consequently, the ownership of NESN was included in the sale of the Red Sox (Mnookin, 2006). By 2001, WSBK no longer held a stake in the ownership of NESN. However, the Bruins, whose primary ownership structure had stayed fairly the same throughout history of the franchise, remained part owners of NESN.

On July 31, 1973, Boston Garden-Arena Corp., principal owners of both the Bruins and the Boston Garden sports arena, merged with Storer Broadcasting ("Stockholder Meeting Briefs," 1973). The merger allowed Storer Broadcasting to gain full interest in ownership of the Bruins ("Agree On Bruins," 1972). The merger did not impact the operation or management of the Bruins ("Stockholder Meeting Briefs," 1973). In 1975, Storer Broadcasting sold the Bruins and the Boston Garden to Sportsystems, Corp. and Jeremy, Max and Lawrence Jacobs ("Storer

Units' Sale," 1975). The Jacobs owned Sportsystems, Corp., which operated a variety of businesses from steel processing to bowling alleys ("Storer Broadcasting Co.," 1975). By the end of 1975, the Bruins ended their fifty year history with the Adams family when the Jacobs replaced Weston Adams Jr. with Paul Mooney as president of the hockey team ("People in Sports," 1975). Paul Mooney would also serve as vice president of NESN until his departure from the Bruins organization in 1987 (Craig, 1983b; Craig, 1987).

In the 1970s, the Bruins and Storer Broadcasting, owners of WSBK television, forged a brief relationship that would resurface through shared ownership of NESN in the 1980s. Unlike the ownership structures of the Red Sox and the Bruins, the ownership structure of WSBK changed several times during the 1980s. In 1984, New Boston Television, a subsidiary of Storer Communications, owned local television broadcaster WSBK (Smith, 1984a). The relationship between Storer Communications and WSBK began in 1969 when Storer acquired WSBK from the Boston Archdiocese. Storer then began the process of turning WSBK into a sports station by airing forty Bruins games. WSBK eventually broadcast seventy-plus games and gained "season-long audiences not equaled before or since" (Craig, 1984e, p. 1).

In 1985, Storer Communications, parent company of WSBK, signed a merger agreement with Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co., a New York investment firm ("Storer Signs Merger," 1985). Two years later, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co. negotiated a deal to divide ownership interest in six television stations with Gillett Holdings. The agreement would allow Gillett to manage several Storer Television broadcasting units, which included WSBK in Boston ("The Top 50," 1987). According to *Advertising Age*, WSBK was listed as a media property of Gillett Holdings in 1989 ("Properties of the Leading," 1989). The basic ownership structure of NESN did not change during the 1980s. The Red Sox, Bruins, and WSBK shared in the ownership of

NESN through the network's creation and its first five years of operation. While the basic ownership structure of NESN remained the same, changes in management did occur.

Before NESN debuted in 1984, Joe Dimino, former General Manager of WSBK and then president of Storer Television (Craig, 1983a), also served as the president of NESN along with Paul Mooney as vice president and Edward G. LeRoux as treasurer (Craig, 1983b). By the summer of 1984, Bill Flynn was hired to replace Joe Dimino. At the time, Flynn was also the General Manager of the Storer Communications CBS affiliate, WJBK-TV, in Detroit. As president of Storer Television which was located in Miami, "Dimino was not able to give that much attention" (Craig, 1984e, p. 1) to NESN. Flynn, who once had "an untouchable track record for spurring televised sports in Boston" (Craig, 1984e, p. 1) would soon find managing NESN to "be a challenge" (Craig, 1984e, p.1). By the summer of 1984, Bill Flynn (WSBK), Paul Mooney (the Bruins), and Edward G. LeRoux (the Red Sox) served in the top three management positions at NESN.

At the outset, one of the biggest obstacles for NESN concerning company management was hiring a general manager to oversee daily operations. A year before NESN debuted, Red Sox owners named John Claiborne general manager of the network. Claiborne was the first choice of Red Sox co-owner Haywood Sullivan (Gammons, 1983). During the 1970s, Claiborne worked as general manager of the Oakland Athletics, and in the St. Louis Cardinals and Red Sox organizations as well. In 1982, Claiborne returned to Boston after gaining several years of cable television industry experience at the Christian Broadcasting Network (Craig, 1988a). Claiborne would serve as general manager of NESN from 1983 until his resignation in 2000 (Manly, 2000).

By the time Claiborne joined NESN in 1983, it appeared as if things were falling into place for the fledgling network. NESN had a general manager and was planning to begin broadcasting games at the beginning of the 1984 baseball season. Despite the positive outlook for NESN, NESN still needed cable subscribers to succeed as a network. In order for viewers to subscribe to NESN, cable providers throughout New England would have to carry the network and offer NESN as part of a cable package or as a stand-alone option. Although the majority of cable television providers throughout New England gradually added NESN to their cable schedules, the relationship between NESN and Cablevision, Boston's primary cable provider, remained unstable throughout most of the 1980s.

Cablevision's adamant refusal to offer NESN to cable subscribers prevented viewers in Boston from watching Red Sox and Bruins games on NESN for roughly two years. Additionally, by not providing viewers with the option of subscribing to NESN, Cablevision was paving the way for possible television market domination in sports programming. SportsChannel, a sports cable franchise owned by Cablevision, became the biggest competitor to NESN not only in the Boston television market, but throughout the New England region as well. The Boston media cited Cablevision's denial of adding NESN as unscrupulous and underhanded claiming that Cablevision's actual reason for not giving viewers the option to subscribe to NESN was to put NESN out of business hoping the Red Sox and the Bruins would sign an agreement with SportsChannel to broadcast games (McDonough, 1985a; Craig, 1986a). Incidentally, SportsChannel and Cablevision were not the only media institutions eager to pull the Red Sox and Bruins into a single pay cable sports network. In 1983, NESN was given "the opportunity to combine its Bruins and Red Sox package with PRISM's 40 Celtics games, plus 30 to 40 Whalers games each season... This would have put an unmatchable collection of Boston pro teams on the same channel" (Craig, 1983b, p. 28). However, Mooney and LeRoux were "more interested in a take-over than a partnership" (Craig, 1983b, p. 28).

NESN's readiness to possibly buy out the PRISM sports network suggests an ironic twist in NESN's early history. Had the Red Sox and the Bruins agreed to air games on PRISM, NESN might not have been created. Better yet, if the Red and the Bruins had purchased PRISM instead of forming NESN, NESN's future problems with Cablevision could have been avoided. Cablevision's acquisition of PRISM in 1983, in a joint venture with The Washington Post Co. (Mayer, 1983), allowed Cablevision to turn PRISM into a successful cable sports franchise: SportsChannel. Perhaps Cablevision's refusal in offering NESN to subscribers had more to do with a take-over. Perhaps Cablevision sought to remind NESN of NESN's past adverse intentions. NESN's objective to buy out PRISM in 1983 is comparable to Cablevision's attempts to put NESN out of business. Cablevision wanted to take-over NESN and NESN had previously wanted to buy out PRISM. The NESN-Cablevision dynamic offers an example of how the relationship between the sports industry and the media industry is, at times, equal, yet unstable.

From an historical perspective, the ownership structure of NESN demonstrates the importance of media ownership, in general. During the 1980s, media ownership changed rapidly. By 1989, the top five media corporations were spread all over the globe. Only two of those corporations, Time/Warner and Capital Cities, were located in the United States. Due to an increase in synergy, many of the companies were able to extend operations across various media platforms. For example, Time/Warner, known mostly for magazine publishing (Time) and film and television programming (Warner), also held ownership interests in music, broadcasting, and cable television systems. At the time, many prominent media corporations predicted that by the end of 1999, the global media system would be "dominated by a few giant concerns" ("Time Warner Would," 1989, p. B1).

Since the 1980s, vertical integration has become the most common form of media ownership. Vertical integration has allowed media corporations to extend operations even further by bringing together companies via acquisitions and mergers. Throughout the 2000s, many large media corporations, such as CBS and Viacom and Disney and ABC, combined business interests to form some of the biggest media conglomerates in the world. Furthermore, media corporations, such as Disney and Viacom, also acquired independent media firms, for instance Miramax and DreamWorks, which enhanced the dominance of only a few conglomerates (Winseck, 2011). Over the past twenty years, major media corporations, such as News Corporation and Comcast Corporation, have acquired several cable sports outlets, in a sense, making the relationship between the media industry and sports industry more multifaceted. Vertical integration between the media industry and the sports industry has also led to the success of national cable sports channels, for example ESPN and TBS, as well as superstations, and regional sports networks. A few media corporations have even experimented in the ownership of professional sports teams. Some of these media corporations operate other types of entertainment businesses in addition to owning sports teams. Other types of vertical integration in sports media ownership include media companies that operate locally or regionally and own sports teams, as well as venture capitalists that also control ownership interests in sports teams (Harvey, Law, and Cantelon, 2001).

Sports media ownership is part of a multifaceted framework in which the sports and media industries work with and against each other. NESN's ownership structure is an example of a unique type of vertical integration. In the 1980s, two of NESN's primary owners were not media companies; only one owner, Storer Broadcasting, was a media corporation. The creation of NESN allowed the owners of the Red Sox and the Bruins to become media owners (Walker and Bellamy Jr., 2008). For possibly the first time, professional sports team owners controlled and operated a media corporation. Historically, vertical integration between the sports industry and media industry generally occurred when a media corporation, whether global, national, or regional, acquired ownership of a professional sports team, which, in turn, enabled media corporations to expand sports broadcasting rights. The creation of NESN established a new form of sports media ownership where sports owners could essentially form private media companies to "maximize profit" (Sage, 2000, p. 266).

The ownership structure of NESN also impacted the relationship between the sports teams, the Red Sox and the Bruins, and local television station WSBK. Before the creation of NESN, WSBK had been the home television broadcast station of the Red Sox and the Bruins. The creation of NESN enabled the Red Sox, Bruins, and WSBK to form a joint venture, which gave the Red Sox and the Bruins more control over the production and distribution of game broadcasts. Bellamy Jr. and Walker (2001) find that "some combination of corporate ownership and vertically integrated ownership of teams and television distribution outlet" (p. 42) ideal for sports television markets. While NESN eventually eliminated WSBK from the sports television market in Boston, the ownership structure of NESN in the 1980s gave WSBK a chance to continue broadcasting Red Sox and Bruins on a partial basis. WSBK still maintained a small amount of control over the programming that had made WSBK the flagship station of the Red Sox and the Bruins and an important part of local sports culture.

Despite the gradual success of NESN, it can be argued that the creation of the network mostly benefited the Red Sox more than the Bruins and WSBK because the ownership structure was set up in favor of the Red Sox. During the 1980s, the Red Sox were the majority owners of NESN, and as of today, own 80% of the network with the Bruins controlling 20% (Anderson, 2012). Furthermore, because "vertical integration of teams and regional sports networks…

harm consumers' interests" (Jeanrenaud & Kessene, 2006, p. 9), the formation of NESN, which resulted in the transferring of Red Sox and Bruins games from WSBK to NESN, did not initially benefit subscribers. NESN was slow in gaining subscribers due to the fact that viewers simply did not want to pay for a product that was once free. Conversely, NESN's success can be attributed to its ownership structure. When NESN was created, the Red Sox and Bruins were already prominent institutions in the local sports culture and WSBK was a well-established television station. More importantly, NESN programming, which focused on home teams more so than national sports broadcasters, eventually attracted viewers who were already fans of the teams and WSBK as well.

To this point, this chapter has analyzed the ownership structure of NESN. To examine how the ownership structure of NESN impacts NESN programming, this chapter continues with a textual analysis of NESN programming. The main textual analysis focuses on a 1986 NESN broadcast which features a record-breaking performance by Red Sox pitcher Roger Clemens. The 1986 broadcast marks a crucial time in NESN's early history and may also demonstrate how media ownership effects the creation of media content. The overall textual analysis begins with an introductory examination of 1980s fictional sports films, such as *Raging Bull* (1980), *Rocky III* (1982), and *The Natural* (1984), as well as the television program *Cheers* (1982-1993). These particular texts were chosen due to their release dates and popularity. Each film and all eleven seasons of *Cheers* were viewed once. The goal of the preliminary analysis is to identify specific aesthetic elements, as well as references to local sports culture, presented in the fictional texts. This establishes a foundation for common visual and aural techniques, as well as themes associated with local sports culture, which may carry over into the televised sports texts. Instead of using predetermined categories, the preliminary textual analysis follows a qualitative approach which allows major themes associated with local sports culture, as well as common visual and aural techniques, "to emerge from [the] readings" (Messner Dunbar, & Hunt, 2000, p. 381) freely.

The results of the preliminary analysis suggest that the most common visual technique utilized in all three sports films is slow motion. In the films, slow motion is generally used to signify an important event and to heighten drama. For example, in *Raging Bull* and *Rocky III* the picture is slowed down when Jake LaMotta (Robert DeNiro) or Rocky Balboa (Sylvester Stallone) are knocked out or knock out an opponent. In *The Natural*, during Roy Hobbs' (Robert Redford) last at bat, he hits a home run which is presented in slow motion. The ball breaks a flood light. Hobbs then runs the bases with lights exploding all around him. Hobbs reaches home plate in slow motion scoring the winning run. Elsewhere in the film, when Hobbs is at bat versus the Philadelphia Phillies, slow motion is used to emphasize his approach to the plate, which sets up the audience for what is to come next: a game winning home run.

In the three films, the most common aural techniques used are sound effects, dialogue, and sports commentary. The aural techniques are typically directly linked to the visual text and are used to augment the visual. For instance, whenever Rocky or Jake LaMotta are hit in the head during a fight the picture becomes unstable and the sound disorientating. In *The Natural*, many of the prominent aural techniques are presented during at bats. For example, when Roy hits a ball there is a reverberated sound. The aural elements, in some cases, also highlight the importance of local sports culture. For instance, during baseball games, the crowd chants: "Roy, Roy, Roy…" just like the fans in *Rocky III,* who, during boxing matches, cheer: "Rocky, Rocky, Rocky…" Film crowd noises can pull the film viewer into the narrative. The film viewer then becomes a part of the action on the screen and, in a sense, part of the fictional crowd and part of the fictional sports culture presented in the text.

Although the three films provide minimal references to local sports culture, there are traces of fan admiration, as well as home town pride present in the films. For example, while boxing is not typically considered a local sport, meaning that there is no specific home team to root for as in baseball or even hockey, Rocky is Philadelphia's favorite son. This is signified by the statue of Rocky erected on the steps of the Philadelphia Art Museum made famous in the first installment of the *Rocky* franchise (1976). Because boxing is more of an individual sport than a team sport, there is no clear distinction of the home team; there is no "home" ring. However, because the filmic crowd cheers specifically for Rocky (chanting "Rocky, Rocky, Rocky…"), Rocky represents the home team, as well as the local sports culture of Philadelphia.

While the most common visual technique utilized in the three films is slow motion, fictional television during the 1980s, particularly situation comedies, generally did not utilize slow motion. As for the shared aural techniques used in the films, sound effects, dialogue, and sports commentary appear to carry over into the fictional televised text, in this case, *Cheers*, which aired on NBC from 1982 to 1993. Even though the aural techniques presented in the films are used to augment the visual, sound effects, dialogue, and sports commentary in *Cheers* are employed on a basic aesthetic level.

Nevertheless, *Cheers*, which is set in Boston, does feature various elements of local sports culture. For example, several episodes present guest stars who were local sports heroes, such as Luis Tiant and Wade Boggs, both of the Boston Red Sox. The main characters are also portrayed as avid Boston sports fans. In an episode titled "The Tortelli Tort," (1982) Sam (Ted Danson) becomes the target of a law suit because of Carla's (Rhea Perlman) rude actions towards an obnoxious customer. The episode begins with the bar patrons watching a Red Sox game on television (the television viewer can recognize the game as a Red Sox game due to the sound of the sports commentary). Carl Yastremski, an actual Red Sox player at the time, strikes out at the plate. Norm (George Wendt) says: “Sox lose again.” Carla declares herself to no longer be a Red Sox fan and asks aloud: “Have I said that before?” Big Ed – a Yankee fan – enters the bar and proceeds to taunt the patrons. Ed describes the bar as a “Red Sox bar.”

Yet, Cheers is more than a Red Sox bar, it is a Boston sports bar. The mise-en-scene of the bar demonstrates this point and offers an example of how specific elements of local sports culture exist in the fictional televised text. In the bar, there are Red Sox and Bruins pennants on the walls, as well as pictures of Fenway Park. Carla’s apron adorns a Red Sox symbol. There is a 1982 Red Sox calendar situated by a picture of Celtics great Larry Bird. Other various sport memorabilia appear on the walls of the bar, of Sam’s office, and in the pool room. The characters themselves also represent local sports culture, as well as home town pride for the home sports teams. For instance, throughout the run of the series, many characters praise and complain about the performances of various Boston sports teams, such as the Red Sox and the Bruins. At times, the characters are shown watching or listening to a game in the bar. The teams involved in the games never to seem to win, which adds to the frustration and animosity of the characters, who genuinely love their home teams.

The purpose of the preliminary analysis is to identify specific aesthetic elements, as well as references to local sports culture, used in the fictional sports text. This establishes a foundation for common visual and aural techniques, as well as themes associated with local sports culture, which may carry over into the televised sports texts. The most common visual technique used in the abovementioned fictional sports films is slow motion. Slow motion is generally used to signify an important event, to heighten drama, and to emphasize the physical action of the athlete. The most common aural techniques presented in the films, such as sound effects, dialogue, and sports commentary, are directly linked to the visual text and augment the visual. During the 1980s, fictional television programming, particularly situation comedies, generally did not utilize slow motion. The shared aural techniques used in the films, such as sound effects, dialogue, and sports commentary, appear to carry over into the fictional televised text. While the aural techniques presented in the films are used to augment the visual, sound effects, dialogue, and sports commentary in *Cheers* are employed on a basic aesthetic level. Finally, the fictional sports films offer brief references to local sports culture and present examples of home town pride. *Cheers* offers direct references to local sports culture particularly through the mise-en-scene of the bar and the characters. The textual analysis will further uncover additional visual and aural elements, as well as references to local sports culture, which are also depicted in the televised sports text.

The main textual analysis focuses on the April 29, 1986 NESN broadcast where Roger Clemens broke the MLB record for the highest number of strikeouts in a single game. To establish a framework for the analysis of regional sports network programming, a Diamondbacks-Cardinals baseball game which aired on FSN Midwest in July 2011 was first assessed. Additionally, a Giants-Astros game which aired on Home Sports Entertainment in 1986 and national baseball games broadcast on NBC and ABC in the same year were also examined. The analysis of national and other regional sports broadcasts allows for a comparison of the possible differences between the visual and aural techniques utilized by national and other regional broadcasters in the 1980s. All of the games analyzed, except the Diamondbacks-Cardinals game (2011), were rebroadcast on ESPN Classic in 2011.

The goal of the main textual analysis is to not only identify the common themes and aesthetic elements associated with televised sports programming but to also recognize the themes and aesthetic elements that distinguish NESN programming from national sports broadcasters and other regional sports networks. As with the preliminary analysis, some of the visual elements, for instance shot patterns, specific shots associated with the home team, and crowd shots, were not chosen as predetermined categories and were allowed to develop freely from the reading. However, visual elements, such as changes in points-of-view, on-air graphics, the mise-en-scene, and slow motion instant replay, were chosen from the results of the preliminary analysis as well as Morse's (1993) examination of televised football. Each national baseball broadcast (ABC and NBC), as well as the FSN Midwest game (2011) were viewed once. The NESN broadcast (1986) was viewed four times. The first viewing concentrated on visual elements, while the second viewing examined aural elements. The NESN broadcast was watched two more times to verify the results found in the first and second viewings.

The findings of the analyses of the baseball broadcasts, both national and regional, suggest that in addition to slow motion, which is a common visual technique also employed in the fictional sports text, other visual techniques used in the televised sports programming include shot patterns, changes in points-of-view, specific shots associated with the home team, crowd shots, on-air graphics, and the mise-en-scene, particularly the content inside the ballpark. Much like slow motion in the fictional sport films, slow motion is used to highlight important action in the game. However, in televised sports programming, slow motion is generally utilized along with an instant replay of a particular action. Some of the visual elements, such as camera shots associated with the home team, crowd shots, on-air graphics, and the mise-en-scene, particularly the content inside the ballpark, are further assessed to pinpoint references to local sports culture in both the national and regional broadcasts. As far as aural elements, the textual analysis focuses primarily on the broadcasters' commentary, which is used in televised sports programming to guide the viewer through the narrative, or, as on *Cheers*, to connect the viewer to the text. Overall, the main textual analysis attempts to determine which specific visual and aural techniques NESN uses to connect to local sports culture and to differentiate NESN programming from other regional and national sports broadcasts.

In both the regional and national baseball games, the camera typically follows specific shot patterns. For this analysis, shot patterns are defined as a collection of camera shots which are featured at particular points in a televised baseball game. A specific shot pattern generally begins when the batter steps up to the plate. There is a medium shot of the pitcher. The camera then cuts to a long shot that includes the pitcher, batter, and catcher. The camera then cuts to a medium shot of the hitter and then an extreme long shot of the stadium and crowd. Another shot pattern will begin when the next batter steps up to the plate. While most shot patterns appear identical for each batter, at times, the shot patterns may differ. For instance, instead of a medium shot of the pitcher, the camera may linger on the batter longer and then cut to a long shot of the pitcher and first base – especially when first base is occupied. Or, rather than cutting to a long shot of the pitcher and first base, the camera may cut to a medium shot of the next batter, or the player who is on deck. Shot patterns seem to also vary depending on whether the home team or opposing team is at bat. When the opposing team is at bat, the shots tend to show more of the home team pitcher and less of the batters. Conversely, when the home team is at bat, medium shots of the opposing pitcher are limited and long shots of the pitcher may only occur when first base is occupied by a home team player. Generally, shot patterns occur during at bats, but also occur when innings start and begin and before and after commercial breaks.

Along with shot patterns there are typically changes in points-of-view during both the national and regional baseball broadcasts. Changes in points-of-view are when the general perspective of the camera switches from one vantage point to another, which gives the home viewer two distinct viewpoints of the televised text during the complete broadcast. According to Morse (1983), changes in points-of-view during live sports broadcasts are similar to “the completely acculturated and typical approach of Hollywood treatment of a real or fictional event. The rules of continuity editing are followed, in that all the cameras tape from one side of the field” (p. 49). While this is true for televised football, the cameras in televised baseball tend to maintain a general viewpoint focusing on one player instead of the entire field.

For the nationally broadcast baseball games, the camera typically maintains a general viewpoint which focuses on the home pitcher for roughly the first four innings and then switches to a general viewpoint of the opposing hitter for the remainder of the game, in a sense, dividing the action for the television viewer. For the regional broadcasts, the camera appears to maintain a perspective which correlates with the home team. When a game begins the camera maintains a general viewpoint that focuses on the home team pitcher. When the home team is at bat the camera then appears to switch to a general viewpoint of the home team batter. Because baseball is a much slower paced game than football there are no “rapid shifts in view during a play through instant switching from one camera or another” (Morse, 1983, p. 49), which permits the camera to linger on an individual player longer.

In the live televised sports broadcast, slow motion instant replay signifies a moment of unreality (Morse, 1983). Slow motion instant replay highlights an action that has already occurred and is frequently employed to update the viewer on what was missed or to emphasize the importance of the action within the narrative of the game. However, as Morse (1983) points out, when slow motion instant replay occurs, it momentarily transforms the live televised sports text into a fictional text. In the NESN game (1986), quite often, Clemens' pitch is shown from wind-up to release in slow motion signifying the importance and drama of Clemens' record breaking performance. At end of the game, there is a slow motion instant replay of the last ball thrown. This connotes the historical significance and drama of the game by allowing the television viewer to experience the game winning pitch in a flowing, controlled manner, as opposed to the television viewer watching a fastball thrown at a quicker pace where the camera is unable to focus on the ball. The use of slow motion instant replay is common in both the national and regional baseball broadcasts and is normally used in a similar manner. However, NESN's use of slow motion instant replay in the 1986 game adds to the drama of the ongoing narrative, and, at certain times, fictionalizes the live broadcast. This, in turn, can pull the viewer further into the narrative and into the historical moment of the game.

Overall, NESN utilizes many of the same visual and aural techniques in the April 29, 1986 game as the other regional and national sports broadcasters. These visual techniques include shot patterns, changes in points-of-view, and slow motion instant replay. While changes in points-of-view are typically used in both the national and regional baseball broadcasts, changes in perspective during the regional broadcasts, the NESN game (1986) and the FSN Midwest game (2011), generally favor the home team. This means that the home viewer maintains a vantage point which prominently features the home team; the home viewer is focused on the pitcher when the home team is pitching and on the hitter when the home team is at bat. Slow motion instant replay is also a common visual technique used in both the national and regional baseball broadcasts. However, because the NESN game (1986) conveys a connotation of historical importance, slow motion instant replay is used differently than in the other baseball broadcasts. NESN's use of slow motion instant replay appears to focus on one specific player: Roger Clemens, or the star of the game, and his actions.

Even though the national and regional sports broadcasts present common visual techniques, such as shot patterns, changes in points-of-view, and use of slow motion instant replay, there are visual, as well as aural, techniques used in the NESN game (1986) that distinguish NESN programming from the national and regional games. These visual and aural techniques are specific shots related to the home team, crowd shots, the mise-en-scene of the ballpark, on-air graphics, and most importantly, the commentary of the announcers. In the NESN game (1986), NESN employs these specific visual and aural techniques to connect to local sports culture. The remainder of the textual analysis focuses on-air graphics, the mise-en-scene, particularly the content in the ballpark, and the broadcasters' commentary. Additionally, the textual analysis examines how NESN specifically utilizes these various techniques to connect to local sports culture as well as how NESN uses the visual and aural techniques in comparison to the other regional and national baseball broadcasts.

In most televised sports texts, on-air graphics are used to update the television viewer on the action of the game and provide additional information about players, the team, and in some cases, the professional sports league. Opening visual graphics generally highlight which teams are playing and the location of the game. For instance, the opening graphic of the NESN game (1986) states: New England Sports Network, Fenway Park, Boston, Massachusetts. This informs television viewers which team is playing and what network they are watching. At the same time, this apprises viewers of who the home team is and which team is affiliated with NESN. In both the regional and national baseball broadcasts, the on-air graphics appear once per inning to remind home viewers of the ball count or score, at the end of an inning before the commercial, and at the beginning of the preceding inning. To provide statistical and historical information, on-air graphics also appear when new players approach the plate for an at-bat.

Because on-air graphics are computerized and provide detailed statistical data, "display *and* play are supported by the same graphic material added by television to the stadium (Morse, 1983, p. 50). Concurrently, the display of information updates viewers and pulls viewers into the narrative. In a sense, viewers become a part of the play, or action on the screen, by following the narrative which the on- air graphics create in the televised sports text. For example, in the NESN game (1986), after Clemens breaks the MLB record a graphic appears on the screen informing television viewers. The on-air graphic essentially tells viewers that Clemens broke the MLB record. This particular use of the on-air graphic not only emphasizes the historical importance of the game, but pulls the viewer into the narrative and historical moment of the game. In that instance, NESN provides a "point of identification" (Whannel, 1983, p. 61) for home viewers, which, in turn, allows NESN to connect to local sports culture. For regional sports networks, on-air graphics become even more salient in connecting to local sports culture when on-air graphics are used in conjunction with elements of the mise-en-scene, specifically the content in the ballpark, or the broadcasters' commentary.

In film analysis, the mise-en-scene encompasses "setting, lighting, costume, and the behavior of the figures" (Bordwell & Thompson, 2006, p. 156). For the purposes of this dissertation, the textual analysis examines the setting, or the content in the ballpark. Setting, according to Bordwell and Thompson (2006), includes several visual elements, such as location (where the film is shot), props, color, set backgrounds, and design. For this analysis, the setting is defined as the content in the ballpark, or, more precisely, the visual elements which appear on the interior walls of Fenway Park. While additional elements of the mise-en-scene, such as lighting and costume (uniforms), are essential to the televised sports text, the textual analysis seeks to consider how NESN utilizes shots of the mise-en-scene, specifically the content in the ballpark, combined with on-air graphics or the broadcasters' commentary to connect to local sports culture.

The mise-en-scene of the NESN game (1986) features specific visuals elements of Fenway Park. On the walls are local advertisements, several retired baseball jersey numbers, and other promotional items associated with NESN. These specific visual elements of the mise-en-scene pertain to the local area, the history of the Red Sox, and NESN itself. The content provides "points of identification" (Whannel, 1983, p. 61) for home viewers who may recognize a local company advertisement or the retired jersey number of a favorite former ballplayer. Conversely, the mise-en-scene of the ballpark provides a space for NESN to connect to local sport culture. NESN is able to display promotional materials or other types of visual information associated with the teams on the walls of Fenway Park. For example, in the NESN broadcast (1986), at one point, the camera briefly pauses on a piece of the ballpark wall that features an advertisement for the Jimmy Fund. A graphic then appears on the television screen promoting a local charity event for the Jimmy Fund. The broadcasters' announce the time and place of the event and encourage television viewers to attend. The visual narrative of the broadcasters' commentary draws attention to the mise-en-scene of the ballpark by focusing on The Jimmy Fund, a locally recognizable charity associated with the Red Sox, and therefore, NESN. Because this particular NESN broadcast was edited for rebroadcast on ESPN Classic, the on-air promotions or local ads presented in the text appear to be limited. Nonetheless, the Jimmy Fund promotion is an example of how NESN uses both the mise-en-scene and on-air graphics simultaneously to connect to local sports culture. Moreover, the addition of the on-air announcers' commentary strengthens the link between the home viewer and NESN, and consequently, the Red Sox.

In any televised sports text, the on-air announcers are the most important intermediary between the home viewer and the sports team. On-air announcers set up the narrative of the game for home viewers. Like the camera, the announcers follow the action of the game keeping the home viewer up to date on a play-by-play basis. To communicate to television viewers located in different cities, sportscasters need to find a balance between connecting to national audiences and regional audiences (Desmarais & Bruce, 2009). National sportscasters need to provide commentary that connects to specific fans in various locations while simultaneously maintaining a national audience. Furthermore, in order for a sportscaster "to capture and hold an audience it is necessary to create commentary that connects with it" (Desmarais & Bruce, 2009, p. 134). Sportscasters for regional sports networks need to provide commentary that not only holds the attention of a local audience, but relates to a local audience as well. The analysis of the game announcers' commentary, in both the national and regional baseball broadcasts, focuses predominantly on narrative structure and modes of address (Whannel, 1998). The analysis further examines how the regional on-air announcers use commentary in conjunction with visual techniques, such as crowd shots, as well as references to characteristics associated with local culture and voice to connect to the home viewer (Desmarais & Bruce, 2009).

The results analysis of the broadcasters' commentary suggests that in both the national and regional sports broadcasts the on-air announcers use a direct mode of address. However, the regional sports commentators seem to speak more directly to fans of the home team, at the same time, creating a narrative that centers specifically on the home team rather than the opposing team. For instance, during the Diamondbacks-Cardinals game, which was broadcast on FSN

Midwest in July 2011, the announcers generally discuss individual players, managers, as well as coaches of the home team, in this case, the St. Louis Cardinals. At times, the commentary focuses on the latest news or gossip regarding the Cardinals. The announcers inform viewers about the inner workings of the clubhouse and the franchise. They discuss the families of the players, managers, and coaches. They also discuss minor league players and the minor league baseball teams affiliated with the Cardinals. The commentators further connect to the home viewer by publicizing local charity events, presenting on-air promotions or trivia questions, and announcing the birthdays and anniversaries of fans in attendance at the ballpark. This technique connects home viewers to the televised sports text by allowing home viewers to experience the same events as the crowd in the ballpark. At times, the commentators will discuss promotions or events for future games attempting to entice home viewers to become a part of the crowd by physically attending the game.

Additionally, while the regional on-air announcers create a narrative that focuses more on the home team than on the opposing team, the national on-air announcers create a general narrative which centers on both the home team and the opposing team. For example, during the NBC broadcast of the Red Sox-Mets playoff game (1986), Vin Scully states: “It’s so quiet in New York you can almost hear Boston.” Scully tries to connect to home viewers, specifically Mets fans, by describing the reactions of the crowd at Shea Stadium. Simultaneously, Scully provides a space for Red Sox fans as well who are watching from their homes in New England. Although the national on-air announcers generally provide a positive space for both Mets and Red Sox fans, occasionally, the announcers present commentary which may unintentionally alienate some home viewers. For instance, the announcers during the Angels-Red Sox broadcast (1986) offer negative descriptions of the Red Sox players. The announcers describe Boston’s first baseman, Bill Buckner, as "feeble," "cold," and "overdue." During the game, as Boston is leading, the announcers, commenting about the team's chances on participating in the 1986 World Series, state: "if the Sox get that far…" Because the game is being televised from Anaheim, California, the same television market where the Angels are based, the announcers may consider the Angels the home team, and therefore the announcers are creating a specific narrative for those particular fans and for casual baseball fans, who lack particular interest in either team, and not Red Sox fans.

Essentially, sports commentators see and hear the same actions that are occurring as the home viewers. Through the sports broadcasters' commentary, home viewers can become a part of the game, follow the unfolding action, and feel as if they are actually attending the game. Furthermore, regional sports commentators combine the narrative of the occurring game with information about the team's past history and current season, as well as with news about the professional sports league, in this case MLB. This keeps home viewers involved in not just the narrative within the ongoing televised sports text it keeps viewers involved in the overall narrative of a particular sport. Also, combining regional game information with national game information enables viewers to understand where the home team fits into the overall narrative of the season.

Overall, both the commentators in the national and regional broadcasters use a direct mode of address, with the commentators in the regional broadcasts speaking more explicitly to fans of the home team. The commentators in the national broadcasts create a universal narrative which centers on both the home team and the opposing team, while the on-air announcers in the regional broadcasts create a narrative which focuses more on the home team. The results of analysis of the regional broadcasters' commentary also suggests that the on-air announcers use additional aural techniques in conjunction with visual techniques, such as crowd shots, as well as references to elements of local culture and voice, to connect to the home viewer. For example, in the Giants-Astros game, which was originally broadcast on Home Sports Entertainment (HSE) from Houston in 1986, the on-air announcers describe it is as a “great day for fans.” The on-air announcers draw attention to the crowd stating: “Listen to the crowd,” and “Look at the crowd they’re loving every minute of it.” Elsewhere in the HSE broadcast (1986), the announcers steer the commentary towards country music, which is a large part of Texas culture.

In the NESN game (1986), the on-air announcers describe the actions and reactions of the crowd, which is typically done in conjunction with crowd shots. For instance, the commentators describe the crowd as “getting fired up” as Clemens’ strike out count escalates. At one point, the entire crowd in the ballpark is standing watching Clemens’ performance. The on-air announcer states: “People at Fenway are all standing” and “Everybody up.” The crowd is “not a sell-out crowd” yet the home viewer can hear the “sell-out noises” coming from the onscreen crowd. For this particular broadcast, the announcers attempt to make a deeper connection with the home viewer by speculating on how the crowd is feeling. The announcers use statements which convey the excitement in the ballpark. They describe the moment as “celebration time,” and exclaim “Just let ‘em yell!”. They describe the fans as “right on Roger’s side” and “glad.”

In addition to aural techniques utilized in conjunction with visual techniques, such as crowd shots, and references to characteristic associated with local culture, the analysis of the commentary finds that voice is an important element which distinguishes the regional announcers from the national announcers. According to Desmarais and Bruce (2009), “voice carries elements that add considerable meaning to the act of communication” (p. 136), in this case, accent. A regional sports commentator with a specific accent positions the commentator as knowledgeable about the sport, the team, as well as local sports culture. Moreover, a local sportscaster, specifically one who grew up in the region, may connect more easily with viewers simply because of the sportscasters' accent or the sportscasters' personal connection to the city and team. Additionally, the accent of a sports commentator "has the advantage of anchoring the broadcast in its heartland" (Desmarais & Bruce, 2009, p. 136). In other words, the accents of on-air announcers connect home viewers to the televised sports text by representing local sports culture. The home viewer, in a sense, feels they personally know the on-air announcers due to the familiarity of the accents or even because of the on-air announcers themselves. The on-air announcers can further employ their celebrity status, among other techniques, to connect to the home viewer.

This analysis of the regional broadcasters' commentary discovers one supplementary element not studied in Desmarais and Bruce's (2009) examination of rugby announcers: the commentators themselves, who play a large role in connecting home viewers to the televised sports text. In televised baseball, most national and regional sports networks have two on-announcers: "the professional announcer" and "the analyst or color commentator" (Walker & Bellamy Jr., 2008, p. 265). For national sports networks, the analyst is typically an ex-player or an ex-manager (Walker & Bellamy Jr., 2008). However, for many regional sports networks the analysts are former players of the home team or are from the surrounding area. Being a former player signifies that a sportscaster may be more knowledgeable about the team or city. For example, in the NESN broadcast, the on-air announcers are Bob Montgomery and Ned Martin. Montgomery was a former Red Sox player and WSBK television announcer and Martin was already a familiar voice to NESN viewers, having been a Red Sox television announcer for twenty-six years (Craig, 1984c; Craig, 1985c; Golenbock, 2005).

Many of the elements outlined in the textual analysis are representative of common visual and aural techniques that sports broadcasters, in general, use in the televised sports text. NESN employs many of the same aforementioned visual and aural techniques in the televised sports text as the other regional and national broadcasters. However, there are specific visual and aural elements that NESN uses in the April 29, 1986 game that distinguish NESN programming from the national broadcasters, as well as the other regional sports network. These visual and aural techniques include crowd shots, shots associated with the home team, on-air graphics, the mise-en-scene, predominantly the content inside Fenway Park, and the broadcasters' commentary. NESN utilizes many of these visual and aural techniques in the NESN game (1986) to connect to local sports culture.

Critical Analysis

To critically analyze how the ownership structure of NESN impacts NESN programming, the remainder of this chapter uses the base and superstructure model, as well as the sports/media complex, as theoretical frameworks to examine how the ownership structure of NESN and NESN programming are linked to each other and tied to the everyday lives of sports consumers. Using the base and superstructure model, as well as the sports/media complex, provides a foundation for examining culture as "a whole way of life" (Williams, 1961, p. 40). According to Williams (1977), the base represents economic processes that change over time and the superstructure includes "institutions; forms of consciousness; political and cultural practices" (p. 77). Essentially, the base and superstructure model represents political, economic, and cultural processes that function together and alongside each other in society. The sports/media complex provides a theoretical framework for understanding how various economic and cultural factors work together in the sports and media industries. Ownership structure, audiences/consumers, advertising, and the televised sports text are all part of the sports/media complex (Jhally, 1984; Wenner, 1989; Messner, Dunbar, & Hunt, 2000; Oriard, 2001). Professional sports organizations are now more reliant upon money from mass media organizations to function and to reach mass audiences. Sports consumers participate in sports culture and contribute to the economic survival of sports teams by watching games, and other sports related programming, on television (Jhally, 1989). Ultimately, the televised sports text provides an outlet for sports consumers to become a part of the sport/media complex.

The sports/media complex can be directly linked to the base and superstructure model. Both the sports industry and the mass media industry produce cultural products and rely on capital accumulation to be successful. Capital accumulation is based on consumption practices of consumers, or simply what people buy. Mass media companies not only produce cultural products, such as television programming; mass media companies own cultural products or the means to create those products, for instance cable television networks. Because mass media companies own the means to produce and own cultural products, mass media companies control cultural products, such as television programming, for consumers. In addition, the means of production are dependent upon the economic structure of mass media institutions. The economic structure of mass media institutions impacts consumers through control of programming. Therefore, the base, or economic structure of mass media institutions, operates within the superstructure, or culture (Jhally, 1984). The base, or economic conditions of sports institutions, functions alongside the superstructure through programming. The sports/media complex is related to the base and superstructure model because sports teams rely on economic factors, such as media money, to present programming to audiences. In turn, programming provides a way for consumers to participate in sports culture, which is represented by the superstructure.

NESN, a sports media institution, creates a cultural product for consumers, specifically televised sports programming. Most cultural producers operate in markets under economic constraints where cultural products are created for commercial purposes, or simply for companies to make money and succeed (Garnham, 1983). No doubt that the Red Sox, as well as the Bruins, started NESN to maximize profits, which makes NESN a part of the economic structure, or base. However, in order to be successful, NESN had to not only make money, NESN had to get the cultural product, televised sports programming, to consumers. Garnham (1987) states "it is cultural distribution, not cultural production, that is the key focus of power and profit" (p. 30). NESN needed subscribers to pay for the programming. NESN also needed to retain those subscribers to succeed as a media institution. Because NESN controlled the production process NESN was part of the economic process as well. The economic processes of society determine how cultural products are produced and distributed in the superstructure (Garnham, 1987). Therefore, NESN became part of the superstructure through the production and distribution of televised sports programming.

The superstructure includes the arrangement of cultural, political, legal, and ideological systems (White, 1992). Economic interests of cultural producers become a part of the superstructure through cultural production. The economic interests of NESN are based on the production and distribution of televised sports programming. However, NESN is not only a media institution; NESN is a sports institution as well. Sports are fundamentally part of the superstructure (Hoberman, 1984). Because sports are a part of everyday life, sports are essentially ideological. Therefore, sports are part of the superstructure because, according to White (2002), the superstructure includes ideological and cultural systems, for instance sports institutions and media institutions. Additionally, sports remain ideological, and part of the superstructure, even in societies where sports have become commercialized by the media industry (Hoberman, 1984).

The sports/media complex places the economics interests of sports media institutions alongside the consumption practices of sports consumers. According to Jhally (1989), sports institutions “are dependent upon media money for their very survival and their present organizational structure” (p. 78). Sports consumers participate in sports culture and contribute to the economic survival of sports teams by watching games, and other sports related programming, on television. Therefore, the *mediated* experience of watching sports on television becomes a *cultural* experience for sports consumers (Jhally, 1989). Televised sports programming has mediated the cultural experience for sports consumers further by creating a space where “the television spectator must be told what he is seeing… and must be invited to identify with the specular image” (Morse, 1983, p. 54). The sports/media complex includes not only the economic interests of sports media institutions and the consumption practices of sports consumers; the sports/media complex also includes the televised sports text.

The televised sports text is part of the sports/media complex due to several economic and cultural factors. These economic and cultural factors consist of ownership and production issues, media coverage of televised sports, representation in the televised sports text, and advertising. Historically, the sport media industry has been controlled by mostly men with regard to ownership and production (Messner, Duncan, and Wachs, 1996). The decisions that sport media owners and producers make directly influence how content is presented in the televised sports text. For example, the sports/media complex impacts the amount of television coverage devoted to women’s sports because “the television industry actively builds audiences for men’s games, while failing to do so for women’s games” (Messner, Duncan, and Wachs, 1996, p. 105).

In this circumstance, sport media owners and producers control the extent of television coverage given to women's sports.

Incorporating the televised sports text in the sports/media complex, obscures the line between the economic interests of sports media institutions and the consumption practices of sports consumers. While both of these issues are essential to the sports/media complex, it is important to consider how other economic and cultural factors, such as the ones outlined above, are included in the sports/media complex. In the case of NESN, because the primary goal of the Red Sox and the Bruins was to make money by creating a regional sport network it can be argued that NESN is just an economic institution and is only concerned with making a profit. Furthermore, because subscriber fees for cable and satellite supplement broadcast money (Bellamy Jr., 1988), the consumption practices of consumers could be seen as supporting the economic interests of NESN, as well as the sports teams. However, including the televised sports text in the sports/media complex brings the economic interests of NESN and the consumption practices of sports consumers together into a symbiotic relationship.

The televised sports text offers a space where NESN can function as both an economic and cultural institution. NESN uses programming to not only maximize profits, but to connect to local sports culture. NESN's economic and cultural interests rely on the consumption practices of sports consumers *and* NESN programming. For NESN to succeed, NESN needed sports consumers to not only pay for subscription services, NESN needed sports consumers to watch the programming. NESN produced programming which targeted specific sports consumers and featured home sport teams. NESN was able to use programming to connect to local sports culture and to become a part of the local sports culture.

In addition, the economic interests of NESN are based on more than just money. The economic interests of NESN are also derived from NESN's ownership structure, which includes the Red Sox and the Bruins. The sports/media complex includes additional economic factors associated with the televised sports text, such as ownership issues and production. Because NESN programming features references to local sports culture it can be argued that the ownership structure of NESN has an impact on NESN programming. Essentially, NESN's programming is representative of NESN's ownership. The decisions made by the Red Sox and the Bruins, as well team owners, affect *all* aspects of NESN programming including visual and aural elements and references to local sports culture.

Discussion: Sports Media Ownership and the Televised Sports Text

The fundamental goal of this chapter was to establish a framework for analyzing the impact of media ownership on media content. In discussing media ownership, Winseck (2011) states "the most significant consequence lies in the ability of a handful of media owners to exert influence on media content" (p. 22). Starting with a cultural product, such as the televised sports text, provides a thorough and less complex way to fully analyze the relationship between media ownership and media content. Moreover, analyzing sports media ownership presents a more direct approach to looking at how the primary owners of media texts maintain control over content. This section further discusses the results of the ownership analysis and the textual analysis, as well as the critical analysis.

Prior to NESN's debut in 1984, NESN's ownership structure included the Red Sox, the Bruins, and local television broadcaster WSBK. Fundamentally, the economic interests of the team owners (New England Associates and Boston Professional Hockey Association), as well New Boston Television, owner of WSBK, are tied to the ownership interests of NESN. During the 1980s, Joseph C. Dimino (WSBK), Edward G. LeRoux (New England Associates), and Paul A. Mooney (Boston Professional Hockey Association) held the top three management positions at NESN (Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1982a). Dimino, who was later replaced by Bill Flynn in 1984, was also the General Manager of WSBK. Edward G. LeRoux was a partner in the ownership of the Red Sox and Paul Mooney was President of the Bruins. Each company manager had a shared ownership interest in NESN and the sports teams, as well as WSBK. The decisions made by Dimino, LeRoux, and Mooney not only impacted NESN, the decisions also impacted the Red Sox, the Bruins, and WSBK. In this sense, it is difficult to separate the ownership of the teams, and WSBK, from the ownership of NESN.

NESN's ownership structure is an example of a unique type of vertical integration in the sport media industry. In the case of NESN, professional sports team owners controlled and operated a media corporation. This, in turn, enabled the owners of the sports teams to combine ownership interests across industries. The Red Sox and the Bruins created NESN, a private media corporation, to effectively benefit from an increase in profits (Sage, 2000). While the ownership structure of NESN reflected the economic interests of the Red Sox and the Bruins, the ownership structure of NESN also impacted the relationship between the Red Sox, the Bruins, and local television station WSBK. The creation of NESN enabled the Red Sox, Bruins, and WSBK to form a joint venture which, in turn, gave the Red Sox and the Bruins more control over the production and distribution of game broadcasts. The ownership structure of NESN in the 1980s gave WSBK a chance to continue broadcasting Red Sox and Bruins on a partial basis. WSBK still maintained a small amount of control over the programming that had made WSBK the flagship station of the Red Sox and the Bruins and an important piece of local sports culture.

When NESN was created, the Red Sox and Bruins were already prominent institutions in the local sports culture and WSBK was a well-established television station. More importantly, NESN programming, which focused on home teams more so than national sports broadcasters, eventually attracted viewers who were already fans of the teams and WSBK as well. The ownership structure of NESN can be linked to the type of programming aired on NESN. In the early 1980s, NESN's primary source of programming was Red Sox and Bruins games. Although the cost of NESN programming increased rapidly, NESN continued to add more and more programming to its schedule. By 1986, NESN broadcast 24-hour programming four days a week. Along with Red Sox games, the programming consisted of twenty MLB games, as well as area college hockey, football, lacrosse, basketball, and soccer matches. While NESN's foremost competitor, SportsChannel, relied heavily on Celtics basketball games for programming, NESN was able to establish a itself as a successful regional sports network in New England by featuring not only programming which focused on home teams, the Red Sox and the Bruins, but also by airing games from regional and local college teams (Craig, 1986a).

With various types of regional sports programming, NESN was able to connect to the local sports culture more easily and frequently than SportsChannel or national broadcasters, such as ESPN, ABC, and NBC. NESN's unique ownership structure set the network apart from other sports broadcasters operating in the 1980s. SportsChannel, PRISM, and other regional sports networks were owned by major media corporations and did not offer "optimal" (Cave & Crandall, 2001, p. F20) programming for viewers. Due to various sports broadcasting contracts, national sports broadcasters, such as ABC, NBC, and ESPN, only aired games once or twice a week and not on a daily basis. The ownership structure of NESN gave the teams more control over the production and distribution of programming. Additionally, because NESN maintained broadcast operations in the local region, unlike SportsChannel or broadcast networks, NESN was able to connect to the local sports culture through the televised sports text.

The findings of the textual analysis in this dissertation suggest that regional sports broadcasters, in comparison to national sports broadcasters, may use different visual and aural techniques that connect home viewers to the televised sports text. The key elements that distinguish the regional sports broadcasts from national sports broadcasts are changes in points-of-view, specific shots related to the home team, crowd shots, the mise-en-scene, particularly content in the ballpark, on-air graphics, and most importantly, the commentary of the announcers. NESN utilizes many of these key elements to connect to local sports culture through the televised sports text. The televised sport text allows sports consumers to participate in local sports culture on a daily basis. Sports fans understand particular representations in the televised sports text, which are, at times, only comprehensible in the context of their national, regional, or local sports culture. The televised sports text contains aesthetic elements that draw in home viewers (Real & Mechikoff, 1992, p. 325). These aesthetic elements, or “points of identification” (Whannel, 1983, p. 61), provide instances for sports consumers to connect to the televised sports text.

Because NESN is a sports media institution, which creates a cultural product for consumers and relies on economic, as well as cultural interests, to make money and succeed, NESN is part of the base, or the economic structure of society, as well as the superstructure. NESN’s cultural product, specifically Red Sox and Bruins games, cannot be separated from the ownership structure of the network. The Red Sox and Bruins maintain control over the production and distribution of their own televised sports text. For NESN, the televised sports text offers a space where the network can function as both an economic and cultural institution.

NESN uses programming to increase profits and to connect to local sports culture. NESN's economic and cultural interests rely on the consumption practices of sports consumers *and* NESN programming. Furthermore, because the Red Sox and the Bruins maintain control over the production and distribution of their own televised sports text, NESN is able to use the televised sports text to connect to local sports culture and the everyday lives of sports fans.

Overall, the cultural analysis establishes a framework for analyzing the impact of media ownership on media content. More specifically, the cultural analysis demonstrates that a specific and unique type of media ownership structure, in this case vertical integration between local sport team owners and a media corporation, may ultimately affect how the production and distribution of media content is controlled. Through the ownership structure of NESN, the Red Sox and the Bruins are able to control their own televised sports text. NESN uses various visual and aural elements in the televised sports text to distinguish the network from national sports broadcasters and other regional sports broadcasters. Most importantly, NESN is able to employ specific visual and aural elements in the televised sports text to connect to local sports culture and the everyday lives of sports consumers.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

"It's just for all us guys whose lives are so… shallow that we depend upon the success of our local sports teams to give us a little identity around here." – Norm Peterson, "Never Love a Goalie – Part 2," *Cheers* (1987)

According to Lever and Wheeler (1993) sport is an institution that "brings people together across age, class, regional, and ethnic boundaries and gives them a shared focus for discussion and, perhaps, especially, an opportunity to express identification, commitment, and emotion while doing little permanent damage" (p. 142). Sports consumers are part of a collective membership in specific cities and communities where sports teams symbolize local sports culture. Mediated sports are socially constructed, crucial in the formation of identification, and create local and regional identities among sports consumers in those specific cities and communities (Clarke & Clarke, 1982; Hargreaves, 1982). Sports programming allows consumers to partake in local sports culture on a daily basis. Likewise, sports programming enables sports teams to use the televised sports text to connect to home viewers. NESN is a regional sports network which provides sports programming to targeted audiences in a specific geographical area. Because NESN maintains broadcast operations in the local area, the ownership of NESN is closely tied to the community and local sports culture. This chapter briefly reexamines the historical significance of NESN and reiterates the findings of the ownership analysis, the textual analysis, and the critical analysis. This chapter then presents a discussion on the limitations and future implications of the NESN study followed by a concise explanation on the overall importance of this dissertation.

Findings

Historically, NESN is the first successful team created, owned and operated regional sports network. Despite the failure of other regional sports network in the 1980s, the Red Sox and the Bruins were able to use cable television and satellite technology combined with a pay TV model, ineffectively implemented by STV in the 1960s, to create a sports media institution. NESN instituted a business model for other team created, owned and operated regional sports networks. Since the debut of NESN in 1984, other teams, such as the New York Yankees and the Baltimore Orioles, have established profitable regional sports networks. With team created, owned and operated regional sports networks, sport teams and sport team owners are now able to expand business operations across the sports and media industries. The overall success of NESN is attributable to the fact that unlike many other national, as well as regional, cable sports networks NESN has maintained broadcast operations in the local region, which has allowed NESN to retain closer ties to local sports culture.

The creation and early history of NESN can be placed into a much larger framework, which includes the history of cable television and satellite, the development of cable television in Boston, and NESN's relationships with other media institutions. First and foremost, without cable television and satellite technology the Red Sox and the Bruins would not have been able to create NESN. Moreover, because federal regulations on ownership of cable networks applied to media corporations, the Red Sox and the Bruins were not only able to create NESN, but were also able to maintain control of the network without any government interference. In a sense, the Red Sox and Bruins were able to take advantage of the lapse in government oversight on sports programming in the 1980s to move their games from WSBK to NESN.

On a municipal level, the extremely slow development of cable television in Boston combined with the tumultuous relationship between NESN and Cablevision impacted the early history of NESN. Mayor Kevin White's selection of Cablevision as the primary cable provider for Boston in 1980 prevented television viewers who resided within Boston city limits from watching NESN for well over two years. It was not until Mayor Ray Flynn, another city official, intervened in 1986 that the problems between Cablevision and NESN were resolved. Cablevision had once hoped to put NESN out of business, which would have allowed SportsChannel, a regional sports network owned, in part, by Cablevision, to become the primary source of cable sports programming in the Boston television market. However, NESN was able to establish itself as a prosperous regional sports network in New England by presenting programming which focused on the home teams, which, in turn, provided the Red Sox and Bruins a way to connect to local sports culture.

NESN's ownership structure is an example of a distinctive type of vertical integration. Historically, vertical integration between the sports industry and media industry generally occurred when a media corporation, whether global, national, or regional, acquired ownership of a professional sports team, which, ultimately, enabled media corporations to expand sports broadcasting rights. The creation of NESN established a new form of sports media ownership where sports team owners could essentially form private media companies to "maximize profit" (Sage, 2000, p. 266) and extend operations across industries. The creation of NESN enabled the Red Sox, Bruins, and WSBK to form a joint venture which would give the Red Sox and the Bruins more control over the production and distribution of game broadcasts. When NESN was created, the Red Sox and Bruins were already prominent institutions in the local sports culture and WSBK was a well-established television station. More importantly, NESN programming, which focused on home teams more so than national sports broadcasters, eventually attracted viewers who were already fans of the teams and WSBK as well. In the April 29, 1986 NESN game, NESN uses specific visual and aural techniques, such as specific shots related to the home team, crowd shots, the mise-en-scene of the ballpark, on-air graphics, and most importantly, the commentary of the announcers, to distinguish the broadcast from the other national and regional baseball broadcasts presented in the textual analysis. Also, in the NESN game (1986), NESN utilizes the specific visual and aural techniques to connect to local sports culture.

NESN programming cannot be separated from the ownership structure of the network. The Red Sox and Bruins maintain control over the production and distribution of their own televised sports text. For NESN, the televised sports text offers a space where the network can function as both an economic and cultural institution. Because NESN's history was impacted by additional factors, such as relationships with government and media institutions, as well as federal communications policies, it can be argued that NESN not only functions as an economic and cultural institution but also as a political economic institution. Moreover, because NESN functions as a political economic institution it represents a more intricate version of the sports/media complex.

The sports/media complex includes not only the economic interests of sports media institutions and the consumption practices of sports consumers; the sports/media complex also includes the televised sports text. Other economic and cultural factors in the sports/media complex consist of ownership and production issues, media coverage of televised sports, content presented in the televised sports text, and advertising. The sports/media complex is, in a sense, culture as "a whole way of life" (Williams, 1961, p. 40). Culture does not consist of separate spheres; the spheres of culture are intertwined and include economic processes, as well as political economic processes, and cultural texts. In the case of NESN, the economic and ownership interests of the sports team owners, and the sports teams themselves cannot be divided. The decisions made by both the team owners and the sports teams impact the televised sports text, specifically NESN programming. NESN provides programming that further entwines the economic interests of the sports team owners and the sports teams in the everyday lives of sports consumers because NESN relies partially on subscription fees, which are derived from consumption practices of sports consumers, to operate. However, because NESN programming is geared toward local sports culture, NESN has become an essential part of the local sports culture and the everyday lives of sports consumers through the televised sports text. NESN is a real world example of how the sports/media complex has become more multifaceted as a theoretical framework.

Limitations

The limitations of this dissertation are based on several factors associated mostly with the methodologies and the findings. First, while using cultural analysis, primarily political economy and textual analysis, provides a varied approach, a more defined study on the effects of NESN programming on local sports fans is warranted. Adding reception studies to political economy and textual analysis in a future study may provide more accurate results and explain more in depth how NESN connects to local sports culture. Also, this textual analysis does not provide definitive proof that NESN programming is connected to local sports culture. This textual analysis identifies specific visual and aural elements which NESN may use to connect to local sports culture. For the most part, the primary textual analysis establishes a foundation for analyzing regional sports broadcasts and how some sports teams use programming to connect to local sports culture.

Second, because original broadcasts of the baseball games were unavailable, the games analyzed are rebroadcasts aired on ESPN Classic. Although the amount of manipulation is limited as to the original televised sport text (i.e. a live baseball game cannot be recreated for a rebroadcast) some manipulation of the original text is expected. Information that may have appeared in the original televised text was not examined in the textual analysis. At the same time, because the games were available on cable television, and recordable, the games were watched an unlimited number of times, which allowed for a more thorough analysis. Additionally, because only baseball games were obtainable for research, Bruins hockey games, programming that was essential to the NESN lineup, were omitted from the primary textual analysis. Analyzing Bruins games in the future may garner different results as to how NESN uses programming to connect to local sports culture.

Lastly, information regarding the ownership structure of NESN was limited. NESN is a private corporation meaning that financial records and other company documents were unavailable or provided little evidence. Moreover, ownership papers filed at the state level are not always monitored and may contain incorrect information. While NESN was contacted in the initial research phase, research material, such as company records and original broadcasts, were not accessible. The historical information is derived from the most easily attainable primary sources, for instance newspapers and magazine articles. In the future, a more exhaustive survey of historical information, such as interviews with company managers or relatives of company managers, as well as an examination of papers donated to a regional university or museum archive, may uncover additional details regarding the ownership structure of NESN.

Future Implications

Fundamentally, this dissertation provides a basis for a long-term study on the history of NESN. Continuing to explore the history of NESN will reveal additional reasons for the importance of regional sports networks not just as economic institutions, but also as political economic and cultural institutions. Because NESN instituted a business model for other regional sports networks, examining the type of ownership structure of NESN establishes a new direction for studies on sports media, regional sports networks, and mass media ownership. Furthermore, because NESN maintains broadcast operations in the local region the network may have more of an impact on local sports culture than national sports broadcasters through the televised sports text. Analyzing how NESN uses programming to connect to local sports culture establishes a better understanding of the relationship between sports teams, sports consumers, and the television industry.

In general, the cultural analysis of NESN provides a case study for further developing theories of the sports/media complex. NESN is a sports media institution, which creates a cultural product for consumers and relies on economic, as well as cultural interests, to make money and succeed. The televised sports text is part of the sports/media complex due to several economic and cultural factors: ownership and production issues, media coverage, race and gender representations, and advertising. NESN's economic and cultural interests rely on the consumption practices of sports consumers *and* NESN programming.

The sports/media complex also connects the base and superstructure model to models of culture as "a whole way of life" (Williams, 1961, p. 40). Because the Red Sox and Bruins maintain control over the production and distribution of their own televised sports text, the ownership structure of NESN cannot be separated from the ownership of the sport teams or

NESN programming. NESN uses the televised sports text to connect to local sports culture. This, in turn, allows sports consumers to enhance their roles within the local sports culture through the cultural product that NESN delivers. NESN provides a distinct example of how both the base and superstructure model and the sports/media complex can be applied to analyze an institution which functions in the real world.

Conclusion

Ultimately, NESN's history, particularly the Clemens game (1986), establishes a framework for analyzing the impact of media ownership on media content. According to a *Providence Journal* article published on May 6, 1986, in a rebroadcast of the April 29, 1986 live game, NESN failed to air the record breaking game in its entirety opting to edit out "the Red Sox at-bats in the first, fourth and eighth innings" (McAdam, 1986, p. C02). NESN subscribers were not told that they were going to view an edited version of the game beforehand and many fans who were hoping to catch Clemens' performance saw a "Cliff Notes" (McAdam, 1986, p. C02) adaptation of the game. Fans that videotaped the rebroadcast to preserve baseball history, or just happened to miss the original airing, did not get the complete story (McAdam, 1986). Although cutting down games for rebroadcast was a usual practice for NESN, editing one of the most important games ever aired on NESN at the time demonstrates the amount of control a media institution can have over a cultural product.

Analyzing a cultural product such as the televised sports text may make it less difficult to assess the relationship between media ownership and media content because as a cultural product the televised sports text is closely tied to the creators: sports teams. The findings of the textual analysis presented in this dissertation may not offer any distinct evidence as to how NESN uses the televised sports text to connect to local sports culture. However, the results of the textual analysis do provide a framework for understanding how national and regional sports broadcasters may employ specific visual and aesthetic techniques to connect to home viewers differently. Also, examining sports media ownership may provide a more direct approach to looking at how the primary owners of media texts maintain control over content. In the 1980s, the primary owners of NESN were the primary owners of the sports teams, as well as WSBK. The ownership of the Red Sox remained fairly stable throughout the 1980s while the ownership of local television broadcaster, WSBK, changed hands at least three times. While NESN's rebroadcast of the April 29, 1986 record-breaking game offers one example of how media owners maintain some type of control over content, specifically through editing and reducing the original airing of the game, a greater historical connection needs to be made between NESN's ownership structure and NESN programming.

NESN is a sports media institution that maintains broadcast operations in a local region. Because of this NESN has more of an impact on local sports culture through the televised sports text. Sports consumers generally associate regional sports networks with a specific team or teams that are significant to local sports culture. A team that creates and maintains a regional sports network in a specific community is connecting to the everyday lives of sports consumers through television programming that focuses on the home team. NESN was created by sports teams, the Red Sox and the Bruins, as well as a local television broadcaster, WSBK, which were already an important part of local sports culture. NESN provides a cultural product that is representative of the Red Sox and the Bruins and offers consumers a space to share in local sports culture. Similarly, the Red Sox and the Bruins can use a cultural product, specifically the televised sport text, to connect to local sport culture.

Today, “media ownership and concentration remains an absolutely critical issue, with not only concerns of bias and the abuse of personalized power at stake, but the future of media evolution and potential of democracy itself” (Winseck, 2011, p. 23). While ownership in the media industry is perpetually shifting, the sport media industry offers examples of ownership structures which rarely change. Overall, team created, owned and operated regional sports networks are deeply embedded in local sports culture. Examining team, created, owned and operated regional sports networks allows scholars to gain a deeper understanding of how sports have become an essential part of local cultures. NESN, a team created, owned and operated regional sports network, which has been on the air and has maintained broadcast operations in the same location for twenty-eight years, symbolizes not just the home sport teams, the Red Sox and the Bruins, but also a shared membership of sports consumers who identify with the home sport teams through television programming that is part of their everyday lives.

REFERENCES

Adams, V. (1962, July 24). U.S. and Europe exchange live TV. *The New York Times*, p. 1.

Agree on Bruins deal. (1972, December 8). *Chicago Tribune*, p. C2.

Almaguer, L., & Berger, L. (1985, February 11). Media notes. *Adweek*, np.

Anderson, A. (2012, February 15). New England Sports Network LP. *Hoover's Company Records*. Retrieved from http://cobrands.hoovers.com/global/cobrands/proquest/factsheet.xhtml?ID=107318

Anderson, D. (1981, May 3). Hockey in need of Don Quixote. *The New York Times*, p. 3.

Alternative TV for 1982 area sports fans. (1982, August 3). *The Washington Post*, p. D5.

Baker, J. (1984a, March 22). Red Sox' NESN debut a bust. *Boston Herald*, p. 74.

Baker, J. (1984b, March 23). WLNE-TV drops Sox' coverage. *Boston Herald*, p. 74

Baker, J. (1984c, April 10). NESN attracts a fan with Adams-Russell. *Boston Herald*, p. 56.

Baker, J. (1984d, April 20). HBO *Far Pavilions* moves at glacial pace. *Boston Herald*, p. 39.

Barnouw, E. (1990). *Tube of plenty: The evolution of American television* (2nd ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.

Bellamy, Jr., R. V. (1988). Impact of the television marketplace on the structure of Major League Baseball. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 32*(1), 73-87.

Bellamy Jr., R. V., & Walker, J. R. (2001). Baseball and television origins: The case of the Cubs. *Nine: A Journal of Baseball History & Culture, 10*(1), 31-45.

Bennetts, L. (1984, December 5). Satellite operators hail court ruling. *The New York Times*, p. C30.

Bordwell, D, & Thompson, K. (2006). *Film art: An introduction* (8th ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.

Boston Red Sox vs. California Angels [Television broadcast]. (1986, October 11). Anaheim, CA: American Broadcasting Company.

Boston Red Sox vs. New York Mets [Television broadcast]. (1986, October 25). New York: National Broadcasting Company

Bottomore, T. (Ed.). (1983). *A dictionary of Marxist thought*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Breen, P. M. (Producer), Towne, R. (Producer), & Levinson, B. (Director). (1984). *The natural* [Motion picture]. United States: TriStar Pictures.

Brown, L. (1973, November 30). Boston mayor bars cable TV indefinitely. *The New York Times*, p. 75.

Brown, L. (1975, June 15). TV notes: Satellite open way for pay-TV. *The New York Times*, p. D27.

Brown, L. (1977, November 28). Combination of cable TV and satellites creates national 'super stations.' *The New York Times*, p. 48.

Brown, L. (1979, March 3). Manhattan Cable TV offering 'superstation' via satellite. *The New York Times*, p. 47.

Brown, M. (1981, January 12). A boom industry free to call its shots; Cable TV: Free now to test its vast potential. *The Washington Post*, p. A1.

Brown, M. (1982, January 3). Cable TV industry says local demands stifling. *The Washington Post*, p. D1.

Burrows, J., Charles, G., & Charles, L. (Producers). (1982-1993). *Cheers* [Television series]. Burbank, CA: National Broadcasting Company.

Cable 'abundance.' (1971, December 19). *The New York Times*, p. E10.

Cable systems ordered to carry local stations. (1986, August 8). *The New York Times*, p. C13.

Cable-TV franchise for Boston is sought by nine companies. (1980, November 5). *The Wall Street Journal*, p. 10.

Cable TV impact delayed. (1973, April 19). *The Christian Science Monitor*, p. 5.

Cablevision completes $114 million financing for Boston franchise. (1982, November 23). *The Wall Street Journal*, p. 45.

Carter, B. (1989, July 10). Cable may get its wings clipped. *The New York Times*, p. D1, D7.

CATV facing sports blackouts. (February 9, 1972). *Variety*, p. 53.

Cave, M., & Crandall, R. W. (2001). Sports rights and the broadcasting industry. *The Economic Journal*, *111*, F4-F26.

Chartoff, R. (Producer), Winkler, I. (Producer), & Scorsese, M. (Director). (1980). *Raging bull* [Motion picture]. United States: United Artists.

Clarke, A., & Clarke, J. 'Highlights and action replays' – ideology, sport, and the media. In J. Hargreaves (Ed.), *Sport, culture, and ideology* (pp. 62-87). London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.

Collins, J., Reagan, J. & Abel. J. D. (1983). Predicting cable subscribership: Local factors. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 27, 177-183.

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts. (1982a). *Articles of organization: New England Sports Network, Inc*. Boston, MA: Office of the Massachusetts Secretary of State.

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts. (1982b). *Limited partnership certificate: New England Sports Network, Limited Partnership.* Boston, MA: Office of the Massachusetts Secretary of State.

Community antenna on mountain to bring video to Laconia, N. H. (1952, June 26). *The New*

York Times, p. 31.

Cowen, P. (1979a, January 16). White reconsiders veto of cable TV for Boston. *The Boston Globe*, p. 8.

Cowen, P. (1979b, March 11). White taking pulse on CATV. *The Boston Globe*, p. 26.

Cowen, P. (1979c, October 17). Cable TV in Boston backed in new report. *The Boston Globe*, p. 1.

Craig, J. (1974a, April 20). Sport really starting to overflow - reason is cablevision. *The Boston Globe*, p. A13.

Craig, J. (1974b, November 3). The ins and outs of cable television." *The Boston Globe*. p. 103.

Craig, J. (1974c, December 1). Cable bonanza looms for Sox, Celtics. *The Boston Globe*, p. 92.

Craig, J. (1976, July 5). Is cable television a slumbering giant? *The Boston Globe*, p. 31.

Craig, J. (1979a, March 11). Cable TV raises fears. *The Boston Globe*, p. 54.

Craig, J. (1979b, December 2). Kuhn tries to an end run around cable TV issue. *The Boston Globe*, p. 67.

Craig, J. (1982a, March 6). Bruins-Sox cable coming. *The Boston Globe*, p. 28.

Craig, J. (1982b, September 5). Good news (more games on)… bad news (it'll cost). *The Boston Globe*, p. 36.

Craig, J. (1983a, January 8). Sox on pay cable? Not yet. *The Boston Globe*, p. 34.

Craig, J. (1983b, March 19). Say goodbye to all those free games. *The Boston Globe*, p. 28.

Craig, J. (1983c, June 3). Sox-Bruins cable still has some kinks. *The Boston Globe*, p. 40.

Craig, J. (1983d, September 4). Cable fight a split decision for fans. *The Boston Globe*, p. 43.

Craig, J. (1984a, February 17). Split the difference. *The Boston Globe*, p. 62.

Craig, J. (1984b, March 18). Red Sox cable situation has yet to be unscrambled. *The Boston Globe*, p. 50.

Craig, J. (1984c, March 30). NBC challenges with change-up. *The Boston Globe*, p. 75.

Craig, J. (1984d, April 5). No one saw Sox on TV. *The Boston Globe*, p. 49, 55.

Craig, J. (1984e, July 17). Flynn accepts NESN challenge; he'll have to drum up cable subscribers for Sox and Bruins. *The Boston Globe*, p. 1.

Craig, J. (1984f, November 11). Musburger could move on to ABC. *The Boston Globe*, p. 63.

Craig, J. (1985a, February 17). Warner and NESN ready to play ball. *The Boston Globe*, p. 56.

Craig, J. (1985b, March 31). Cablevision holds firm: No Red Sox. *The Boston Globe*, p. 46.

Craig, J. (1985c, April 9). For openers, Sox a success. The Boston Globe, p. 35.

Craig, J. (1985d, September 6). TV ban still on; SportsChannel bid unresolved. *The Boston Globe*, p. 74.

Craig, J. (1985e, September 10). SportsChannel appeal denied. *The Boston Globe*, p. 74.

Craig, J. (1986a, May 11). Cablevision steadfast on Sox blackout policy. *The Boston Globe*, p. 61.

Craig, J. (1986b, June 11). NESN gets proposal; Cablevision offers ‘free’ TV for Sox. *The Boston Globe*, p. 54.

Craig, J. (1986c, June 13). Cable wars gain steam. *The Boston Globe*, p. 52.

Craig, J. (1986d, September 4). Sox available on Boston cable NESN-Cablevision deal official. *The Boston Globe*, p. 58.

Craig, J. (1987, March 25). Change in the Air? Bruins consider TV, radio switch. *The Boston Globe*, p. 75.

Craig, J. (1988a, May 13). It’s a rosy picture as Bruins win and subscribers sign on, profits grow. *The Boston Globe*, p. 42.

Craig, J. (1988b, May 17). NESN adamant; business booms. *The Boston Globe*, p. 33.

Craig, J. (1988c, July 19). Riley headed to CBS? Laker coach among candidates to succeed Cunningham. *The Boston Globe*, p. 70.

Crock, S. (1980, July 10). Sky king. *The Wall Street Journal*, p. 42.

Cuff, D. F. (1983, April 5). Business people: Warner Amex chooses chief for Home Sports. *The New York Times*, p. D2.

Danielian, N. R. (1939). *A.T.&T.: The story of industrial conquest*. New York: Vanguard Press.

Desmarais, F., & Bruce, T. (2009). The power of the local in sports broadcasting: A cross-cultural analysis of rugby commentary. *Journal of Sport Communication, 2*, 129-145.

Dominick, J. R., Messere, F., & Sherman, B. L. (2004). *Broadcasting, cable, the Internet, and beyond: An introduction to modern electronic media* (5th ed.). New York: McGraw Hill.

Donoghue, M., & Cheng, J. (1984, March 4). Cable TV spreading throughout suburbia. *Burlington Free Press*, p. 1B, 3B.

Duce, R. (1985, August 31). SportsChannel sues Red Sox. *The Boston Globe*, p. 26.

Ducey, R. V., Krugman, D. M., & Eckrich, D. (1983). Predicting market segments in the cable industry: The basic and pay subscribers. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, *27*(2), 155-161.

Duke Jr., P. (1988, August 5). FCC agrees to reconsider its ban on network-owned cable systems. *The Wall Street Journal*, p. 22.

Fabrikant, G. (1987, June 9). It’s first and goal for ESPN. *The New York Times*, p. D1.

Fabrikant, G. (1989, April 10). Cable industry debating ways to sports profits. *The New York Times*, p. D13.

FCC drafting new ruling on sports import via cable. (1975, July 2). *Variety*, p. 13.

F.C.C. sets open sky policy on satellite service. (1972, June 17). *The New York Times*, p. 32.

FCC weighing fate of rule on program origination by cable. (1972, April 3.) *Variety*, p. 50.

A fierce face-off over television sports. (1983, May 2). *Business Week*, p. 107.

Finney, J. W. (1961, November 7). Satellite television relay plan is urged for home receivers. *The New York Times*, p. 24.

Gammons, P. (1982, September 2). Cable TV deal set. *The Boston Globe*, p. 57.

Gammons, P. (1983, August 7). Brave way to build a staff. *The Boston Globe*, p. 42.

Garnham, N. (1983). Public service versus the market. *Screen, 5*(1), 115-135.

Garnham, N. (1987). Concepts of culture: Public policy and the cultural industries. *Cultural Studies*, 1(1), 23-37.

Garnham, N. (1997). Contribution to a political economy of mass communication. In P. Golding & G. Murdock (Eds.), *The political economy of the media, volume 1* (pp. 51-86). Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.

Geller, H. (1984, December 16). Fairness common sense and the superstation issue. *The New York Times*, p. 2.

Gershon, R. A. (1990). Pay cable television: A regulatory history. *Communications and the Law*, *12*(2), 3-26.

Golenbock, P. (2005). *Red Sox nation: An unexpurgated history of the Boston Red Sox*. Chicago, IL: Triumph Books.

Gould, J. (1957, October 6). Free TV – or pay-as-you-see? *The New York Times*, p. 11, 97-98.

Gould, J. (1958, June 8). Free vs. toll TV. *The New York Times*, p. X9.

Gould, J. (1964, October 10). Sharp TV pictures of Olympics relayed live to U.S. by satellite. *The New York Times*, p. 1.

Gould, J. (1967, July 18). Using the CATV system for pay TV. *The New York Times*, p.75.

Gould, J. (1968, November 10). Cable TV: A Pandora's box in the living room? *The New York Times*, p. D19.

Gould, J. (1970a, June 10). Sloan fund group will study cable TV. *The New York Times*, p. 95.

Gould, J. (1970b, June 14). Television: The point is, what will the cables carry? *The New York Times*, p. 111.

Gould, J. (1971, December 9). A nationwide, controlled system of cable TV is recommended in detailed study by Sloan Commission. *The New York Times*, p. 94.

Gray to get cable TV. (1984, April 20). *The Portland Press Herald*, p. 53.

Gruneau, R. (1989). Making spectacle: A case study in television sports production. In L. A. Wenner (Ed.), *Media, Sports, & Society* (pp. 134-154). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Hanke, R. (1990). Hegemonic masculinity in *thirtysomething*. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication, 7*, 231-248.

Hargreaves, J. (1982). Sport, culture, and ideology. In J. Hargreaves (Ed.), *Sport, culture, and ideology* (pp. 30-46). London: Routlegde & Kegan Paul Ltd.

Harris, P. (1977, March 30). Court upsets FCC's paycable rules. *Variety*, p. 37.

Harvey, J., Law, A., & Cantelon, M. (2001). North American professional team sport franchise ownership patterns and global entertainment conglomerates. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 18*, 435-457.

Henry, W. A. (1979, July 27). What the cable will mean to Hub. *The Boston Globe*, p. 31.

Helyar, J., & Cox, M. (1989, January 6). ESPN wins contract to carry baseball. *The Wall Street Journal*, p. B3.

Hilliard, B. (1984, March 4). TV sports packaging; not all is tied neatly. *The Union Leader*, p.

5F.

Hilmes, M. (2002). *Only connect: A cultural history of broadcasting in the United States.* Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Thomson Learning.

Hilmes, M., & Jacobs, J. (Eds.). (2003). *The television history book*. London: British Film Institute Publishing.

Hoberman, J. M. (1984). *Sport and political ideology*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Hollins, T. (1984). *Beyond broadcasting: Into the cable age*. London: British Film Institute Publishing.

Hoyt, M. (1970. February 16). On the verge of a boom: How will cable-TV be controlled? *The Christian Science Monitor*, p. 2.

Hub rejected cable; no change seen. (1976, July 5). *The Boston Globe*, p. 31.

Inglis, A. F., & Luther, A. C. (1997). *Satellite technology: An introduction* (2nd ed.). Woburn, MA: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Jeanrenaud, C., & Kesenne, S. (2006). Sport and the media: An overview. In C. Jeanrenaud & S. Kesenne (Eds.), *The economics of sport and the media* (pp. 1-25). Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.

Jhally, S. (1984). The spectacle of accumulation: Material and cultural factors in the evolution of the sports/media complex. *The Insurgent Sociologist*, 12(3), 41-57.

Jhally, S. (1989). Cultural studies and the sports/media complex. In L. A. Wenner (Ed.), *Media, Sports, & Society* (pp. 70-96). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Jauss, B. (1979, June 13). The future of sports television connected to a cable. *Chicago Tribune*, p. D1, D2.

Jones, A. S. (1985, March 24). And now, the media mega-merger: The ABC takeover has focused attention on an industry that has many cash-rich and undervalued companies. *The New York Times*, p. F1, F8.

JRY Corporation v. Edward G. LeRoux, Jr., 464 N.E.2d 82 (Mass. App. Ct. 1984).

Kaplan, P. W. (1985, July 8). Sales of TV dish antenna raising problems. *The New York Times*, p. A1.

Kellner, D. (1995). *Media culture: Cultural studies, identity and politics between the modern and the postmodern*. London: Routledge.

Kellner, D. (2011). Cultural studies, multiculturalism, and media culture. In G. Dines & J. M. Humez (Eds.), *Gender, race, and class in media: A critical reader* (3rd ed.) (pp. 7-18). Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Kenney, M. (1972, September 24). Cable television rules designed to aid towns. *The Boston Globe*, p. 60.

Kenney, M. (1973, March 26). CATV commission ends moratorium after six months. *The Boston Globe*, p. 12.

Kindleberger, R. S. (1975, May 11). Cable TV rates now up to State. *The Boston Globe*, p. 41.

Koppett, L. (1972, July 21). Pro sports heads to seek halt to cable TV influx. *The New York Times*, p. 21.

Kunz, W. M. (2007). *Culture conglomerates: Consolidation in the motion picture and television industries*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Landro, L. (1985, May 31). Market for cable-TV systems booms, as outlook for industry improve. *The Wall Street Journal*, p. 5.

Landro, L., & Kneale, D. (1988, May 4). NBC makes pitch to cable TV operators. *The Wall Street Journal*, p. 28.

Landro, L. (1988a, June 15). SportsChannel tops ESPN in bid for hockey rights. *The Wall Street Journal*, p. 30.

Landro, L. (1988b, December 23). NBC, Cablevision agree to joint venture. *The Wall Street Journal*, p. B4.

Le Duc, D. R. (1973). *Cable television and the FCC: A crisis in media control.* Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Lee, R. G., & Murray, J. B. (1995). A framework for critiquing the dysfunctions of advertising: The base-superstructure model. *Advances in Consumer Research, 22*, 139-143.

Lever, J., & Wheeler, S. (1993). Mass media and the experiences of sport. *Communication Research, 20*(1), 125-143.

Lydon, C. (1969, December 21). Cable TV picture brightens. *The New York Times*, p. F1, F8.

Manly, H. (2000, March 30). NESN's Claiborne resigns. *The Boston Globe*, p. D2.

Marx, K., & Engels, F. (1964). *The German ideology*. (S. Ryazanskaya, Trans.) Moscow: Progress Publishers. (Original work published 1845-1846).

Massachusetts Corporations Division. (n.d). *About the corporations division*. Retrieved from http://www.sec.state.ma.us/cor/corpabout.htm

Mayer, C. E. (1983, November 2). Cablevision, Post to buy sports network. *The Washington Post*, p. D7.

McAdam, S. (1986, June 24). Sox success helping NESN. *Providence Journal*, p. D3.

McDonough, W. (1981, June 4). Baldwin out to net Sox. *The Boston Globe*, p. 1.

McDonough, W. (1985a, September 22). Cablevision's sights were set on rights. *The Boston Globe*, p. 60.

McDonough, W. (1985b, October 24). Who will win in the political arena?, *The Boston Globe*, p.

49, 58.

McDonough, W. (1987, March 6). Sox reportedly buying out LeRoux. *The Boston Globe*, p. 45.

McGovern, H. (1984, March 11). Cost of watching Red Sox going up. *Worcester Telegram*, p. 6C.

McKee, A. (2003). *Textual analysis: A beginner's guide*. London: Sage Publications.

McLean, R. A. (1977, February 15). Pay TV will make debut in Boston soon. *The Boston Globe*, p. 43.

Messner, M. A., Dunbar, M., & Hunt, D. (2000). The televised sports manhood formula. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues, 24*(4), 380-394.

Messner, M.A., Duncan, M. C., & Wachs, F. L. (1996). The gender of audience building: Televised coverage of women's and men's NCAA basketball. *Sociological Inquiry, 66*(4), 422-439.

Michie, L. (1972, February 9). CATV on crest on 'new wave': Mid-market gain copyright thorn. *Variety*, p. 29, 53.

Mnookin, S. (2006). *Feeding the monster: How money, smarts, and nerve took a team to the top*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Morse, M. (1983). Sport on television: Replay and display. In E. A. Kaplan (Ed.), *Regarding television: Critical approaches – an anthology* (pp. 44-66). Frederick, MD: University Publications of America.

Mosco, V. (2009). *The political economy of communication, 2nd ed.* London: Sage.

Mullen, M. (2003). *The rise of cable programming in the United States: Revolution or evolution?* Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Nanas, H. S. (Producer), & Stallone, S. (Director). (1982). *Rocky III* [Motion picture]. United

States: MGM/UA Entertainment Company.

Nettel, A. (1984, April 22). United Cable has no plans to add NESN. *The Union Leader*, p. 8D.

NESN: New England's most watched sports network: Background. (2012, March 3). Retrieved from http://www.nesn.com/about-nesn.html

New film is piped into homes as pay-TV opens in Oklahoma. (1957, September 4). *The New York Times*, p. 67.

O'Keefe, J. (1973, June 17). CATV takes dim view of local scene. *The Boston Globe*, p. 41.

Oriard, M. (2001). *King football: Sport and spectacle in the golden age of radio and newsreels, movies and magazines, the weekly and the daily press*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.

Pay television falls between two stools in divided house on Capitol Hill. (1970, March 18). *Variety*, p. 34.

People in sports: Bruins end 51-year family tie. (1975, October 3). *The New York Times*, p. 24.

Phillips, C. (1962, September 1). President signs satellite bill. *The New York Times*, p. 1.

Philly PRISM to pay-cable sports, films. (1976, July 28). *Variety*, p. 42.

Piantadosi, R. (1982, December 17). More to see, at more cost. *The Washington Post*, p. D2.

Post, Cablevision acquire rights to Sports Vision. (1983, December 15). *The Washington Post*, p. B1.

Prager, R. A. (1989). Franchise bidding for natural monopoly: The case of cable television in Massachusetts. *Journal of Regulatory Economics*, 115-131.

Properties of the leading media companies; newspapers. (1989, June 26). *Advertising Age*, np.

Pryor, T. M. (1953, November 23). Pay-as-you-see TV to begin Saturday night. *The New York Times*, p. 31.

Quill, E. (1986, August 30). Sox TV picture clouded. *The Boston Globe*, p. 29.

RCA satellite deal. (1984, June 26). *The New York Times*, p. 4.

Real, M. R. (1998). MediaSport: Technology and the commodification of postmodern sport. In L. A. Wenner (Ed.), *MediaSport* (pp. 14-26). New York: Routledge.

Real, M. R., & Mechikoff, R. A. (1992). Deep fan: Mythic identification, technology, and advertising in spectator sports. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 9*, 323-339.

Riess, S. A. (1991). *City games: The evolution of American urban society and the rise of sports*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Roberts, E. (1982, January 20). Red Sox move into cable - to lure live crowds. *The Boston Globe*, p. 1.

Roger Clemens' 20 strikeout game against the Mariners helped put NESN on the map. (2011, April 29). Retrieved from http://www.nesn.com/2011/04/roger-clemens-20-strikeout-game-against-the-mariners-helped-put-nesn-on-the-map.html

Rosner, S. R., & Shropshire, K. L. (Eds.). (2004). *The business of sports*. Sudbury, MA: Jones and Bartlett Publishers.

Sage, G. H. (2000). Political economy and sport. In J. Coakley & E. Dunning (Eds.), *Handbook of Sports Studies* (pp. 260-276). London: Sage Publications.

Saltzman, A. (1984, October 8). Sports Time moves towards national net. *Adweek*, np.

Sanger, D. (1981, August 17). Boston award may overhaul cable TV rates. *The Wall Street Journal*, p. 17, 29.

San Francisco Giants vs. Houston Astros [Television broadcast]. (1986, September 25). Houston, TX: Home Sports Entertainment.

Satellite TV systems would transmit direct to home sets. (1979, August 10). *The Christian*

Science Monitor, p. 6.

Schumach, M. (1968, July 3). CATV leader foresees mergers despite U.S. pleas to shun them. *The New York Times*, p. 71.

Scrambler to put lid on fans' satellite dishes. (January 8, 1988). *Chicago Tribune*, p. C4.

Seattle Mariners vs. Boston Red Sox [Television broadcast]. (1986, April 29). Boston, MA: New England Sports Network

Senate unit kills cable sports curb. (1974, June 12). *The New York Times*, 53.

Shafer, R. P. (1973, September/October). Television and the cable TV system. *The Saturday Evening Post*, 42-44.

Shafroth, M. (1984, April 19). City to prepare cable TV application. *Burlington Free Press*, p. 2B.

Shales, T. (1978, June 18). Television in the '80s. *The Washington Post*, p. G1.

Sloan, W. D. (1991). *Perspectives on mass communication history*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Smith, G. (1965, December 19). 'Wire TV' marks rapid expansion. *The New York Times*, p. F11.

Smith, G. (1984a, March 22). Area unable to get new sports cable. *The Hartford Courant*, p. D4.

Smith, G. (1984b, April 8). Prospects growing dimmer for seeing Red Sox on TV. *The Hartford Courant*, p. D5.

Smith, R. L. (1968, May 26). Deadlier than a Western: The battle over cable TV. *The New York Times*, p. SM34-35, SM37-43.

Smith, S. B. (1983, June 14). Effect of new sports cable debated. *The New York Times*, p. C13.

Stam, R. (2000). Film theory: An introduction. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

Startt, J. D., & Sloan, W. D. (1989). *Historical methods in mass communication*. Hillsdale, NJ:

Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Still pitching for pay-TV. (1977, April 11). *Business Week*, p. 111.

Stockholder meeting briefs. (1973, July 30). *The Wall Street Journal*, p. 25.

Storch, C. (1982, September 3). New technology: Most cable networks will fold, study predicts. *Chicago Tribune*, p. D11.

Storer Broadcasting Co. reaches accord to sell Boston Garden, Bruins. (1975, August 29). *The Wall Street Journal*, p. 3.

Storer signs merger pact with N.Y. firm. (1985, May 4). *The Boston Globe*, p. 8.

Storer units' sale completed. (1975, October 7). *The Wall Street Journal*, p. 19.

Streeter, T. (1987). The cable fable revisited: discourse, policy, and the making of cable television. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication, 4*, 174-200.

Strout, R. L. (1967, March 31). Sports experiment. *The Christian Science Monitor*, p. 16.

Sutton, W. A., McDonald, M. A., & Milne, G. R. (1997). Creating and fostering fan identification in professional sports. *Sport Marketing Quarterly*, *6*(1). 15-22.

Sweeney, L. (1976, July 30). Baseball commissioner throws strike at cable TV. *The Christian Science Monitor*, p. 5.

Synchef, R. M. (1978). Municipal ownership of cable television systems. *San Francisco Law Review*, *12*(2), 205-255.

Takiff, J. (1987, May 22). Audio/video: Satellite TV skies brighten as with programmers ends. *Chicago Tribune*, p. 76.

Television program relayed by satellite. (1962, July 11). *Chicago Daily Tribune*, p. B12.

Time Inc. unit to use satellites to deliver programs to UA-Columbia cable systems. (1975, April 11). *The Wall Street Journal*, p. 21.

Time Warner would be big fish, but in crowded pond. (1989, March 7). *The Wall Street Journal*, p. B1.

The top 50 media companies. (1987, June 29). *Advertising Age*, p. S-3.

TV by subscription is tested on coast. (1952, February 27). *The New York Times*, p. 34.

TV relay foreseen. (1956, November 22). *The New York Times*, p. 30.

Unger, A. (1981, November 16). Cable TV culture: Fulfilling the promise? *The Christian Science Monitor*, p. 15.

Unger, A. (1983, August 22). Cable TV sports, and book authors on videotape. *The Christian Science Monitor*, p. 16.

U.S. report endorses more cable competition. (1988, June 16). *The New York Times*, p. D22.

Vise, D. A. (1984, November 27). CBS, Post to share in cable venture. *The Washington Post*, p. D1.

Vt. cable TV battle not over yet. (1970, February 8). *The Boston Globe*, p. 80A.

Walker J. R., & Bellamy Jr., R. V. (2008). *Center field shot: A history of baseball on television*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Wasko, J. (2001). *Understanding Disney: The manufacture of fantasy*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Wenner, L. A. (1989). Media, sports, and society: The research agenda. In L. A. Wenner (Ed.), *Media, Sports, & Society* (pp. 13-48). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Whannel, G. (1983). *Blowing the whistle*. London: Pluto Press Limited.

Whannel, G. (1992). *Fields in vision: Television sport and cultural transformation*. London: Routledge.

Whannel, G. (1998). Reading the sports media audience. In L. A. Wenner (Ed.), *MediaSport* (pp.

221-232). New York: Routledge.

White, M. (1992). Ideological analysis and television. In R. C. Allen (Ed.), *Channels of discourse, reassembled: Television and contemporary criticism* (2^{nd} ed.) (pp. 161-202). Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Williams, R. (1961). *The long revolution*. London: Chatto & Windus.

Williams, R. (1977). *Marxism and literature*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Winseck, D. (2011). The state of media ownership and media markets: Competition or concentration and why should we care? In G. Dines & J. M. Humez (Eds.), *Gender, race, and class in media: A critical reader* (3^{rd} ed.) (pp. 19-24). Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Worthington, R. (1980, May 25). Cable TV's future: The sky's the limit. *Chicago Tribune*, p. 12.

WPIX plans start of TV relay chain. (1953, November 4). *The New York Times*, p. 40.

Zimbalist, A. (2006). *The bottom line: Observations and arguments on the sports business*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

VITA

Graduate School
Southern Illinois University

Tanya L. Lovejoy

lbnomar@yahoo.com

University of Southern Maine
Bachelor of Arts, Media Studies, December 2001

San Francisco State University
Master of Arts, Radio and Television, May 2006

Special Honors and Awards:

Popular Culture Association/American Culture Association Conference, Boston, MA, April 2012 presented paper "A Father's Revenge, A Mother's Pain: Locating the Family in Ingmar Bergman's *The Virgin Spring*."

The 19th Annual NINE Spring Training Conference, Tempe, AZ, March 2012 presented paper "'Was Anyone Out There Watching Last Night?' Why New England Sports Network (NESN) Needed Roger Clemens: Sports Media Ownership and the Televised Sports Text."

H-Sport, H-Net: Humanities and Social Sciences Online, List Editor since December 2011.

Northeast Popular Culture/American Culture Association Conference, Danbury, CT, November 2011, presented paper "'Road To Rhode Island': *Family Guy* and New England Culture."

2011 Graduate Student Symposium, College of Mass Communication and Media Arts, Southern Illinois University Carbondale, May 2011, presented paper "Who Wants Chowdah?: *Family Guy* and the Representation of New England Culture."

Popular Culture Association/American Culture Association Conference, San Antonio, TX, April 2011, presented paper "Who Wants Chowdah?: *Family Guy* and the Representation of New England Culture."

The 18th Annual NINE Spring Training Conference, Tempe, AZ, March 2011, presented paper "Major League Baseball and Regional Sports Networks: The Creation of the New England Sports Network, 1980-1985."

2010 Graduate Student Symposium, College of Mass Communication and Media Arts, Southern Illinois University Carbondale, April 2010, presented paper "The Origin of Regional Sports Networks: Cable Television and Satellite, 1970-1980."

Popular Culture Association/American Culture Association Conference, St. Louis, MO, April 2010, presented paper "The Creation of Regional Sports Networks: Cable Television, Pay TV, and Satellite, 1940-1985."

Mid-Atlantic Popular/American Culture Association Conference, Boston, MA, November 2009, presented paper "From ESPN to RSNs: When Baseball on TV Was No Longer Free – A History of Major League Baseball in the Cable Television Era, 1980-1985."

Northeast Popular Culture/American Culture Association Conference, Bayside, NY, October 2009, presented paper "From ESPN to RSNs: When Baseball on TV Was No Longer Free."

National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) Conference, Las Vegas, NV, April 2006, presented paper "Silence of Television Sound."

Media Culture Seminar, San Francisco State University, November 2004, presented paper "Silence of Television Sound."

Dissertation Paper Title:

"Was Anyone Out There Watching Last Night?": The Creation and Early History of New England Sports Network, 1980-1989

Major Professor: Dr. William Babcock