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APOTHEOSIS OR DOWNFALL: PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE OF SPORT AND MONEY THROUGH THE OLYMPIC GAMES AND THE EUROPEAN SUPER LEAGUE

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MASTER Dissertation submitted to the professional body for the partial fulfillment of obligations for the awarding of a post-graduate title in the Post-graduate Programme, "Olympic Studies, Olympic Education, Organization and Management of Olympic Events" of the University of the Peloponnese.

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SUMMARY

Tomás M. Conte: Apotheosis or Downfall: past, present, and future of sport and money through the Olympic Games and the European Super League.

(Under the supervision of Thierry Zintz, Professor)

The main purpose of this thesis is to study and critically analyse the relationship between sport and money through history. It will come back to the development of modern sports, tackling their commercialisation and professionalisation of athletes concurrently with the birth of the ideology of amateurism and the mutation of sports' meanings in Great Britain. Moreover, as sports organisations need money to survive, the thesis will approach their relationships with the basic stakeholders of this equation: stars of the products (athletes) and consumers (fans). The analysis' scenarios will be case studies about the European Super League (ESL) and the Olympic Games since the two represent different ideals of sports' relationship with money: one is attached to commercialism and negative values, while the latter possesses a cultural, ethical and non-commercial rhetoric. This thesis will carefully analyse the stakeholders, interests, and issues behind the ESL's downfall. Contrastingly, the document will look beyond the Olympics' apotheosis through three themes: payment of prize money to athletes, eSports' inclusion, and a survey regarding perceptions on sport, money, and the Games. Ultimately, it will be possible to relate the different endeavours to understand the relationship between sport and money, as well as to identify what the ESL and the Olympics can learn from each other. As a result of the investigations, several proposals will be made, including the payment of Olympic prize money and the creation of the eOlympics. Besides, the thesis will develop new concepts that might help stakeholders to look to the future of sports and money. The first deals with the transformation of athletes from amateurs to full professionals, leaving the current objectified professionalism. Whereas the second defends that the sports industry is moving from the age of modern sports to the new era of post-modern sports.

Keywords: sport, money, Olympic Games, European Super League, athletes.

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This is it. A master's thesis. My thesis. Before anything, I want to thank my father Marco, my mother Claudia, and my sister Mariana. The best people I know in the whole universe, who truly are the air that I breathe, the energy that I have to move, and the beat of my heart. Without their support, nothing would be possible. First and foremost, this is for them. My father is a true superhero, my mother is my eternal "partner in crime", and my sister is an endless source of affection. I would also like to thank my friends for their support, my dear Gonçalves for his words of encouragement, and all of my family for their love.

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Finally, I would like to thank all of the participants of the survey contained in this thesis, as well as the people who answered several of my e-mails requesting information, for their time and goodwill.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

Abbreviation	Definition	Abbreviation	Definition
AIBA	*Association Internationale de Boxe Amateur* (International Association of Amateur Boxing) – IBA now	ISSF	International Shooting Sport Federation
ATP	Association of Tennis Professionals	ITF	International Tennis Federation
BTF	Boxing Task Force	ITTF	International Table Tennis Federation
BWF	Badminton World Federation	IWF	International Weightlifting Federation
CS	Counter-Strike	LoL	League of Legends
ESL	European Super League	MLB	Major League Baseball
FEI	*Fédération Équestre Internationale* (International Federation for Equestrian Sports)	NBA	National Basketball Association
FIA	*Fédération Internationale de l'Automobile* (International Automobile Federation)	NCAA	National Collegiate Athletic Association
FIBA	*Fédération Internationale de Basketball* (International Basketball Federation)	NF	National Federation
FIE	*Fédération Internationale d'Escrime* (International Fencing Federation)	NFL	National Football League
FIFA	*Fédération Internationale de Football Association* (International Federation of Association Football)	NHL	National Hockey League
FIG	*Fédération Internationale de Gymnastique* (International Gymnastics Federation)	NOC	National Olympic Committee
FIGH	*Fédération Internationale de Hockey sur Glace* (International Ice Hockey Federation) – Also known as IIHF	OCOG	Organising Committee of the Olympic Games
FIH	*Fédération Internationale de Hockey* (International Hockey Federation)	OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
FINA	*Fédération Internationale de Natation* (International Swimming Federation)	OVS	Olympic Virtual Series
FIS	*Fédération Internationale de Ski* (International Ski Federation)	PE	Physical Education
FIVB	*Fédération Internationale de Volleyball* (International Volleyball Federation)	PES	Pro Evolution Soccer
FPS	First-Person Shooter	RHB	Rights Holding Broadcasters
GDP	Gross domestic product	SO	Sports Organisation
IAAF	International Association of Athletics Federations – World Athletics now	UCI	*Union Cycliste Internationale* (International Cycling Union)
ICF	International Canoe Federation	UEFA	Union of European Football Associations

IF	International Federation	UIPM	*Union Internationale de Pentathlon Moderne* (International Modern Pentathlon Union)
IFSC	International Federation of Sport Climbing	UWW	United World Wrestling
IHF	International Handball Federation	WADA	World Anti-Doping Agency
IJF	International Judo Federation	WBSC	World Baseball Softball Confederation,
IOC	International Olympic Committee	WTA	Women's Tennis Association
ISL	International Swimming League		

PART 1 – INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1 – MOTIVATIONS AND CONTEXTUALISATION

1.1 – Motivations behind the Thesis

On April 20, 2021, I was watching television and saw images that impressed me hugely: in the middle of a pandemic, a large group of supporters came out of their homes and gathered themselves to protest[1] in front of the arena where the club they love plays. The reason? A couple of days earlier, 12 of the most powerful and successful football clubs in the world announced the launch of a breakaway league: the European Super League (ESL), which was set to change the whole landscape of such a beloved sport.

A series of thoughts flooded through my mind: what makes people risk their safety in order to try to stop their team from entering a new competition? Whatever the reasons were, one thing was clear: it was not only about sport. It is more than what happens inside the field of play. People around the world relate with their favourite clubs and athletes in a very close and emotional way. It is more than sport. It is about culture. It is about identity.

The ESL project was shattered in a matter of days, although not completely dead yet, as it is going to be explained further. Doomed as a greed endeavour proposed by a group of rich owners only interested in money, it was criticised as not in pace with sport's cultural dimensions. Sport and money! A contradiction? I started reflecting on this theme, and for someone studying the Olympics, I was not left out of examples.

The Olympic Games, the biggest and greatest sports spectacle on Earth has a non-commercial aura, even though they are highly commercialised. However, money is not what appears first. Internationalism, resilience, excellence, and hope are tenets that make up a very special atmosphere at the Olympics. Differently from most sports events, the Games maintain their fields of play clean from a bunch of sponsors. As for the winners, the Olympians, the heroes, they wear gold, silver, and bronze, not green. That is, they do not receive prize money for their achievements directly from the International Olympic Committee (IOC).

Sport and money. The ESL and the Olympics seem to be on opposite sides of a very complex relationship. On one hand, sports organisations (SOs) and events throughout the world are heavily commercialised, have several sponsors and valuable broadcast rights deals. On the other hand, there is a rhetoric surrounding sports that depict

[1] This exactly protest was carried out by Chelsea supporters outside Stamford Bridge.

it as a pure and positive ethical, cultural, and societal practice that is almost incompatible with money, or at least profit, often highlighting its educational dimensions. Something like the Great Sport Myth, as named by Jay Coakley (2015).

Contemplating on this apparent paradox, it is remarkable how it has been an important part of sports' history: from the philosophy of amateurism, through the rise of the sports industry, and to the current challenges of a landscape that gave birth to the ESL and that sees the IOC making changes in its main event. SOs are fighting for their financial sustainability, yet have non-commercial rhetoric widely spread through the media, managers, and other people involved in sports.

Through this possible paradox and rhetoric that has been accompanying it for quite some time now, it is possible to develop a picture to help explain the dichotomy. Just like a coin, sport has two sides. On one side, the monetary dimension, payments, the dollars, often related to negative actions or features, such as corruption, greediness, and immorality. On the other side, the virtuous dimension, pure, ethical, and cultural, repeatedly linked with positive associations, like education and values. On one side, the Super League. On the other, the Olympics.

Figure 1: The Sport's Coin, money versus values

In other words, the ESL and the Olympics are on the extremes of the sports/money dichotomy. The Super League would embody money and how commercialism would hurt sport's cultural dimensions, while the Olympic Games would manifest the positive values

associated with sport, such as education, ethics, and culture. Through these two examples, the goal here is to investigate the complex relationship between sport and money to analyse if there really is a paradox and what should be the correct balance. The motivation is to contribute to the knowledge about sport, identify injustices, and provide suggestions that may help the sports industry financial sustainability, preserve its cultural dimension, and correct eventual problems.

1.2 – Context and Theme

"Question. That is the point. Always question!"

(Emma Banville, from ITV's series Fearless)

I love the above quote. Portrayed by the outstanding Helen McCrory, the character of Emma says these words at the end of the show. As a journalist and a master's student, I take very seriously the mission to learn and reflect upon the facts of the world independently, permitting myself to question absolutely everything, with no prejudice or expectations. That is something that guides my work, including this thesis.

In order to question everything and produce relevant analysis, it is important to have all the facts clear. Looking at the Olympic Family finances is a great way to start. The total revenue received by the IOC in the 2013-2016 Olympiad (Sochi Winter and Rio Summer Olympics) was 5.7 billion dollars. The vast majority of that comes from, mainly, broadcast rights, and also from The Olympic Partner (TOP) programme (sponsors), which together represented 5.1 billion of the total revenue.

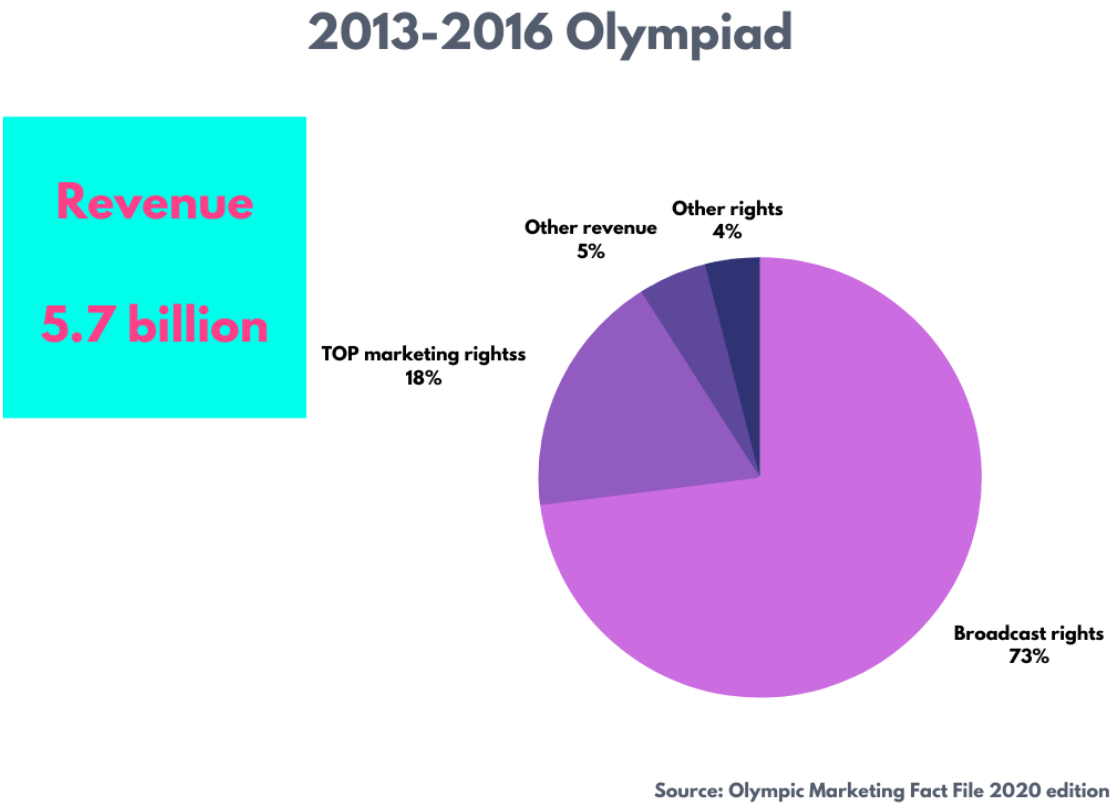


Chart 1: IOC's revenue

Of that total amount of money, the IOC only retains 10%, while the left 90% are to be distributed across the Olympic Movement: for the Rio 2016, 540 million were dedicated to both the National Olympic Committees (NOCs) and the International

Federations (IFs) each, and over 1.5 billion was designated to support the Games. Beyond that, the IOC also finances the Olympic Solidarity (which supports programmes, athletes and coaches), other organisations and projects that contribute to the development of sport in the world[2].

From these facts, it is possible to develop a quite simple, yet fundamental equation. Sponsors and the media are responsible for the biggest part of the IOC's revenue. Without their support, the financial sustainability of the Olympic Games would be in huge trouble. Basically, the same is noted across the sports world. Why do sponsors and the media pay to SOs for using their platforms or their content? Obviously, because fans are willing to consume. TVs want big audiences. These big audiences raise the interest of sponsors. At the end of the day, sponsors and media pay money because there are fans.

Moving on, why do fans watch sports? Since this is not the theme of this thesis, let us stay at the surface and go on with the simple idea of whom the audience watches: athletes. As the biggest stars of the show, athletes are the main actors and actresses of the content sold by SOs to their partners. In this context, fans are the consumers.

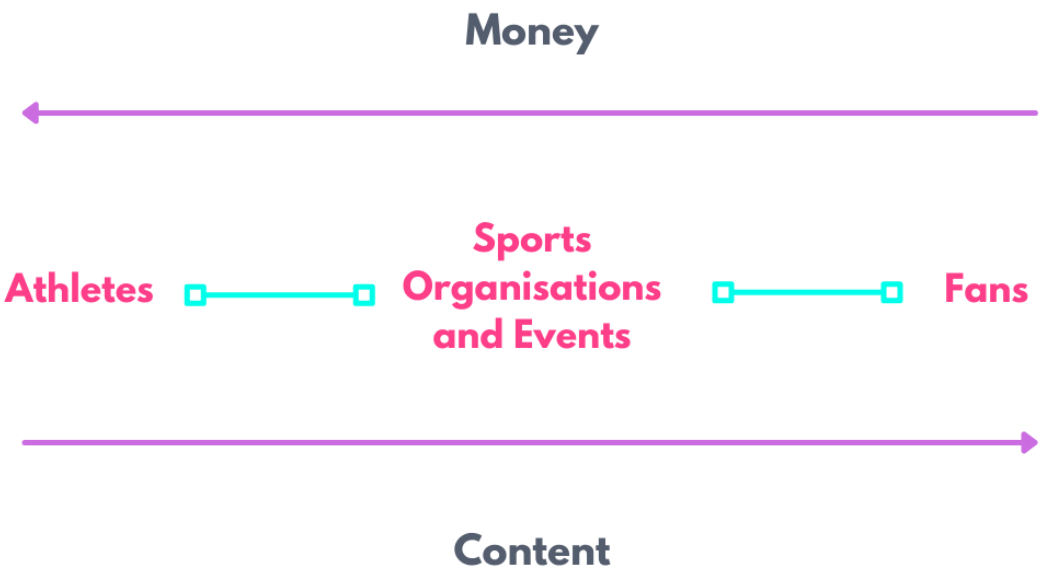


Figure 2: From products to consumers, a chain of money and content

[2] All data is available in the Olympic Marketing Fact File: edition 2020 (IOC, 2020a).

Now that the stakeholders of this equation are established, it is time to insert money into the conversation. The relationship that goes from athletes to fans, and vice-versa, naturally creates a chain of money generated by the content produced by athletes and SOs. It is exactly here that this thesis is interested in digging dip.

Suddenly, if athletes do not take part in the competitions, fans will not watch it, and the whole chain that financially maintains the sports universe would collapse. Moreover, if fans simply started to turn off their televisions and smartphones to sports competitions, everything would fall apart as well. The content would become of no (or minimal) value. The financial sustainability of the sports world depends on athletes and fans. Maintaining this structure is an ever-going challenge.

All of this relates to the practical side of the relationship between sport and money. However, this is heavily impacted by an intangible conversation, which deals with non-commercial, ethical, educational, and cultural rhetoric very common in the sports field. Let us turn into the Olympic family to quickly translate this as well.

Responsible for bringing a high amount of money into the IOC, the Olympic marketing programmes also have as one of their goals "to control and limit the commercialisation of the Olympic Games" (IOC, 2020a, p. 5). Furthermore, the IOC, as enshrined in the Olympic Charter's, prohibits advertising inside the venues of the Games, very differently from other sports competitions, which are full of signs from big corporations all over. Propaganda on uniforms, for instance, is also forbidden.

As the Olympic Movement has a special goal, that is, "to contribute to building a peaceful and better world by educating youth through sport practised in accordance with Olympism and its values" (IOC, 2021c, p. 12), there is a philosophical rhetoric around it that makes it a unique institution. Olympism translates all of this, having educational and cultural foundations, it seeks to promote positive impacts on societies. Athletes take an oath during the Opening Ceremonies, promising to respect Olympism, contributing to the religious intangible aura of the Games.

Additionally, the Charter also sets that one of the IOC's roles is "to oppose any political or commercial abuse of sport and athletes" (IOC, 2021c, p. 14). What commercial abuse, in reality, means is not explicit. New members of the IOC should also take an oath, in which they promise to act independently of commercial interests, even though the IOC itself sells rights to corporations, having obvious commercial interests.

With all, the Olympics create a pure, moral, and "non-commercial" atmosphere. A very different ideal from the Super League. Two different phenomena, through which

we can understand how some fall, while others succeed. Downfall or apotheosis! For those who are not from Brazil, I believe that you are all, to some extent, aware of the great Rio de Janeiro's carnival, where each year in February or March, several amazing schools of samba, a real Brazilian cultural institution, present an enormous spectacle. They parade through the *Marquês de Sapucaí*, with a lot of music, energy, and colours, in sequins and glitter extravaganza. Every school ends its parade at the *Praça da Apoteose*, or, in English, Apotheosis Square. A beautiful place where the schools celebrate their achievements after a year of preparation.

As a kid, I loved to watch the parades. I would stay up all night feeling all of that contagious energy. I was very fascinated with that square and its name, although I had no idea what it meant. Only much after, during my years at the University of Coimbra, I would capture all of the meaning behind that name. Reading Apuleio's Cupid and Psyche for a class, I finally understood and (most of all) felt what apotheosis meant: the process of transformation into a deity.

As someone who loves and studies sport, I see all of the aura surrounding the Olympic Games and even other sports competitions as very close to a religious tone. Especially the Olympics and athletes are often regarded through this heavenly look: heroes, devils, mystics, angels, in a very purist approach. It is as if the Olympics and their most celebrated athletes, just like the school of sambas, belonged to the apotheosis; while other failed endeavours, like the Super League, and even some athletes who fail to hold such high standards, were designated to the downfall. Much of this is through their relationship with money. Apotheosis or downfall, make your choice! What defines the destiny of each and the acceptability of this duality remains exploratory ground for this thesis to investigate.

PART 1 – INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 2 – ORGANISATION

2.1 – Structure of the Thesis

This is how this thesis is going to work. Most of all, I want it to be a great piece of reading, soft and easy just like a delicious piece of cake. Mixing academic and journalistic writing, the aim is to provide a relevant and current document that is both informative and analytical. In the end, maybe, the suggestions in the conclusion can contribute to the sports industry, especially to fans and athletes, inspire positive changes and innovations, as well as start new conversations.

The analysis of the relationship between money will happen at different levels, regarding two of the central stakeholders in sports, through different perspectives. All of this will be accomplished by having the Olympic Games and the European Super League as the scenario.

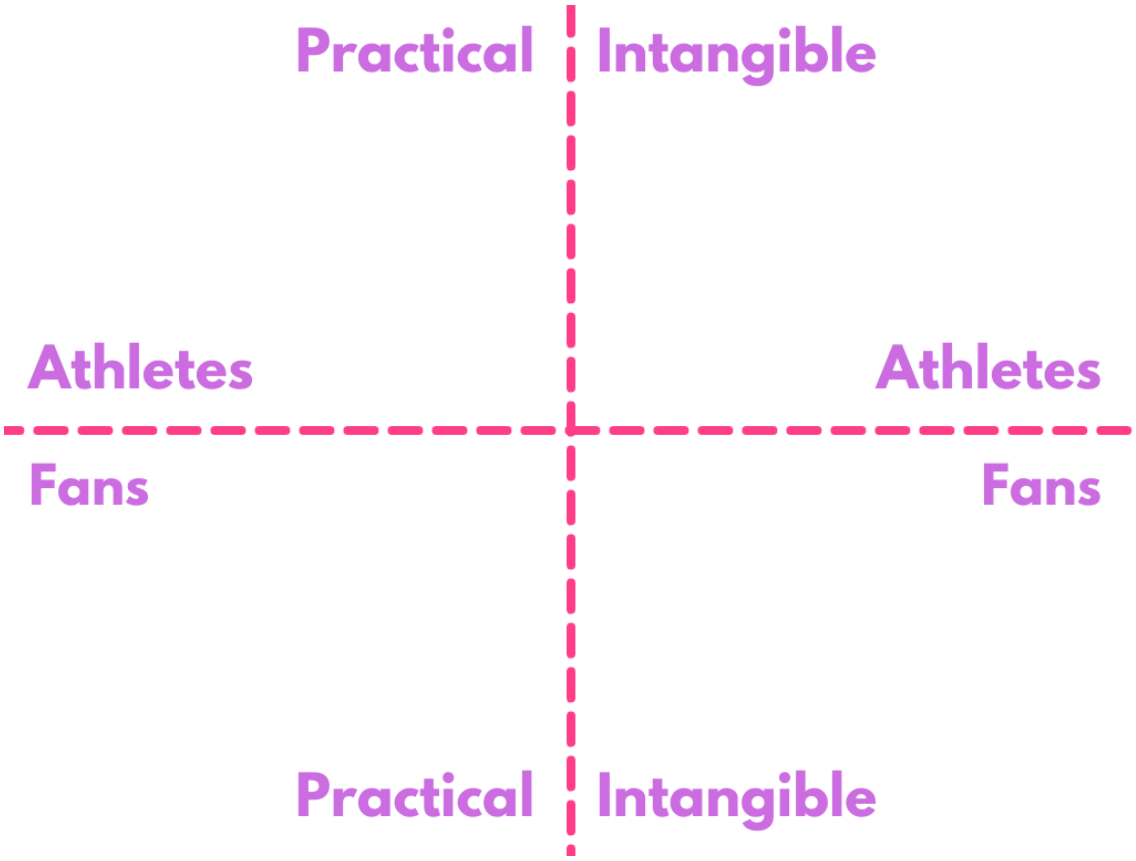


Figure 3: Framework of the thesis

In other words, the practical side refers to the numbers, the payments, and concrete decisions, while the intangible speaks to all of the rhetoric, whether is ethical or cultural. In addition, the sides of athletes (product) and fans (consumers) relate to the content they offer or buy.

Before going deep into the study of the two SOs tackled in this thesis, it is important to set the theoretical framework (Part 2). First, the literature review (Chapter 3) will aim to offer a very broad and diverse bibliographical basis to the thesis. Among the relevant literature that will be tackled further, it is possible to highlight Guttmann (2004) for modern sports, Llewellyn and Gleaves (2016) for amateurism, Gruneau (2006) and Holt (2006) for sports history. Beyond that, Adrian Walsh and Richard Giulianotti (2001 and 2007) for the issue of sports and money, Smith and Stewart (2010) for the sports industry, and Scholz (2019) and Pack and Hedlund (2020) for eSports are also important works. Beyond, Pierre de Coubertin (2015) own writings. Afterwards, Chapter 4 will bring the methodology of the thesis, focusing on case studies and a survey.

Finally, Part 3 will bring the case studies. Chapter 5 concerns the Olympic Games. Two main topics will be approached. First of all, on the side of the fans (content they buy), the issue of eSports as a valuable potential new source of revenue will be highlighted. The second topic refers to athletes and their professional rights to receive money for their achievements at the Summer Games[3]. In the end, the chapter will also bring the findings of the survey about perceptions on sport, money, and the Olympics.

Chapter 6 will tackle what is, maybe, the controversy of 2021: the European Super League. Working closely with official documents and the English press coverage of the endeavour, the thesis will aim to provide a wide and profound picture of the whole crisis This case study presents a very different example from the Olympics to analyse the issue of sports and money.

Afterwards, it will be time for the important discussions in Part 4 of the thesis. Chapter 7 will focus the debate surrounding sport and money on the athletes' side of the conversation, from the philosophy of amateurism to the era of professionalism and rights. Chapter 8 will shift the debate to the other side of the equation: fans. This especially concerns the content offered by SOs, taking into account the audience's preferences and sensibilities.

In the end, Part 5 of the present thesis will bring its conclusion. Chapter 9 shall wrap up the discussions and put forward several suggestions regarding the subjects approached here. Moreover, Chapter 10 will close the thesis by presenting the benefits, limitations and possible further research. I hope all of you who are taking a little bit of your precious time to read this thesis have the best time possible.

[3] It is important to make clear that the focus of this thesis is the Summer Olympics.

2.2 – Research Questions

Like every analysis and reflection in life, everything boils down to a question. Or many questions. Therefore, it is important to present what are the questions aimed to be answered by this thesis. All of the questions proposed here are related to the issue of sport and money, with one main enigma to be solved:

- Since competitions and sports organisations need money to survive, what is their future to sustainably maintain their products (athletes) and consumers (fans)?

Besides, several other sub-questions derive from the previous, and also help to answer it. These questions below are related to the different levels of analysis presented earlier and will be addressed during the thesis:

- Is there a paradox between money and the ethical and cultural side of sports?
- What is the future for sports events when it comes to athletes and organisations: do the Olympics need to find their "inner Super League" and also the contrary in order to maintain athletes and fans?
- Should the Olympic Games pay prize money to their medallists? Are there any sustainable reasons for not doing so?
- Should the Olympic Games, somehow, include eSports? Under what conditions?
- With no prejudices whatsoever, was there any real problem with the Super League? If so, what were them and how could it be improved?

These questions will guide the analysis and further discussions and will be answered in Chapter 9. I wish you all a great read!

PART 2 – THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

CHAPTER 3 – LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 – Introduction

Every thesis needs to be scientifically correct and cohesive. This part aims to lay down and present the theoretical framework that will guide these writings, providing the scientific basis that helps and supports what is being analysed, criticised and proposed in the thesis. Since there is a broad range of topics that will contribute to the knowledge built here and help to answer the relevant research questions, the proposed structure will divide the literature review into three different parts.

The first section will tackle the historical perspective of what, at the end of the day, concerns this thesis: sport and money, especially through the Olympic Games. In this sense, the thesis will go back to the cradles of this wonderful modern institution in Ancient Greece and also provide an overlook of the evolution of sport (and its commercialisation) since the 18th century.

Meanwhile, the second part will address the sociological and philosophical dimension of sport as a cultural practice, money as an evil source of corruption, and their relationship. Finally, the third and last section will face the economic dimension of topics approached in this thesis, such as prize money, the Olympic Games and the sports industry itself. Of course, since this thesis deals with sport in society and people do not live in a vacuum, nor are the socially construct products of societies isolated from each other time and space, the topics may overlap the different dimensions, bringing history, sociology and economy all together. However, this division into distinct arenas of thoughts may help the reader to better capture the wide range of themes tackled in this thesis.

3.3 – **Historical Perspective**

It is crucial to capture the Olympic Ideal and its origins to explore some of the problems with the current Olympic Games. Telling a bit of the story of modern sports is as well telling some of the stories of how they were industrialised and of how athletes became professionals. To do that, this section will board in a journey to Ancient Greece, Great Britain, with a short connection in France, and the United States to describe how the relationship between sport and money changed over time.

At the beginning of everything, there was Greece. The land where the most important athletics competition was born and where physical activity and athletics played a very relevant role. The much-spread romantic idea of amateurism in Ancient Greece athletics, as simply stated by David C. Young (1984) in his groundbreaking work, is a myth; the great ancient victors would not be up to the modern standards placed by the IOC in the amateur era. As the author recounts, "ancient athletes regularly competed for valuable prizes" (p. 7), and even the word to describe what is an amateur was missing back then. According to Young, ancient amateurism is a modern construction, created by people who wanted to construct a precedent for their own system. While the Ancient Olympics themselves would only give out olive wreaths, the victors had valuable prizes waiting in their home cities.

If in modern times, athletes had and still have their integrity or rights questioned for receiving money for their work, this dichotomy was not to be found in ancient Greece (Young, 1984), instead, "athletics were a serious business" (p. 172). A business with big prizes. Sport and money were already linked.

3.2.1 – Victorianism, the Birth of Modern Sports and a New Ideology

From Greece in the 4th century, where the last edition of the Ancient Olympics took place, it is time to get in the DeLorean and advance in time. The new scenario is Great Britain, where important changes will bring back sport as a massive social and cultural phenomenon and shape it as current societies are familiar with nowadays. The time? 18th century. As machines are being put to work, factories are releasing smoke, people and cultures are mutating; life and the Earth will never be the same.

Modern sports were born. Richard Gruneau (2006) dates them to the 18th and early 19th centuries, whereas Allen Guttmann (2004) describes the formation of modern sports in a period of about 150 years, from the early 18th century until the late 19th. Stefan Szymanski (2008) describes an agreement about the birth of modern sports: England, by the industrial revolution in the 18th century, precisely in the context of associativity. He

takes on this concept to explain the phenomenon of modern sports, relating the growth of sports during the 18th century with the development of the public sphere, especially through the institution of clubs, led by the middle classes.

Besides, the same author also puts commercialism side by side with associativity in the changing society: "the market and club are both forms of voluntary association" (p. 12). James Riordan (2006) contributes to this notion, dating the commercialisation of sport back to the 18th century.

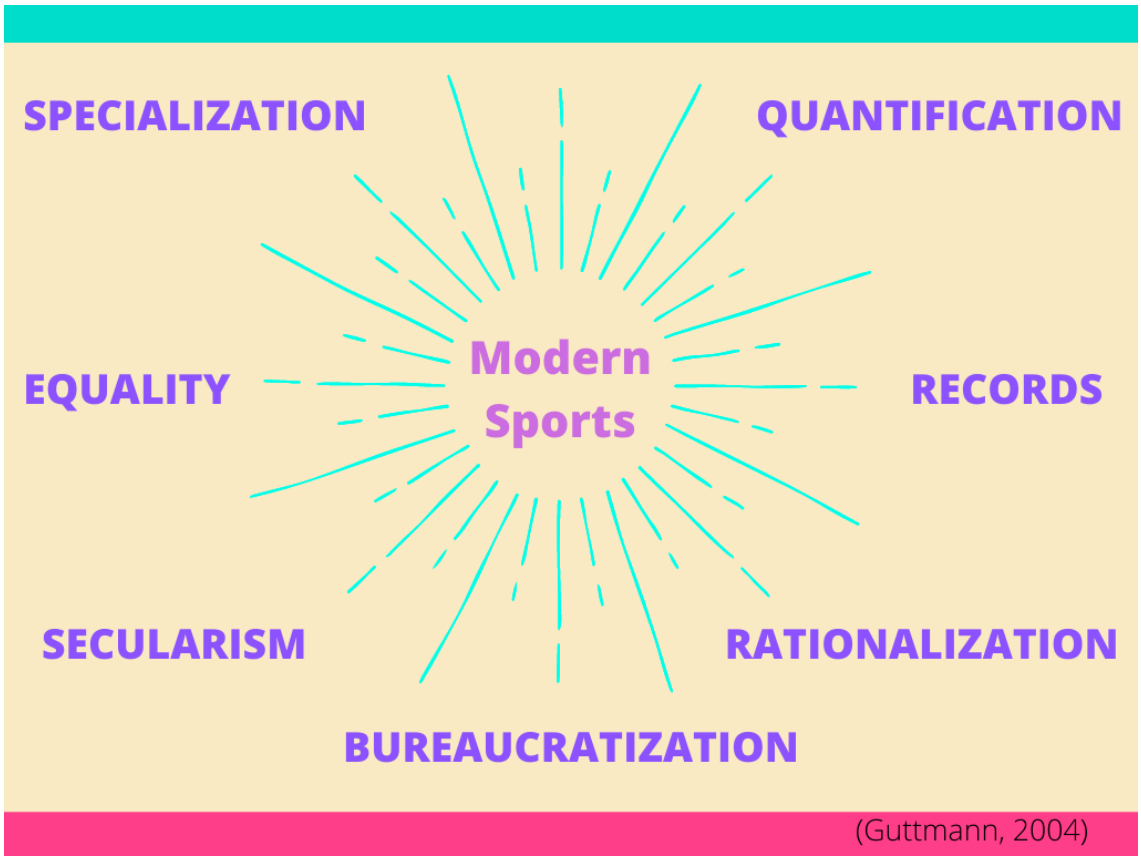


Figure 4: Guttmann's modern sports

The phenomenon of modern sports can be better understood through seven key characteristics that differentiate them from their primitive, ancient, and medieval predecessors, as described by Guttmann (2004):

- Bureaucratisation: structure of organisations that govern sports at local and international levels;
- Equality: the concept of equal access to sport (an ideal) and equal conditions on the field of play, although obvious inequalities are present;
- Quantification: putting in numbers the accomplishments, generating statistics and quantified results (which are comparable);

- Rationalisation: codification of universal rules in a logical sense, with also the creation of new sports (inventions), standardisation, and development of science in the sports field;
- Records: a consequence of quantification and a modern creation, which establishes competition among athletes of different eras; records "combine the impulse to quantification with the desire to win" (p. 51).
- Secularism: modern sports have religion on the sidelines; even though already in Greece, there was some secularisation, the ancient Games were part of religious festivals;
- Specialisation: dedication towards the sport (and roles inside of it), leading to professionalisation and the appearance of many activities in the sports field, from coaches to scouts.

It is important to note, as Guttmann points out, how these characteristics are not limited to sports; on the contrary, they relate to the ideal modern society. The relations between money and sports can be explained in so many different ways. Distinct paths united them: salaries, professionalisation, and commercialisation of the sport itself. However, there is one concept that is pivotal to understanding this relationship: amateurism, which has played an important role in the history of modern sports, shows how they are subjected to moralistic and purist views that reject the influence of money. Through this concept, the history of sports (and their commercialisation) since the 19th century can also be understood.

Besides, the issue of amateurism is also very important to capture how the Olympic Games have dealt with money and professionalism throughout history, and as well, it gives important hints to some of the current problems that are going to be approached further. When it comes to amateurism and the Olympic Games, this section will refer a lot to the wonderful work by Matthew P. Llewellyn and John Gleaves (2016) on the subject.

Among the literature that deals with the issues of amateurism and professionalism in sport, there is some consensus: amateurism was born in Great Britain and, essentially, it has two dimensions: social and moral. More than an ideal, Llewellyn and Gleaves (2016) call it an ideology, born in the British Victorian era. The use of this term, which was also employed by Osborne and Wagg (2017), makes sense insofar as it is wrapped in an ideological mix that feels much more like a religion (a term often used by Coubertin)

than simply an eligibility rule in sports competitions. It translates much more a type of view of the world than rational solidity. The development of this ideology was carried out in English public schools during the 19th century (Holt, 2006), while Norman Baker (2004) dates the beginning of the influence of amateurism to the 1870s.

Through amateurism, the upper Victorian middle-class exercised their dominant power and kept away from sport the working classes, which were considered "morally corrupted" (Llewellyn & Gleaves, 2016, p. 16). Thus, amateurism was an answer to perceived negative features of sports, like violence and gambling (Baker, 2004). It was considered that those sports which have gone professional ended up infected by money-related problems, like corruption, and impacting an equal competition against amateurs (Allison, 2001). Already, it is clear how money and commercialisation were perceived and how this appreciation played a role in sports.

It is important to remember the changing social dynamics of the time, where a working-class with more rights started to have more time for leisure, taking part in sports, threatening the victories and bothering the middle class in and out the field of play, as spectators (Llewellyn & Gleaves, 2016). More people were able to play and that did not please everybody. Richard Gruneau (2006) notes how amateurism is the product of reactionary and progressive ideas expressed through both the social exclusion and the moral dimension, notion of sport as character-building means of teaching values. Nevertheless, the same author deepens this conversation. According to him, these two reason are reflections of the changing landscape of the 18th and 19th centuries, with the notion of civil rights and the possibility to move up in the social ladder.

It might appear paradoxical that the elite that valued work, professionalism, and meritocracy outside sport was behind amateurism. Baker (2004) takes on this issue and explain that the gentlemen, the ones who practised sport and worked in other stances of society, feared professional athletes competition or wished not to have physical contact with the lower classes; besides, there was a heritage from the landed class who often saw professional athletes as servants.

Moreover, it was not only about social issues, which are the most obvious in amateurism, since clearly time and money to train, compete and be an athlete was a luxury artefact. There was also a philosophical reason. As seen above, this ideology was perceived as a barrier to problems in sport, such as corruption. There was a clear moral justification. Llewellyn and Gleaves (2016) highlight that this moral explanation had to do with the ideal Victorian man, a chivalrous and honouring fellow, who would take in

sport, not for a materialistic reason, but its own sake, for its own satisfaction. Excluding the clear social issue with amateurism, Gruneau (2006) makes a very interesting observation towards the moral justification of this ideology. According to him, this side of amateurism was compatible with the counter-cultural movements from the 60s and 70s, in its romantic take against capitalism.

Like in many sociological developments of the societies, gender, also played a role in amateurism, insofar as the male amateur was an idealisation: the ideal British gentlemen. For sure, James Bond is no amateur; still, the image of the man from England is an important and global cultural symbol. As an example, out of the four tennis grand slams, Wimbledon is the only one to have the "gentleman's single" tournament, not "men's single". Richard Holt (2006) points out this masculinity feature of amateurism: "darwinism, militarism and imperialism shaped an elite masculinity rooted in Anglo-Saxon patriotism, which found its supreme expression in sport" (p. 353). In Great Britain, the amateur represented the British gentlemen, when it comes to the physical, style, moral and even wardrobe aspects of his behaviour and image; sport's employment in the schools, which inspired Pierre de Coubertin, helped to shape this (Llewellyn & Gleaves, 2016).

Looking at amateurism in detail, there are other imprints. For example, Holt (2006) highlights the voluntary association as a feature of amateurism, beyond the moral and anti-commercial dimensions. Norman Baker (2004) also approaches this issue. According to the author, volunteers were the ones to govern sports organisations, something that "would assure that sports were run with the interests of the game foremost" (p. 2).

The voluntarism dimension of amateurism, which is something important to this day to sport and its organisations, hid moral justifications as well, putting in opposite sides payment (money, professionalisation) and ethics. A question arises here: why should not one be paid for his/her job? Why would this payment signify a less ethical or conscious work? If anything, the lack of payments may keep away qualified people from a job position. The problem is not with voluntarism, *au contraire*, it is important. The issue is the rejection of professionalism. Even presidents earn salaries, as they should. Work should be rewarded.

As Llewellyn and Gleaves (2016) recount, at the end of the day, amateurism both served an elitist system and a moral philosophy; essentially, an amateur athlete "played the game for the game's sake, disavowed gambling and professionalism, and competed

in a composed, dignified manner" (p. 23). In this sentence, it is clear the moral, romantic, irrational dimension of amateurism, after all, what do all of these things mean? Who shall identify if the one plays in a dignified manner? If one does not, is it about money?

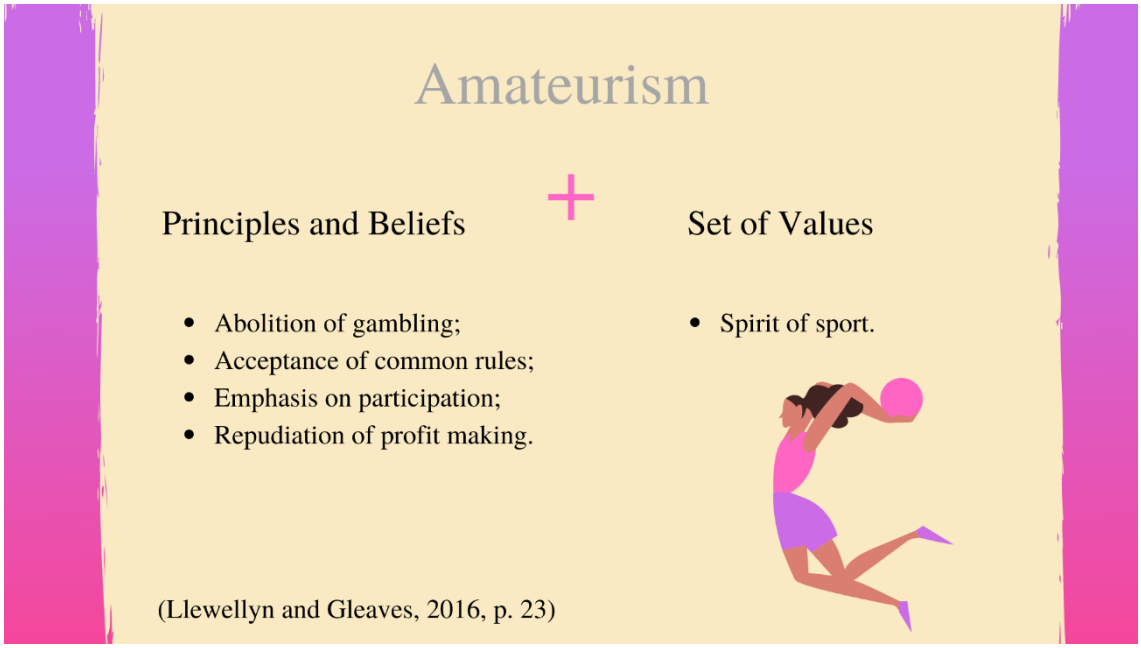


Figure 5: Relevant features of amateurism

Moreover, Holt (2006) views amateurism in its full complexity with multiple causes. The author highlights three other features on the rise of amateur sports: changes in the work market, new visions on health and aesthetic justifications in the context of the new ideal gentleman. It is clear how the ideology of amateurism is a product of a society, a new society. Before approaching the Olympic Games themselves, it is crucial to look at this broader context to also understand the growth of modern sports. Everything was changing, classes were being reorganised, the day-by-day of an English person was different and, in this context, modern sports and its commercialisation grew.

Gruneau (2006) notes how even in the incipient form of modern sport, money already played a role in the competition. Many scholars point in the same directions, explaining that changes in the economic dynamics and labour market enabled the growth of sports, in both the number of participants and spectators. "Before the Victorian era sport was run on a customary and festive basis" (p. 362), describes Holt (2006), who also points out that in the Victorian era, it was a much more regular activity, with clubs playing a major role. In the progress of the 19th century, with industrialisation, urbanisation and all this changing technological landscape, sports grew and gained popularity; by the end of this century, sports voluntary associations, such as cycling clubs, spread (Szymanski, 2008).

In this context, amateurism was "an alternative to the violent, socially disruptive, and commercially driven spectator sports of the industrial masses" (Llewellyn & Gleaves, 2016, p. 26). It is hard to think that the upper classes did not love money, however, in this new Great Britain, it seems that money was linked to the rising of new classes, who started to be able to participate more in social life.

In the 19th century, Great Britain changed a lot. There were the Saturday holidays and better wages. Working people were enabled to take part in sports, playing or watching; therefore, the commercialisation of sport developed with the increased amount of money spent on it (Riordan, 2006). Translating these changes in the labour market, workers, interested in sports, were oftentimes excluded from amateur contexts. Then, they started to create their own associations and competitions in the 19th century (Riordan, 2006).

Furthermore, Holt (2006) describes that in an economic expansion scenario, London was the centre of capitalism and the number of people working in office or commerce grew dramatically. The author relates this new business world to amateurism, in the sense that sport would benefit men in their lives: "the gentlemanly culture of British sport hid the underlying ethic of effort and merit which ruled the brave new world of middle-class business" (p. 356).

Nowadays, it is well known how work can be stressful and the importance of exercise to maintain mental and physical health. It is remarkable to note this similar perspective back in the Victorian era. The young men looking to thrive and progress on their careers had to be healthy and focused, which was developed through the practice of sport; in the late 19th century, the new working scenario also brought shorter working days, making more time available for exercise (Holt, 2006).

Hence, the Victorian times were also marked by a concern for health. Professional sports, with their huge crowds breathing the pollution and violence, was not good for public health; amateur sport was related to fresh air, freedom of space, balance, safety, non-specialisation, regularity, moderation and the ideal male body (Holt, 2006). This concept of health and balance also affected the Olympic Ideal and its philosophy is influenced by this rhetoric to this day: "Olympism is a philosophy of life, exalting and combining in a balanced whole the qualities of body, will and mind" (IOC, 2021c, p. 8).

Furthermore, Holt (2006) also explains the aesthetic influence on amateurism through the image of the ideal gentleman, an amateur, of course. According to him, while, athletes from the previous century were more muscular, the Victorian era, also in the

context of muscular Christianity, emphasised a new type of body, balanced, proportionated, and discreet.

This thesis turns to Wimbledon to note how the heritage of amateurism lives on. The aesthetic dimension of the amateur athlete, restraint, chivalrous and refined, was also translated into white clothing (Holt, 2006). Until this day, this English tournament maintains its strict dress code. A very strict code. For instance, in 2017, tennis player Jurij Rodionov was asked to leave the court and change his black underwear[4].

Sports were changing, it was the birth of a new organised industry and, like everything in life, not everyone was happy with that. People, namely in the educational and religious field, still regarded sport as something negative, vulgar and unproductive, which view was even worsened with urbanisation and its problems; even some sports were banned (Gruneau, 2006). Something had to be done to change this kind of perception. In this context, physical educators and people from the middle class, in other words, employed a marketing plan: link sport to values (moral and social), health and the mind; a "rational civilizing agenda in sport and physical education" (p. 570).

Here, it is important to consider the role of the English educational system, which inspired Coubertin. The spread of football in the public schools, crucial for the concept of sportsmanship, in the 19th century, was fundamental for football survival, a sport doomed as violent by the elite in the previous century (Szymanski, 2008). Moreover, Gruneau (2006) describes that the sons of the elite would meet in the schools and form a new culture embed in a moral and self-improvement dimension, with the notion of duty, competitiveness and masculinity. It was the brand new English gentleman.

On the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, where the commercialisation of sport would flourish, amateurism also played a role. S. W. Pope (1996) takes on the American scene to describe the influence of the amateurism ideology, and the consequential tension with professionalism, whereas the division between these two concepts only happened in the 1870s, with the latter being established in the country through baseball, for instance, a game that paid salaries and it was dominated by professionalism already during the 1860s, having its own National League by 1876. The author notes that these features did not raise outrage.

In the 19th century, it was possible to note, therefore, some commercialism involved in sports in the USA; professionals, like promoters and sponsors, were already

[4] See Rothenberg (2017).

involved in competitions, which would have, in fact, participants from different classes (Gruneau, 2006). Even though sports in America were not very organised pre-Civil War, the influence can be noted in the presence of prizes and gambling (Pope, 1996).

The Americans had a different take than the English when it comes to commercialisation. Indeed, college sports, which have a lot to do with amateurism to this day, as it is going to be tackled further, were also and already commercialised, including gambling, huge crowds, and valuable prizes (Pope, 1996). Comparing the two societies, Caspar Whitney (1894) describes the differences between them. The English athlete, the Oxbridge gentleman, was characterised by his indifference to the outcome (even though, wished to win), did not prepare so much for competitions and was full of sportsmanship. Whereas the American athlete was very prepared, cared very much about winning or losing and did not have the sportsmanlike spirit.

Pope (1996) takes on Yale' big-budget towards sports to show how the different models, amateur and professional, were not so different after all; the American college sports at the end of the 19th century had elements far from respecting the spirit of true amateurism, like professional coaches, gate receipts, payments and competition for money. Nonetheless, it was during the 1870s, that the dissemination of amateurism in American colleges took over, with defenders of the ideology and the development of amateur regulatory bodies, like the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) in 1888, which controlled the movement; amateurism was embraced in the USA at the beginning of the 20th century (Pope, 1996).

Even though the development of sport and its features had differences between Great Britain and the USA, the two countries had a similar overall system. Szymanski (2008) differentiates two different models. One was present in the Anglophone world, where British and American developed sports in the context of associativity. In other nations, like France, the state was much more present, organizing, investing and using physical education with patriotic and militaristic means. The author notes how, nowadays, the state still holds an important role in sports.

In this North-American context, Pope (1996) recounts that the amateurism defenders, like James Sullivan or Caspar Whitney, sought to defend their ideology with a moral and philosophical justification: it was about going back to a better time. Beyond the purist dimension, with international sport and the (amateur) Olympic Games, defenders of amateurism linked it to the construct of national identity:

> Olympic spectacles provided the much-needed grist for cultural commentators and sports journalists, like Whitney and Sullivan, to invent a virile national sporting identity that, they believed, reflected America's institutions, social structure, work ethic and racial superiority. (p. 306)

Towards the end of the 19th century, commercialism was rising in sports. Reflecting the mentioned changes in society, it was the time for mass audiences and, consequently, mass market, not only for competitions but also for sporting goods (Gruneau, 2006). Through the lens of football (association football), it is possible to understand the rise of professionalism/commercialism. James Holzmeister (2017) links professionalisation to popularisation in the context of football business:

> If there was not a desire deep enough to motivate individuals to pay for the privilege of witnessing a match, if competitive sides had not proven to motivate increased public interest, then there would have been little reason for entrepreneurs to field teams, enclose grounds, hold practices or pay for improved on-field talent. (p. 222)

Using the example of two football teams, it is possible to deepen this conversation about professionalism. On one side, the Corinthians Football Club was the sanctuary of amateurism, while the Blackburn Olympic played a major role in an important event towards the fall of amateurism in football.

Holzmeister (2017) talks about the 1883 F.A. Cup final, in which the Blackburn Olympic, a team associated with professionalism and the working class, defeated the Old Etonians, the team of Eton College; a game with much meaning to football history. It is viewed as translating a moment of passage: from Victorian values to a new sporting culture. This can be noted on the teams that won the Cup. According to Holzmeister, at the beginning of this tournament, the winners were teams related to public schools or the military, which "evidenced a mid-Victorian sporting culture accentuating amateurism and membership drawn from the upper class" (p. 219).

Football had its rules codified by the FA in 1863, reaching a common agreement between different takes on football, taught in different schools; it was a sport, despite being played and developed at the public schools, that was practised by the masses (Bolsmann & Porter, 2018). Initially, the F.A, influenced by the public school tradition and muscular Christianity, supported amateurism and, consequently, rejected professionalism; however, as professional football was growing popular, side events

pressured the Association, which would approve professionalism in 1885 (Holzmeister, 2017).

Coming back to the 1883 F.A. Cup champions, Blackburn Olympic represented a new kind of team, more physical and born from the industrial working class, challenging the public schools' style and attracting crowds to matches: "professionalism recognized the place of the fans and supporters within the performance and the economy of football" (Holzmeister, 2017, p. 225). Nonetheless, even in sports that would be closer to professionalism, the ideology of amateurism would not disappear completely. Chris Bolsmann and Dilwyn Porter (2018) write about the Corinthians's history and importance. Through the club, it is possible to note how the Victorian ideology was present in British football:

> As standard bearers for amateurism, the Corinthians found themselves at the centre of inter- and intra-class tensions centred on the moral ownership and institutional control of a middle-class recreational activity that was fast being transformed into a form of commercial entertainment with mass appeal. (p. 2)

Founded in 1882, a decade where professional football was rising (with players from the working class), the Corinthians and its amateurs were a relief for the elite feeling threatened by organised labour, as their victories would have a social meaning; the players using the Corinthian jersey represented the amateur ideal and its set of values and principles (Bolsmann & Porter, 2018). The club not only refused to be part of the Football League but also did not take penalties (Renson, 2009). The high popularity of the game in England, however, did not go unnoticed by Whitney (1894);

> So rapid and so far-reaching has been the popularisation of the game in the last decade, that it has ceased to be mere recreation, and become, instead, a commercial speculation, particularly in the more flourishing Association centres, where regular limited-liability companies live and prosper, with football as their sole *raison d'être*. (p. 203)

After noting this wide commercial context that has hit association football, Whitney (1894) doomed its popularity for the future. Fortunately, he was wrong.

3.2.2 – Crystallising Amateurism and Anti-Commercialism: the emergence of the Olympic Ideal

All said and done, the late 19th century brought a fact that summarised and embodied all the major changes that took over the sporting world during the last decades:

the revival of the Olympic Games, with an agenda and rhetoric that incorporated the principle of amateurism and anti-commercialism. As seen above, the myth of amateurism in Ancient Greece does not hold up to the truth. Besides the sporting culture present in Great Britain, as explained above, this 19th century's "fake news" was behind the Olympics' not acceptance of professionals (Llewellyn & Gleaves, 2016).

In this context, the moral dimension of amateurism, with notions of fair play and integrity, was very important to Coubertin's revival of the modern Olympic Games, which, beyond that, had in the IOC an exclusive representation of people from higher spheres of society (Llewellyn & Gleaves 2016). Fair play had everything to do with amateurism. Renson (2009) notes how this concept has broken the sport's barrier, to be a valued and understandable principle in other fields. Through the history of sports, it is possible to note the reason for the appearance of fair play. Renson describes that before the industrial revolution, the games were frequently violent; further, modern sport, developed in public schools, was "characterized by a more rational and orderly approach" (p. 5), in this context, fair play emerged in Great Britain.

Nonetheless, Olympic values may not always be cohesive among themselves. Llewellyn and Gleaves (2016) highlight how amateurism is in direct opposition to other values preached by the Olympic Movement, like equality or even excellence. One might argue that amateurism translated equality since all competitors would not be professionals (having a limited amount of training), and excellence because they would have even more hurdles and distractions along the way. These arguments do not seem solid, however, the Olympic values are subjective and often may be used, worked and manipulated under one's wishes. However, it is difficult to explain how amateurism is in pace with the value of respect. Respect for peoples' work and effort.

To understand anything related to the Olympics, especially in its origins, is important to look at its founder father. While recognizing the inconsistency among Coubertin's declarations about amateurism, Llewellyn and Gleaves (2016), highlight that he saw in it a way to captivate the sporting elites that would be important to the potential success of the Olympic Games; moreover, he actually valued the spiritual dimension (Llewellyn & Gleaves, 2016). What is very interesting is that Coubertin (2015b) admitted in his memoirs that the issue of amateurism never attracted him; the care that he had for this matter was rather derived from the relevance it had in the sports scene.

Anyway, the ideology of amateurism would forever mark the Olympic Games and left strong vestiges. To have regulations and eligibility rules surrounding the ideology, it

is was necessary to describe an amateur. Definitions changed over time, with different interpratitions on several details. Coubertin himself approached this issue, nevertheless, he highlighted as a central tenet that an amateur is the athlete who dedicates to sport for its own sake, not for some kind of cash incentive (2015a, p. 633). Each time, it seems clearer that this soul dimension, moral justification, is the ultimate bedrock of amateurism. Coubertin (2015a) reveals that the principle of not receiving money from the sports activities to be an amateur had a consensus, while the issue of expenses, for example, raised disagreements.

Talking about the definition of an amateur, Gruneau (2006) highlights that the answer to this matter was to take the other road, or better yet, to define who were not amateurs. You may ask now, what was the answer? Money was the villain, translated in it supposedly "raised the stakes of games to a point where games lost their intrinsic value and were pursued simply as a means to a financial pay-off" (p. 572). In this context, money was related to cheating, among other negative associations.

In the 1907 IOC Congress, the institution delegated the authority to check amateurs and potential violations to the NOCs (Llewellyn & Gleaves, 2016). In this context, these authors look to the nationalism and propaganda goals that governments began to see in sports as a threat to amateurism real enforcement: "the expectations that participating nations could remain immune to the forces of nationalism and genuinely uphold the strictest amateurs standards began to prove overwhelmingly myopic" (p. 46). This complex equation between stakeholders gained one more crucial actor in the early 1900s: the IFs. Each of them had their own rules and, as time went by, gained power, which complicated, even more, the relationship and the verdict on a common amateurism definition; the IFs themselves in 1914 received the incumbency to govern the amateur eligibility (Llewellyn & Gleaves, 2016).

Amateurism was a construct of society with its roots, as seen above, in the traditions of Victorian Britain. This ideology was in the 20th century in the hands of different global actors, like the IOC and the IFs. It was now subjected to a new society, accordingly. Yet, societies change. After World War I, during the 20s, athletes were different. The Olympic Games started to scale globally into a big spectacle, which, ergo, transformed athletes into celebrities and cultural stars, earning money from it (Llewellyn & Gleaves, 2016). During this time, as the same authors describe, the Olympic Games introduced corporate sponsorship and the rights for images of the events.

Professionalism and commercialism, participation of athletes from not so rich countries (uncovering the social problem behind the ideology) started to damage the amateurism imaginary (Llewellyn & Gleaves, 2016). The Prague Congress in 1925 brought important changes, with more severe regulations and big social implications. The IFs would still be responsible for the amateur statuses, however, the participants should not be or have been professionals in sports and, beyond that, should not have granted money for lost salaries; there was also now a limit of 20 days of travelling apart Olympic competition in a year (Llewellyn & Gleaves, 2016).

Money was not away from athletes, though. At the end of the day, the Olympics are much about the best performances in the world. This pursuit of excellence, together with the political dimensions (with meaningful gains) of the Games, paved the way for "shamateurism" in the 1920s, with broken-time payments (money for time away from the job) and appearance fees, for instance; the USA put money on the training of athletes for the 1936 Olympics, as Germany, Great Britain and Russia also did (Llewellyn & Gleaves, 2016)

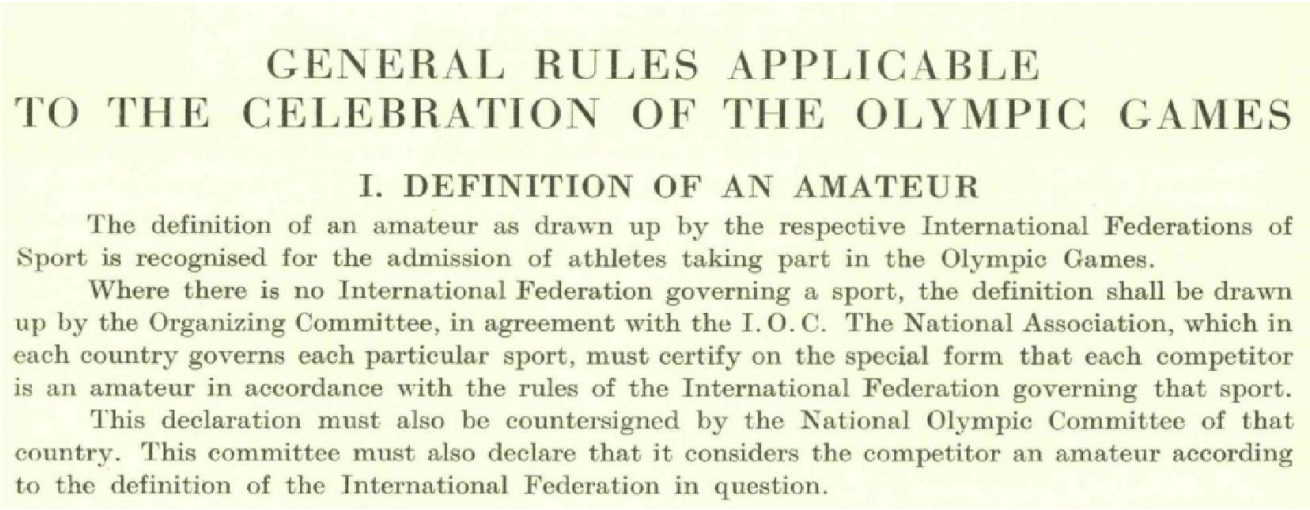
It is interesting to note that, even at those times, the issue of commercialism and money would already impose some great dilemmas on the IOC. After the new Prague regulations, there was a problem with the *Fédération Internationale de Football Association* (FIFA), since the governing body of football permitted broken-time payments to amateur players; the exclusion of football from the Olympics would be a big financial hit, so the IOC opened an exception, but the money would go to the employers instead (Llewellyn & Gleaves, 2016).

Two comments are necessary here. First, the power that FIFA already had derived from its economic importance, which in turn exited because of its popularity. Therefore, the relationship between audience, money generation and IOC decision-making was clear in the 30s. Moreover, the solution for the FIFA case shows how these eligibility rules subjugated people and obliterated their freedom.

Decades after, something similar would happen, but now with the *Fédération Internationale de Ski* (FIS). In this case, sponsors would negotiate directly with the national federations to exploit an athlete's personal image (Llewellyn & Gleaves, 2016). Interesting how this has been repeated: money paid for employers/governing bodies rather than to the people. Something Victorian? Definitely something that diminishes people and the value of the work of athletes; something paternalist that treats athletes as objects.

Afterwards, with a British revolt, the IOC approved an amendment on compensations that would make football absent in Los Angeles 1932 (Llewellyn & Gleaves, 2016). Moral of the story? At that time, you should not mess with the IOC about amateurism. They were serious about it. Well, in 1934, the IOC would make a new exception for FIFA, with soccer returning in Berlin two years later; with the Prague Congress, tennis also left the Olympics, since it has not enjoyed the same privileged treatment as football, coming back only in 1988 as a medal event (Llewellyn & Gleaves, 2016). Everything is clear now. Be that as it may, Further, tennis will come back to the story as an important actor.

Throughout the decades, the IOC kept adapting and changing the eligibility rules, without abandoning the ideology. The issue of amateurism was indeed so constantly on the Olympic agenda that, in the 1920s, Coubertin (2015f) himself ironically reflected on the length of this type of discussion in IOC's existence. By the way, on the IOC's General Rules of 1930, it is clear how the institution relied on the multiple stakeholders that were part of the Olympic Family. While the definition of amateurism was up to the IFs, the Organizing Committees of the Olympic Games (OCOGs) could assume that role in the absence of an IF. Besides, the NOCs and National Federations (NFs) of each sport in each country should certify the amateur status.



GENERAL RULES APPLICABLE
TO THE CELEBRATION OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES

I. DEFINITION OF AN AMATEUR

The definition of an amateur as drawn up by the respective International Federations of Sport is recognised for the admission of athletes taking part in the Olympic Games.

Where there is no International Federation governing a sport, the definition shall be drawn up by the Organizing Committee, in agreement with the I. O. C. The National Association, which in each country governs each particular sport, must certify on the special form that each competitor is an amateur in accordance with the rules of the International Federation governing that sport.

This declaration must also be countersigned by the National Olympic Committee of that country. This committee must also declare that it considers the competitor an amateur according to the definition of the International Federation in question.

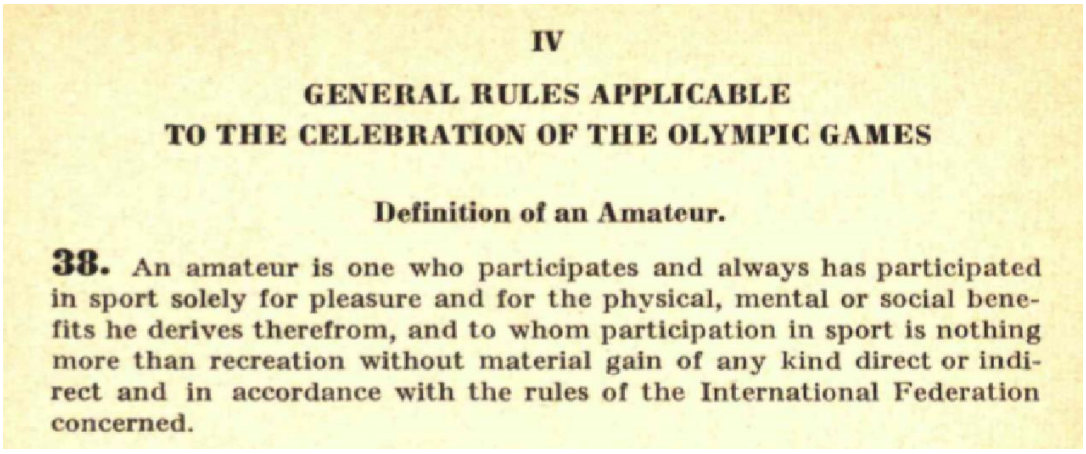
Picture 1: An amateur for the IOC in 1930 (IOC, 1930)

However, on the same Rules, the IOC itself set some necessary conditions for an athlete to participate in the Games. Apart from the exclusion of professionals, the document stated that the athletes could not receive money for loss of salary. Three years

later, the Olympic Charter[5] brought an interesting passage that opposed professionalism from other values: the IOC should foster "the spirit of chivalry, love of 'fair play', reverence for true amateurism" (IOC, 1933, p. 9).

The 1930s is a decade that necessitates no further introduction. The Olympics became more popular and the international emergence of totalitarian governments led to more opportunities for political gains and more involvement in sport; at the same time, more money circulate in the sports scene, including amateur's (Llewellyn & Gleaves, 2016). The expansion of teams and clubs in several countries, democratic or not, between the two wars was crucial to the popularisation and further success of sports in the post-war years (Holt et al., 2011).

Here, it is important to take a pause and recognize how this broader and deeper involvement of governments with sport and Olympic participation would deeply impact the issue of amateurism and professionalism. In the 30s, governments broadly supported sports, with examples coming from Italy, Spain, Japan and even democracies like Sweden (Llewellyn & Gleaves, 2016). The issue of state involvement in sports would be toughened even more ahead, in a context where the Olympics kept growing and the world's geopolitics kept changing, with sport (and mega-events) being an important object of political meaning.



IV

GENERAL RULES APPLICABLE
TO THE CELEBRATION OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES

Definition of an Amateur.

38. An amateur is one who participates and always has participated in sport solely for pleasure and for the physical, mental or social benefits he derives therefrom, and to whom participation in sport is nothing more than recreation without material gain of any kind direct or indirect and in accordance with the rules of the International Federation concerned.

Picture 2: An amateur for the IOC in 1949 (IOC, 1949)

In the next decade, the 1946 Olympic Rules added to the two above-mentioned requirements, the exclusion of professional physical education (PE) or sports teachers. Moreover, this Charter brought more specific resolutions regarding amateurism, such as the special training camps could not surpass two weeks; an allowance for reimbursement

[5] Even though, it only gained this nomenclature in 1978, it is used to describe the IOC's regulations from previous year as well.

for travelling expenses related to competition; prohibition of doping. Three years later, the Rules brought a new amateur definition, which appeared as Rule 26 from 1956 on.

3.2.3 – Changing Scenarios: professionalism and sport in the post-war decades

During the decades that followed the Second World War, many changes occurred in the sports scene. Mutating societal patterns, technological advancements and the new geopolitical landscape would cause impacts. The Soviet Union, which entered the Movement in 1951, supported its athletes with money through schools, the military or even for no work, it was the "state amateurism" (p. 125); in counterpart, the Soviets would complain about the American system based on college scholarships (Llewellyn & Gleaves, 2016). The Olympic sophomore toped the medal table at Melbourne 1956[6]. With the Soviets' success at the Games, there were demands against amateurism. The Soviet Union would repeat the achievement four years later[7].

What has become clear from the descriptions made by Llewellyn and Gleaves (2016) of amateurism history, especially in the post-second war and cold war years, is the fact the IOC's eligibility rules were very distant from reality. It is not about communism or capitalism, USA or USRR, regardless of the model, examples of how states or athletes would go around amateurism's rules are various and it could not be different. Furthermore, the rules would stimulate inequality, insofar as the ones who followed every rule would be in a disadvantage. State amateurism spread to German Democratic Republic (GDR), with doping, training camps, subsides, and even in the USA there were calls for subsiding Olympic athletes (Llewellyn & Gleaves, 2016).

Amateurism was not only restricted to the Olympic world. Throughout the 20th century, professional sports contained influences from amateurism, holding commercialism back, to some extent. To exemplify that, Baker (2004) cites the issue of the maximum wage in the Football League and further justifies this and the ideology's survival by the "continuing dominance of the professional middle class, allied with elements of the landed class" (p. 15).

The famous Olympic Rule 26 changed again in the 1962 Charter: "an amateur is one who participates and always has participated in sport as an avocation without material gain of any kind" (IOC, 1962, p. 19). The regulation excluded the recipiency of money for sports participation and demanded the existence of a "basic occupation" (p. 19). This

[6] The Soviets won 37 golds against the Americans' 32. Both countries far ahead from the third place: Australia, with 13 first places.
[7] In Rome 1960, Soviet Union's victory was even bigger: 43 against 34 golds from the USA.

requirement shows how amateurism rules entered people's life and freedom, dictating how one should live his/her life.

Throughout the Olympic amateurism history, something that is quite clear is the difficulty to enforce and supervise the rules. NOCs and IFs "had long proven financially and bureaucratically incapable, and often philosophically unwilling, to enforce amateurism" (Llewellyn & Gleaves, 2016, p. 144). These financial limitations were also presented in the IOC. For now, what is very interesting to note is how the organisation's take on commercialism limited the enforcement of amateurism. As Llewellyn and Gleaves (2016) point out, through commercialism, the IOC could have the capability to enforce amateurism. However, the anti-commercialism views, which had great defenders on the IOC, like its president Avery Brundage during these decades, remained strong.

The 70s prompted new changes. The edition of the Rules and Regulations in 1972 had many more words to define amateurism and who would be the ones eligible than the one from a decade ago. Now, added to the exclusion of payments, the athlete should "observe the traditional Olympic spirit and ethic" (IOC, 1972, p. 21), while these eligibilities rules are "intended to eliminate those who are interested in sport for financial reasons" (p. 22). These regulations were more detailed, they also prohibited professional coaches or sports teachers (allowed only if they taught beginners).

Who shall say which are the athletes who follow or not the Olympic spirit? What does that mean? It is remarkable how such a romantic and moralist rhetoric has managed to survive for so long (and still does in current codes, as it is going to be shown further). Many stories of injustices can be told: like the famous Jim Thorpe and Karl Schranz cases. While, for space limitation, they are not going to be described, they translate how this ideology perpetuated unfairness, subjugation, and callousness, even though it was disguised as a beautiful set of principles. Luckily, the next decade would bring changes.

3.2.4 – Welcome, Professionals! The sports industry is on Fire

Several different factors played a role in the decadence of amateurism, especially during the 60s and 70s, as can be seen in the figure below. However, it is important to highlight how the consciousness of the amount of money in the sports industry was important. Athletes began to note how much people were profiting from their work; while the IOC and its partners were gaining money, athletes should remain amateurs (Llewellyn & Gleaves, 2016).

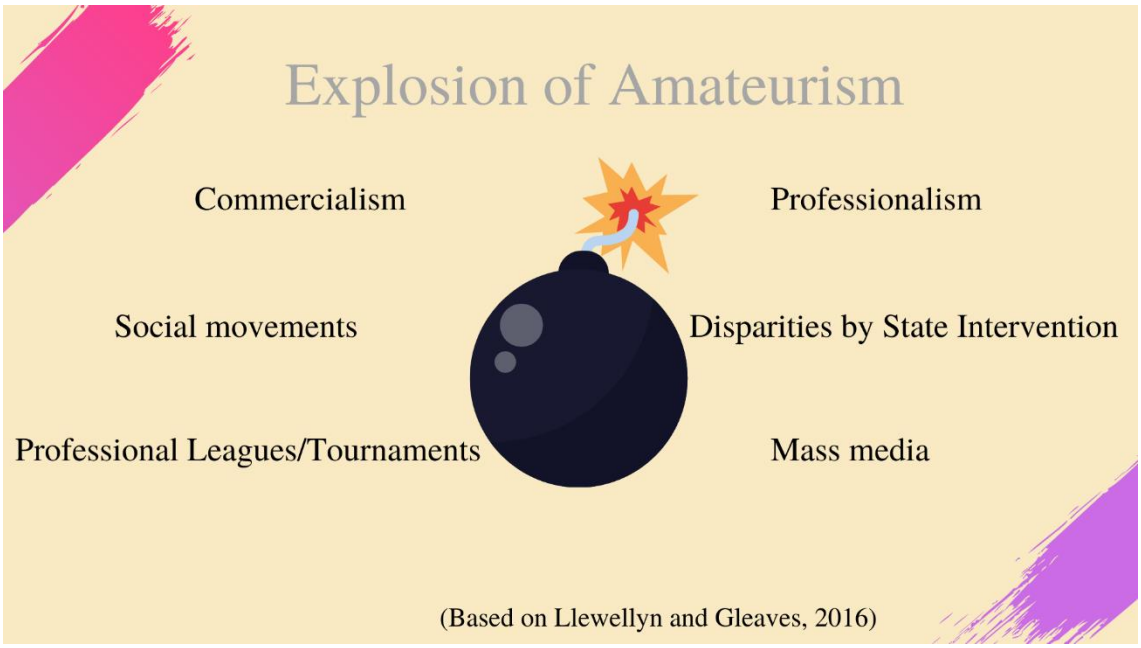


Figure 6: Downfall of amateurism in the 20th century's second half

The thing is: if money exists, it exists. If one is not being paid for something he/she is doing, someone or something is receiving that amount of money. The same can be exemplified by the lack of prize money in the Olympics. However, this is a conversation for another section. Holt et al. (2011) explain that through the post-war decades, with the advent of television, and by end of the 20th century, with further advances in technology broadcasting and the new geopolitical European landscape, the act of watching sports started to be a crucial part of European culture; a new sports market emerged: "it is television that has made sport a truly mass phenomenon" (p. 5).

Despite its power, amateurism never controlled sports overall, encountering hurdles on spectator sports and commercialism (Baker, 2004). According to Gruneau (2006), "commercialism of various types in sport remained a widely accepted part of the cultural landscape among legions of sports fans" (p. 573). While each edition of the Olympics was taking place and the IOC members were discussing the eligibility rules, a parallel world was being constructed. In this context, if the origins of modern sports trace back to Great Britain, "it was primarily Americans who taught the world how to sell and consume sports" (Pope & Nauright, 2016, p. 303).

In the USA and their professional leagues, there are many examples of the growing commercialisation of sport and a rising sports industry. Pope and Nauright (2016) note how even in the sport they created, like football (the soccer one), the British have adopted an American model of commercialisation, which would consequently conflict with their own sporting culture and fans.

Figure 7: The American model

International sports were valued and relevant, getting serious and serious. Llewellyn and Gleaves (2016) highlight the development of sports science through the 20th century and its advanced stage in the 70s, impacted by the Cold War context; the rising importance of sport led to investments in the field in different places: Soviet Union, GDR, and the USA, for example, otherwise, they would get behind.

Coming back to the issue of television, it is fundamental to consider the impact of media on the growing relevance of sport and its popularity. The evolution of the technology of communications changed the world. A broadcast of a competition, which used to be in black-and-white and occasional, nowadays is a consistent, colourful, structured and global event (Holt et al., 2011). In this new environment, highly mediated and commercialised, with the full growth of the professional sport, athletes became icons, several not eligible for the Olympics. The lack of athletes from professional leagues and competitions influenced the audience bad reception of amateurism, hurting the Games brand (Llewellyn & Gleaves, 2016).

In summary, Holt et al. (2011) identify two revolutions in sports: the first was the birth of modern sports, through rules, internationalisation and organisation, in the passage between the 19th and 20th century; while the second, during the Cold War, was a communication and technological one.

In 1975, the Charter presented rules that changed once more, with no mention whatsoever to limits for the full training period, excluding the requirement to have a basic occupation and having broader rules on compensations. Regardless of the, even that

small, advances, it is curious to note that the 1982 Charter included in Rule 26's exclusions, athletes who "in the practise of sport and in the opinion of the IOC, manifestly contravened the spirit of fair play in the exercise of sport" (IOC, 1982, p. 44). This same Charter also established that the IFs should make their own rules, which should be approved by the IOC.

After the new Charter, the IOC made concessions to FIFA, the *Fédération Internationale de Hockey sur Glace* (FIGH), and even to the International Tennis Federation (ITF), which demonstrated one more step away from amateurism; in the case of tennis, for instance, it was allowed the participation of professionals under the age of 20 at Los Angeles 1984, the first time professionals participated (officially) at the Olympics (Llewellyn & Gleaves, 2016). This happened in a new IOC, under the control of a new president.

Inside the organisation, the name of the second revolution described by Holt et al. (2011) and the change to professionalism is also the name of the IOC's financial stability, solidity, and commercial growth: Juan Antonio Samaranch. During his times as president of the institution, TV rights and sponsorships deals helped to guarantee the institution survival, really transforming it into a corporation (Llewellyn & Gleaves, 2016).

The sports world around the Games changed a lot since 1896; it was definitely not the same landscape. It was professional. For the Olympic Games, it would be professionalism and *citius, altius, fortius*, or amateurism and not having the sporting elite. The Olympics would have to decide between professionalism and not being the top competition; an experimental professional tennis tournament at Seoul 1988 showed the way (Llewellyn & Gleaves, 2016).

The sun shinned bright in 1991 when the new edition of the Olympic Charter changed everything. Eligibility rules were no longer part of Rule 26 (now reserved to procedures). The refreshed Rule 45 brought the new eligibility code, dropping the requirements for amateurism, delegating the criteria to the IFs. Everything changed. The Barcelona Games were the starting point of a new Olympic Era, translated in the indelible American men's basketball Dream Team; professional stars were on the field. Contrary to what many people could think and feared through the years, that did not kill the Olympics or the Olympic Ideal. Professionalism was not an opposition to the values perpetuated by the movement. It made it the success it is today.

Amateurism managed to remain powerful for decades and decades, still leaving many vestiges in the present day, which are going to be tackled further in this thesis.

Gruneau (2006) explains that a clear justification for this longevity relates to the success of the Games themselves. Nevertheless, the same author, actually, emphasizes the ideology's own appeal, as "it suggested that sport could serve a higher cultural purpose beyond mere amusement or crass commerce" (p. 575). The current Olympic Charter, last published in 2021, has no mention of amateurism whatsoever. However, its spirit lives on.

3.3 – Sociological and Philosophical Perspective

If the previous section made something really clear is the amount of philosophical and, often, moralistic rhetoric that sports are embedded in. Nonetheless, they indeed have a very relevant cultural dimension. If that were not true, then why would a football team's supporters leave their home in the middle of a pandemic to protest for something that relates exclusively to their favourite sport? That is only one of the countless examples of how sports are part of people's and, consequently, societies' cultures. This sociological dimension is very important for SOs to have in mind when making decisions about their events. Money in sport, as exhaustively exposed throughout this thesis, comes because fans exist and build these cultural bricks to the sports industry, business, and world.

Not only sport, but also money is a recipient of philosophical and, even more, ideological rhetoric. The views of money as a source of evil and various negative consequences are very common. Capitalism, liberalism, communism and every ideology in-between construct themselves very much around how they perceive money and its place in our societies. Sports are also impacted by that and the ideology of amateurism do not let me lie.

3.3.1 – The X Factor: the cultural and ethical dimension of sports

"Teams belong to the people… If you are a loyal fan, you live and die with your team"

Spike Lee, during an interview to the ESPN

It is not just a game. It never is. We cannot sleep thinking about tomorrow's match. We dream of our favourite player scoring the decisive goal. We wake up already counting the hours for the game. We prepare, we put on our favourite jersey. At the beginning of it, our heart is racing and our hands are sweating… we need time to breathe, relax and focus. It even looks like we are going to play, but no… we are just watching. We scream at the television for people we do not know, because of an institution that probably is not aware of our specific existence.

The view of sport as having the power to construct, impact and play a role in societies and cultures is what makes it a modern social technology, which was born exactly in Great Britain; the country which exported modern sports (Dyreson, 2003). John Hargreaves (1986) lends sport a central role in some countries' culture, like the American one: its mediatic appeal, the way people love it, the money surrounding its industry, its usage by educators and politicians… sport "is so deeply ingrained in our type of culture" (p. 1). Furthermore, Jarvie et al. (2018) place sport as a fundamental factor to understand culture, as it is a powerful means that has political, economic, international, and social

dimensions, with different possible applications in a world that cares about it. The authors explain that sport may be a tool for both positive and negative outcomes.

Mark Dyreson (2003) analyses the view that some have of sport as something that unites different cultures, a common language. While the author recognizes sport as a language, with its further universal dissemination, he highlights its nationalistic uses, insofar as it is a medium to display national identities: "Sport creates stories which people tell themselves about themselves. These stories, or 'discursive regimes' as scholars of a postmodern bent call them, provide the symbolic clay for making culture" (p. 93). Rejecting the very common notion of sport as a mirror of society or as a natural human expression, Gruneau (2006) states that "the more useful view is to see sport as something constituted by a shifting set of social practices and socially-produced discourses" (p. 561).

Additionally, Hoye et al (2015) describe how professional leagues in different countries "have become an ingrained part of what it means to belong to a cultural or social group" (p. 57). On another subject, Robert J. Vallerand et al. (2008) investigate how passion (which helps shape identity) is one of the reasons for people putting so much on sport, engaging in many behaviours, both good and bad. Of course, as the authors describe, this passion can be obsessive or either harmonious. Both translate high involvement of the fans. Anyway, as Walsh and Giulianotti (2007) remember, love cannot be commodified: "this affective, familial relationship with the club cannot be reduced to market principles" (p. 70).

Source of passion, political discourses… one other way through which sport is exemplified as part of culture is the issue of identity, both personal and collective. Amir Ben Porat (2010) delineates that, as identities are rooted in cultures, football fandom is one of the factors, a stable one, that act to build them, beyond the important social categories like gender and class. The author explains that "through experience, the individual organizes, that is communicates, selects, absorbs and conserves his relationships or encounters with the world" (p. 279). This happens in three different levels: emotional, cognitive and symbolic. He points out how the most committed fans deeply care about the club they support and places this relationship as part of their personality: "the fan considers the club his 'alter ego'" (p. 287).

It is not just at the personal level, societies have their own collective culture. As with football in Latin America, sport is one dimension of how humanity sees itself. One could have imagined that, through the dissemination of modern sports, this British imperialism would impact and reshape nations' culture, making them more alike to the

land of the Queen. However, as Dyreson (2003), points out using the example of the USA, the sports' importer transforms this culture into its own taste, also using it as a way to construct a national identity; later the same happened to American imperialism as well. The cultural meaning surrounding football in its cradle, Great Britain, and in Brazil, for instance, is different, even though very important. People relate to it in distinct ways and the sport itself is affected by it. For the people of Brazil, football is Brazilian.

Still in the topic of football, Ian Fillis and Craig Mackay (2014) also report how the club that one's support may help shape their identity, of course depending on the level of relationship with the team. Fanaticism and its cultural dimension go back a long way, for example, in the case of British football in the late 19th century:

> Centred around travel and game attendance, or vicarious celebration from a distance, fan culture not only served to offer movement to various English populations, it also served to plug them into popular culture in a way they previously had not been. (Holzmeister, 2017, p. 225)

The relationship between fans and their clubs may get very close in a practical sense as well. Adam Brown and Andy Walsh (2000) note how specifically British supporters have come to impact their clubs' governance. They cite the creation of the Football Supporters Association in 1985 to exemplify this transformation, which has seen supporters concerned with the consequences of commercialism in the sport and its democratisation, for example, with the increase in the prices of tickets. Already at the beginning of this century, the authors described how the globalisation of the sport and its commercial dimensions were unifying the issues seen in the UK with the rest of Europe:

> The implementation of the *Bosman* ruling, the increased integration of media and sport companies, increases in expenditure, and increased pressures on clubs to maximize income streams are beginning to raise the same issues and concerns among supporters as we have seen in the UK. (p. 99)

Moving forward, is the cultural dimension of sport its only X-Factor? Some will passionately argue for another special character that has much impact on the conversation about money and sport: ethics and morals. For many, beyond being a cultural practice, sports are an ethical (when not moral) practice.

This view is very much sanctified among educators, scholars and journalists. Who never heard people raving against athletes' acts using the "example card", placing them as objects of this view, which puts ethics (and often moral) as an inherent part of sport…

or even using this ethical function to defend sports from the horrors of commercialism? Therefore, it is important to further understand a little bit more of this view.

In this context, it is crucial to understand what Jay Coakley (2015) describes as the Great Sport Myth (GSM): the very widespread and fiercely defended view of sport as pure, inherently good and capable of transferring these positive values to participants and consumers, as well as always contributing to development. The author describes how this GSM has influenced decisions that lead to big investments in sport and also has been used to disguise personal motivations for promoting projects: "this approach to wielding power has enabled ruling elites to appropriate billions of dollars of public money for private gain over the past three decades" (p. 403).

Additionally, such views help to capture public money into some allegedly very positive projects. The dichotomy between public and private investments can further enrich the conversation about sport and money. The influx of big corporate dollars into the sports industry, which is very much scrutinised, is only a financial act of private entities who possess this money and use it as they wish. On the other hand, those who are against high commercialisation in sport may use this alleged X-Factor to attract public investments into sports, which is perfectly fine. Nevertheless, why does one act seem to possess all flaws, while the other is very accepted?

For Coakley (2015), among the views that make up the GSM, there is also the notion that negative issues in sport do not come from a broader organisational context, but rather from some bad people with bad motivations that ought to be excluded, like athletes who have been found guilty of doping. This view, according to the author, has also been institutionalised in agencies like the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA): "staffers in these agencies believe they are the key line of defense in preserving sport's purity and goodness and the transmission of these virtues to future generations of athletes and sport consumers" (p. 405). The moralistic character of some SOs is further part of the aura of the sanctity of sport that places it as a victim of commercialism.

Peter J. Arnold (1996) argues, for example, that "a sport, as a valued human practice, is best thought as a competitive, rule-bound, physically demanding activity whose internal goals, skills, and standards are, for their own sake, pursued in a moral way" (p. 95). However, the author himself admits that this is how it should be, not how it generally is. Moreover, Maria Kavussanu (2008) highlights that the social nature of sports, which supposes constant interaction between people, enables the possibility of

acting in a way that produces positive or negative outcomes for other people; that is where the moral relevance of sport would be found.

Douglas W. McLaughlin and Cesar R. Torres (2012) write about the Olympic Games, with their philosophical and ethical setting, to express how this dimension, which may be exemplified by Olympism, is essential to understand the Olympics. They express that, when athletes compete, they are producing a testing family seeking excellence; therefore, the existence of values, such as respect and fairness, is explained. For them, Olympism deals with the ideal sports practice.

Furthermore, Arnold (1996) differentiates two views of sport. The practice view sees sport as a practice pursued for its own, representing an adhesion to the internal goals with moral attributes. Whereas the sociological one regards sport "as an institutionalized social phenomenon in which individuals participate for a variety of reasons" (p. 96), like external goals, such as money, for example. For the author, when one seeks more external goals than the internal, sport might be corrupted. This view is very spread among people who deal with education, like Arnold himself. Coakley (2015), actually, describes how the GSM has influenced educators and their views on sport as naturally educational.

The commercial and ethical side of sport may conflict, for example, in the rules. Simon et al. (2018) take on several issues in sport that they regard as moral ones, from simulated fouls in football to marketing problems. They give the example of the dichotomy between changing a rule for making the game more attractive and its possible negative impact on the level of skill needed.

On the other hand, Jerzy Kosiewicz (2014) reports how there are several different views on the place of fair play in sport: on one side, its qualities are extremely valued, while on the other side, there is a complete rejection of, nor only fair play, but other principles in sport. He furthers differentiate the rules that govern sport (legal and pragmatic dimension) from moral principles, which are not essential. Moreover, the author expresses that playing by the rule has a practical value, not moral; in other words, professionals of sports have to respect rules, but not are obligated to be moral.

Therefore, for Kosiewicz (2014), in a very pragmatic approach, sport is an act where one tries to achieve some goals, not a test of morality or ethics. As he points out, moral is related to many factors that make up each person' context, such as culture and religion, beyond their own experiences; this gives moral evaluations instability and mutability over time:

> I have come to a conclusion that sport is – and should be – an amoral phenomenon (what should not be confused with an immoral one); that is, it is completely independent from ethics, except of deontological ethics concerning professionals who have moral obligations to their employers and other persons whom they provide with their services and who are concerned by them. (p. 23)

Lastly, C. Jones and Mike McNamee (2000) approach the widespread assumption of sport producing moral character and conclude that, actually, taking part in sport does not produce a natural moral development, but it requires moral responses: "sport is a particular kind of human interaction governed not only by rules but also by an ethos" (p. 143).

Of course, every single sport has a code of rules, which may have passages that possess ethical dimensions, which is not only desirable and essential but good for protecting sports and maintaining them marketable. However, there is also a moralistic notion that requires athletes and sports to play under a moral glass, as examples to the whole world, which seems naïve, simplistic and harmful to their freedom, beyond raising the question of whose moral would be imposed? By the way, even the best athletes may act simply immorally, like Novak Djokovic's behaviour in the pandemic[8]; athletes are not inherently morally superior, no one is. Therefore, this thesis rejects the GSM, supporting the cultural dimension as the sports' X-Factor that should be taken into account when dealing with the level of commercialisation.

3.3.2 – Bills and Balls: commercialism, Olympic Games, and an alleged incongruity

"…to oppose any political or commercial abuse of sport and athletes"

(IOC, 2021c, p. 14)

Above, there is of the roles of the IOC, as defined in the Olympic Charter. What exactly does that mean is another discussion, what configures commercial abuse seems vague, subjective and yet paradoxical. The IOC rely on its commercial partners for surviving financially. Even though is a non-for-profit organisation, it is, at the end of the day, a business with a billionaire revenue. There is nothing wrong with that. However, behind that, there is an ideology that builds up a non-commercial rhetoric (through Rules 40 and 50, for example).

[8] For example, his take on the Covid-19 vaccine (see BBC's article from 2022, January 6; Cunningham, 2022), and the staging of the Adria Tour (ABC News' article from 2020, June 23).

After covering the historical side of the relationship between sport and money, and before approaching more practical and economical aspects, this section seeks to describe how the literature deals directly with the specific issue of money (commercialism) and sport, highlighting the context of the Olympic Games. Is there really a paradox here? Or is that incongruity only rhetoric? First of all, let us first take a look at the writings of Pierre de Coubertin, as they provide a great sense of his view on this issue and, hence, they are relevant for understanding the Olympic non-commercial rhetoric.

A letter that Coubertin (2015g) wrote to Charles Simon, with the title *Le serment des athlètes* (The athletes' oath) reveals some interesting aspects. He expressed that the Ancient Games had three features, religiosity being one. The other two were already reestablished in modern days: periodicity and artistic character. Writing about the religious character, which would be the hardest to revive, Coubertin stated that the ancient athletes' religion consisted in taking an oath of loyalty and disinterest and, especially, in striving to keep it strictly (p. 590). Only then, an athlete would show what the Baron called moral beauty.

In the same letter, the founder father of the modern Olympics refers to this religious character to face the decadency in modern days, citing the prizes with money: let us let things go that way and soon a disgusting snobbery, the habit of lying and the desire for profit will invade our associations (p. 591), said the Baron. Moreover, In his messages to sport's youth, Coubertin stated that in modernity, Olympism could constitute a school of moral nobility and purity (2015e, p. 552). Additionally, Coubertin (2015d) wrote about the risks of mercantilism and profit to sports. According to him, profit tempts athletes and also could be the engine to annihilate chivalry.

In his historical Neo-Olympism speech, Coubertin gave more insights about his thoughts, and why not, the Movement's view about money, which was actually to him the engine behind the Ancient Games' decadency and a risk in modern days. On the issue of prizes, it is interesting to note that for Coubertin, the olive wreath represented the athletes' disinterest and chivalrous spirit (2015h, p. 527). Money would get in the way of sports' sacred feature. Finally, something written in his memoir is of deep importance in this complex subject. For Coubertin, sport was a religion with church, dogmas, cult, but above all with religious feeling. He goes on by saying that it looked childish to relate all of that with the fact of receiving some money (2015b, p. 646). Here, we encounter once more the alleged paradox between money and something deeper; money and soul.

Already later in his life, Coubertin warned that the society in which sports developed was at risk to rotten because of money: it is up to sports societies to give now the good example of a return to the cult of honour and honesty, removing the lies and hypocrisy from their precincts (2015c, p. 549). Here, money is opposed to honour. Money (with greed, corruption, and inequality) indeed can contribute to several negative behaviours, however, it is necessary to survive and might be used properly and in a good manner; the bills are not corrupt, people are.

A relevant quote from Coubertin (2015c) is essential to summarize his views and, consequently, Olympism when it comes to commercialism. Some may see this statement through the lens of amateurism, but taking into consideration his own words described above, it seems that he was much more referring to issues surrounding commercialism:

> As for them, they will go on with the same spirit of rising to a hill in which we want to erect a temple, while on the plain will be organized a big fair. The temple will last, and the fair will pass. The sportsmen will have to choose: fair or temple; they cannot intend to frequent both at once. (p. 551)

Fair or temple. The plain or the high hill. The hill, the sky, the holy, the stars, the pure blue sky where the gods lay. The plain, the mundane, the dirty mug where the sinners lay. Fair or temple. Money or honour. They are opposite, they are incompatible. The non-commercial Olympic rhetoric is clear, and the ideology that has been infecting sport since then is still alive. Of course, Coubertin was not alone. Avery Brundage's take on money was in pace with anti-commercialism Olympic ideal, as he "viewed money as a gateway toward greed, corruption, and professionalism" (Llewellyn & Gleaves, 2016, p. 115).

Scholars have criticised the Games for its commercialism and commercialisation (Lenskyj, 2012; Martin, 1996). For example, Alan Tomlinson (2005) deals with the Olympics as a commodity and notes how the IOC attempts to create a non-commercial and pure atmosphere: "the escalation and commodification of the Games has transformed them first and foremost into a celebration of global consumerism alongside any persisting celebration of the triumph of the human spirit or the political system" (p. 16).

Furthermore, Joseph Maguire et al. (2008) approach the commercial paradox in the Olympic setting through the IOC's campaign "Celebrate Humanity"; for them, some sports mega-events "while claiming that they foster and develop unity, friendship and cosmopolitan identities, are in fact increasingly concerned more with our identities as consumers" (p. 63). According to them, the IOC was actually celebrating consumers in

an act to fortify its brand; in this context, stakeholders would care more about the way values may strengthen the brand (and its market).

The issue of the Olympic brand will be further approached in the following section, but, for now, it is interesting to note how there seems, once more, to exist an opposition between values and money. Would not be possible to pragmatically use a positive discourse to strengthen a brand, while practically using it to promote positive changes in the world? Moreover, For Llewellyn and Gleaves (2016), the Olympics' audience "still want to imagine their athletes as being bound to sport's higher calling" (p. 207). Is this fair to athletes? Would money get in the way?

It is not only related to the Olympic Games that the issue of money and commercialisation provoke such anxiety. This is spread through sports in general. The ideology of amateurism translated this very well. Llewellyn and Gleaves (2016) credited its success exactly to that moral dimension tackled previously. The authors explain that "amateurism invoked a higher ideal of physical cultural expression" (p. 32), elevating sports to something more meaningful. It seems that this ideology served the purpose to sanitize sports and athletes into a state of chastity.

Likewise, S. W. Pope (1996) describes that amateurism has been seen as the "pure state of sport" (p. 290), while professionalism and commercialism are viewed as corrupting forces. In the scenario that opposes money (payment) and love (for something you do), Allison (2001) argues that it is hard "to love an activity that you are paid to do, at least in the same way that a true amateur does" (p. 9). The author also questions what would be the real value of sport when stripped from amateur values: "there is a serious question about whether mere performance or 'gladiatorialism' are sustainable" (p. 5). Moreover, Allison explains, in a broader perspective (beyond the field of sports), that arguments in favour of amateurism defend that it is a protection to society (from both market and state), allowing it to be freer and happier.

Already in the late 19th century, Whitney (1894) showed concerns regarding the level of money and commercialism infesting American college sports, especially football, with high ticket prices for watching a game of a popular event: "money, money, money, seems to be the cry, and it will be the curse, if indeed not the downfall, of honest university sport" (p. 113). In the future, he hoped to watch a change, in which money would play a much smaller role, with lower prices and not so much of a spectacle aura. For him, athletes taking part in sports for earning money made corruption inevitable. He questions: "Will

any one tell me of one game which professionals have dominated that has not, starting out with a boom, ended in final decay, after a life of corruption and scandal?" (p. 207).

When analysing both Marxist and neo-Marxist interpretations of modern sports, Allen Guttmann (2004) differentiates problems that are caused by commercialisation and other issues that go beyond this, being not exclusive only to sports. He points out some commercialism-related problems, like access limitations and the impact of media on the competition itself. However, for him, most problems associated with modern sports go beyond the scope of commercialisation, affecting societies as a whole, like cheating and drug usage.

Corruption, by the way, is one important issue when dealing with sport and money. Arnout Geeraert (2018) writes about corruption in IFs, a very important subject that, unfortunately, already has too many examples. He relates this trend to the commercialisation of sports and their use by politics, which offer opportunities for acts of corruption. The author further explains that the commercialisation led to IFs' high and centralised regulatory actions and to their growing wealth, which may drive corruption. Geeraert expresses how good governance practices and the employment of accountability, for instance, may help to stop corruption inside IFs.

In this context, while people advocate for fair play and other moral values in elite professional sports, Renson (2009) reminds of other important issues:

> Corporate governance, professional rights and duties in terms of labour law should govern top-level sport, thus guaranteeing its legal character and professional ethics. For much too long, serious sport has not been taken seriously enough. (p. 13)

While the GSM was already tackled, Jackson and Dawson (2021) describe the concept of sporting exceptionalism, which "is embedded in a set of assumptions that reproduces a generalised belief that the history, structure and values of sport are unique, positive and universally accepted compared to other cultural practices and institutions" (p. 3). They also stand with the dichotomy that puts problems, like violence, as a consequence of corporatisation. According to them, while a market-driven model of sport produces big events, it also produces negative effects, like doping, corruption and injury.

The issue of money is not far from politics, indeed, when researching about anything related to cash, political and economic ideologies cannot be left out. Jay Coakley (2011) takes on what he names EOCCS (elite, organised, competitive, commercial sports) to point out that they are used to promote neoliberalism and consumerism, maintaining

the interests of those who put money on them. The author relates neoliberal ideas with the commercialised sport through the spectacularism found in events, which use market values: "as highly valued and visible cultural practices, sports are sites at which neoliberalism is reproduced or resisted at the same time that they are influenced by neoliberal ideas and beliefs" (p. 74). Ben Carrington and Ian McDonald (2009) describe how one of the reasons for Marxist approaches being found in sports critiques is its commercial dimension in the capitalist world. For the authors, the knowledge produced about sport and money is more led by the economic and business academics. More about Adam Smith, than Karl Marx, if you wish.

According to Coakley (2011), people have used EOCCS, which are media to convey public messages, as a power mechanism. This is an interesting issue, especially in the case of football. We have seen, lately, a proliferation of extremely wealthy men investing in clubs[9]. In 2021, Saudi Arabia's Public Investment Fund's takeover of Newcastle raised criticism because of the country's problems with human rights[10]. This elevates the complex, yet rich, debate from sport and money to sport and what money.

David Andrews (2004) describes the views that regard sport as a pure entity separated by the forces of capitalism as naïve: "sport continues to be fetishised by large sections of the general populace as a cultural form somehow removed from the invasive influences of late capitalism" (p. 3). Moreover, Ric Jensen and Bryan Butler (2007), through the Houston Astros' stadium naming rights case with Enron back in 2001, take on the issue of sports and commercialisation. They describe how, in this type of issue, there are two opposite views: one that regards corporate naming rights as an aberration, while the other supports that it can be beneficial for SOs.

Besides, Hans Erik Næss (2018) approaches what Smith and Stewart call the paradox of commercialism, explained in the next section, and possible changes in sports to make them more appealing through the case of the World Rally Championship. Analysing the essential stakeholders of this competition, the author identifies how there were traditionalists (conservative and emotional) and commercialists (progressive and rational) among the groups. He explains that this paradox, which is present in other fields, is very dear to sports because "the unparalleled transformation from amateur series to professional enterprises has led to vast changes in their organizational structures, financial scope and cultural impact around the world" (p. 210).

[9] The cases of Manchester City and PSG are the most famous examples (see Roche, 2021).
[10] However, the deal was welcomed by supporters (see Kelsey, 2021).

In order to conclude this section, let us turn into an important piece of the literature. Adrian Walsh and Richard Giulianotti (2007) approach the issue of elite sport and money, describing the former as a commodity heavily impacted by the market: "the commodification of sport appears to bring with it a radical overthrow of prior social, economic, political and cultural arrangements, in the service of maximizing profit" (p. 2). They describe a view of sport named the Manifest Image, which relates to the pursuit of goals beyond money and it is important to fans. This view conflicts with the one that deals with sports as a business.

Moreover, while they recognize that the commercialisation has brought benefits to sport, Walsh and Giulianotti (2007) express that their criticism of sports' commodification seeks to identify the bad impacts and ethical/moral problems of it, not being confused with critics that radically seek to abolish the market sporting structures or that defend amateurism. The authors focus on the problems brought by commodification:

> These pathologies involve the violation of what we might take to be fundamental moral values that emerge from or through sporting activity… These values include such items as the pursuit of athletic excellence, community identification, entertainment through genuine competition as well as aesthetic values. (p. 10)

According to Walsh and Giulianotti (2001), problems can be originated in a moral context: the determination of financial thinking in decision-making; attacks on the community ties, for instance through the promotion of the exclusion of fans; the hegemony of those with wealth; corruption of integrity. Moreover, there are problems raised pragmatically: clear commodification might lead to audience resistance; it can also culminate in putting in danger the sport own viability.

Furthermore, they describe three factors that translate what they call the hyper-commodification of sport: the corporatisation of clubs, players' professionalisation (with its heated labour market), and what they name the venalization and the sporting ethos, through which money is the ultimate goal. The authors put in different sides the market rhetoric and sports' ethos: "the ethos of football – like all other sports – is not equivalent to the pursuit of money but rather to the pursuit of victory, in competitive good faith, through social action…" (p. 60). Once more, we see the difficulty in dealing with money in sport: why the pursuit of victory cannot be parallel to the pursuit of money?

For them, this process of corporatisation implicates clubs prioritizing the issue of profit to the detriment of cultural-related factors. This opposition between money and

culture is quite interesting. One might argue that the transformation of clubs into corporations might better preserve the club financially which helps it to survive in highly competitive environments. Indeed, the balance between these two factors is one issue I seek to address in this thesis.

Walsh and Giulianotti (2001), therefore, defend that there should be areas of football that could be protected from commodification, like the players' market. These protections could be taken in the shape of blocked exchange (more radical) or incomplete commodification. The authors propose, for example, that under 23 players could not be traded and there also could exist a limit on foreign athletes.

It is hard to accept these kinds of limitations without admitting how they affect freedom, both from of the clubs and the players. The limitation on the number of foreign players, which exists in the case of Brazilian soccer[11], for example, is a protectionist and, arguably, xenophobe measure. In this context, the conversation goes beyond the sport itself, and comprehend people's views of the world and how each person approaches the problems of modern society. Some defend freedom and cosmopolitanism all the way. Others prefer more state intervention and protectionism. Once again, it is not only about sports.

[11] The Brazilian Football Confederation (CBF) establishes that each club has the right to send to a match a maximum of five foreign players (see CBF, 2021).

3.4 – Economic Perspective

After having approached the history of the relationship between sport and money, as well as the sociological and philosophical views on the complex dynamics, now it is time to face a more practical dimension. The economic perspective on this debate was, inevitably, somewhat present in the previous sections and the introduction. However, now there is going to be a focus on the current issues regarding the sports industry and the Olympics. Numbers will be guarded mostly to the third part of this thesis, as the icing on the cake. For now, this thesis will deal with the literature and different analysis and opinions on the relevant themes.

First, it will be approached the sports industry itself, its development, distinctive features and the current challenges. Then, some important themes of this thesis, which will be further analysed in Chapter 5 will be covered, namely the matters of prize money and eSports.

3.4.1 – It is All about Entertainment: the birth of an industry

Simply stated: people around the world love sport (including this author and, probably, you). Love brings money! For instance, how much money do you put on sports every year? Tickets (before the pandemic, of course), TV and online streaming subscriptions, jerseys, equipment, and maybe even an association plan to your favourite team; there are many ways through each we "invest" in the sports industry every year, whether as participants or just fans. A billion-dollar industry with a big market.

The consulting firm Kearney estimated the size of the global sports industry between 350 and 450 billion euros. At the same echelon, Research and Markets described that the sports market valued almost 388.3 billion dollars in 2020, but it also reached 458.8 billion one year earlier, before the pandemic. Anyway, there is no reason to get deeper into this stance. In fact, SIGNA Sports United and the Boston Consulting Group place the sports market at 1.1 trillion dollars. In terms of value, because of its diversity, it is hard to determine exactly the size of the sports industry, insofar as this also depends on its definition; for example, it can be divided into several other industries (Brown et al., 2016). However, even though mediatic and relevant, the sports industry is not that big compared to others (Leeds et al., 2018). At the end of the day, it does not matter the exact value, rather it is its relevance to people that build its importance. It is a very broad field:

> The sport business industry is the market in which products offered are sports, fitness, recreation, or leisure activities and may be activities, goods, services, people, places, or ideas. People's love of sports, games, play,

> leisure, recreation, fitness, and sport tourism has led to what is today considered one of the largest and most complex business industries in many countries and as a global business as well. (Lee et al, 2021, p. 1)

The view of sport as an industry is not settled in the literature. On one side, Stefan Szymanski and Ron Smith (1997) state:

> The idea of an industry, a set of competing specialist firms within a well-defined market, is little more than a metaphor in most of the economy, but in the area of professional team sports it represents a very precise description". (p. 135)

However, on the other side, Hallgeir Gammelsæter (2021) expresses his concerns about the sports industry and its ideology being confused with the whole sports field in its totality, questioning why the permanent comparison between sport and business: "we should not take for granted that the convergence of business, industry and mainstream management is the only valid mirror for sport" (p. 263). The author further rejects the view of sport simply as an industry, with its externalities, regarding it as a "distinctive social activity" (p. 263). For him, even though sports have these externalities, they are not practised because of them, with the community and societal sides of sport being crucial to the sports industry itself, since it is derived from sport. Furthermore, the same author explains, through examples of athletes coming together to demand rights, how the industrialisation of sport and building up of revenues may harm athletes.

The movement of athletes' rights is very relevant and necessary. However, the source of the problems being industrialisation is debatable. Many problems that athletes face, like poor conditions of training, low financial compensations, or suppression of their right to make their voices heard, come not from professionalisation, but exactly from the opposite: the views that objectify athletes and deal with them as amateurs, not professionals. Nonetheless, indeed the external (often commercial) pressures may put their health in danger, as it is going to be discussed further.

This thesis supports the idea of sport as an industry and, further, as part of the entertainment industry. Mark Conrad (2017), through examples of the gigantic fan bases that North-American leagues enjoy, describes sports "as a premier entertainment business" (p. 1). It is important here to differentiate the several types of sports and their applications to make clear what it is being approached. Renson (2009) makes an important point when approaching different views on sport and its industry, stating that there is a need to differentiate between sport as entertainment and as PE.

This is a very important idea for this thesis. Oftentimes, when people express their views on sport, morals, money and related topics, there seems to be confusion regarding the object. Sport has many different and independent applications. Each one has diverse stakeholders, features and shapes, which makes it crucial to differentiate the contexts in which they are analysed. For example, one thing is to talk about sport and ethics in the context of a highly professionalised league, one completely different is to approach them in the context of PE to children: "sport, however, is not educational in itself, but only when put in an educational context" (Renson, 2009, p. 13).

Moreover, it is possible to split the sports industry into different areas of sport, such as participant and spectator sports, or even the goods industry (Lee et al, 2021). Sports events may also be divided between for-profit and not-for-profit, through which SOs can exercise their goals, whether that is to make money to reinvest or to be shared by the members (Chappelet & Parent, 2017). It is important to note that this thesis will deal mainly with spectator sports, both for-profit and non-for-profit.

Within this framework, Lang et al. (2019) describe how the sports industry can be viewed as a mixed one insofar as both for-profit and not-for-profit organisations operate together, competing in the same market. In this context, it is expected from the latter the same level of professionalisation of the former

The alleged paradox between sport and money in an industry context is also expressed by Smith and Stewart (2010). For them, the growing commercialisation of sports produces two opposite effects; while it helps with their development, at the same time, it hurts their traditions, which are important to fans. Nonetheless, SOs are part of the industry. Clausen et al. (2018) studied the issue of the growing commercialism in IFs, in the context of rising competitiveness and complexity, as well as a scarcity of external subsidies. This commercialisation is related to the revenue derived from events and their sources of money. Most of the IFs analysed had a high level of commercialisation, with a positive relation to the degree of specialisation inside them. They operate in a business-like behaviour due to "notably the professionalisation and internationalisation of sport, as well as growing commodification and financial uncertainty" (p. 386/387).

Therefore, the commercial rise brought a great deal of professionalisation. Hoye et al. (2015) describe that since the 80s, with the growing commercialisation of sports, SOs have seen a great deal of professionalisation, which can be noted in voluntaries being replaced by salaried personnel and the rising in courses related to sport in universities. The same authors further make an important distinction between professionalism and

private organisations, insofar as the former may be present in all sorts of SOs, including not-for-profit ones; professional organisations generate commercial revenue to fund themselves, this may happen regardless of what is going to be done with the profit.

> At its best, professional sport is the peak of the sports industry that supports those organizations below it by generating financial resources and cultural cachet. At its worst, it is a rapacious commercial animal with an insatiable appetite for financial, cultural and social resources. (p. 57).

On the side of the Olympic Games, the rising of commercialism may be better captured in Juan Antonio Samaranch's mandate as IOC president from 1980 and 2001. During these times, the broadcast revenue exploded from 88 million dollars in Moscow 1980 to 1.3 billion in Sydney 2000[12]. Beyond that, in 1985, The Olympic Partners (TOP) Programme, which deals with the marketing rights of the Games, was created, establishing a limited number of partners that may benefit from the association with the Olympics worldwide. Samaranch's agenda aimed, among other things, to guarantee funding for the Olympics (Payne, 2008).

The Los Angeles 1984 Olympics was a game-changer. The Games were bleeding. After facing a series of problems in the 60s and 70s, including a financial disaster in Montreal 1976, in 1978 only the USA was willing to host the Olympics that would take place six years later (Brace, 2001). What followed was a new business model. Largely funded by the private sector and personified in the figure of Peter Ueberroth, chair of the LA's OCOG, the plan envisioned low infrastructure costs, appreciation of broadcast rights and more exclusiveness in the area of sponsorship; a 255 million dollars surplus was the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow (Goldblatt, 2016).

The Olympic brand was increasingly valuable. Even though the Games became extremely commercialised, its brand was beyond that. It had to be. The Olympic values are essential to the brand; they produce an environment that sets the Olympics apart from other sports systems, being associated with positive tenets, like world peace (Ferrand et al., 2012). In this context, brand protection is fundamental, for example, maintaining the venues clean of advertising, leaving the spotlight to the rings: the Olympic ideal and values "are the foundations upon which the Olympic franchise is based" (Payne, 2005, p. 21).

[12] The Olympic Marketing Fact File 2020 Edition (IOC, 2020a) describes the timeline of broadcast revenue, which went from 1.2 million dollars in Rome 1960 to 2.8 billion in Rio 2016.

3.4.2 – Between Uniqueness and Entertainment: the features of the sports industry

Anyone who seeks to study the sports industry and business will much probably immediately face articles or books' sections on the uniqueness, distinctiveness or specific features of the field, making it a very singular industry. There are many texts on the literature that deal with this issue (Bühler et al., 2006; Chadwick, 2011; Conrad, 2017; Gammelsæter, 2021; Hoye et al., 2015; Jones, 1969; Neale, 1964; Smith & Stewart, 2010). In this vast literature, several features are recurrently described: monopoly/cartel operation; cooperation among competitive organisations; profit issues (harder to make it and not always a priority); unpredictability and lack of control over the final product (uncertainty of outcome); public and mediatic impact (scrutiny and interdependence); loyal, irrational and emotionally connected consumers; restricted offer (events are not industrial goods); and resistance to commercialism.

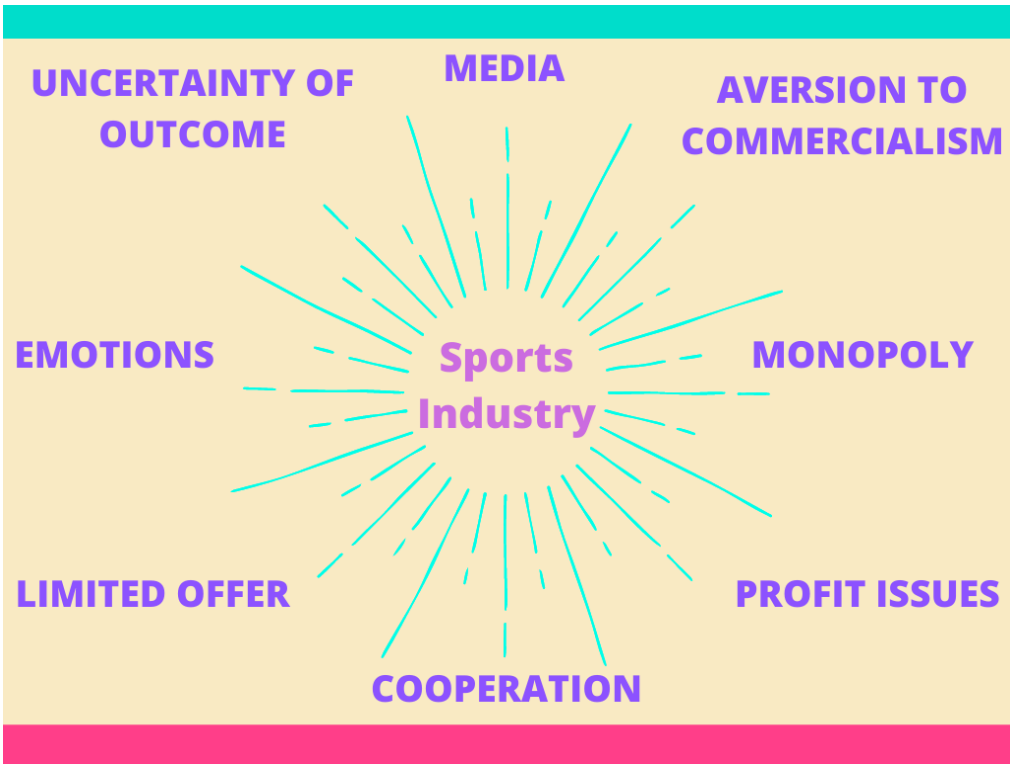


Figure 8: Distinct features of the sports industry, as pointed out by the literature

Are all of these characteristics real distinct features of the sports industry? Many support the idea of sport as a very specific field. This can also serve as a basis to regard sport as a moral or cultural institution that should be kept away from commercial forces. This thesis supports the idea of sport (elite spectator sports precisely) as part of the entertainment industry. Conrad (2017) also approaches the distinct features of the sports industry, relating it to the entertainment industry, in the sense of what they provide and their personalist character.

Moreover, Bühler et al. (2006) agree that sport may be viewed as entertainment, however, they point out that the sports industry has some distinct features. Yet, sports brands seem to be managed similarly to other businesses (Baker et al., 2016). Besides, Smith and Stewart (2010) note that the growing commercialisation of sport has been making the sports industry less different from the others.

Of course, each field, like the food or pharmaceutical segment, has its own characteristics. Meanwhile, spectators' sports have many similarities to other forms of entertainment that makes it is pretty much straightforward to think of it in the entertainment industry, which does not exclude cultural and social dimensions (both also present in the cinema segment, for instance).

Some features that are present in the sports industry are easily spotted in other branches of the entertainment business, and not only. Loyal consumers exist in several markets, like comic books and fast food. Irrational thinking does not seem exclusive to sports consumers either. Even though Bühler et al. (2006) exemplify this feature through football fans and how they would not change the clubs they support in a rational consumer line of thinking, Smith and Stewart (2010) note that this is not a distinct feature of sports. Identification, emotional and irrational consumption is present in several other industries: "sport consumption is not so much the exception as the exemplar of contemporary consumer behaviour" (p. 4).

Likewise, is the sports product so different from a movie? Bühler et al. (2006) describe two different products made by the sports industry: the core one, which is the competition itself, and the extensions, which are related to the initial products (like hospitality). Moreover, they differentiate the core products between participant and spectator sports, characterizing them as a result of mutual effort, being unpredictable (the famous uncertainty of outcome). Focusing on the core products, which are the object of analysis here, they seem very similar to other products of the entertainment business, like a play. One might argue that a football game is not scripted, however, neither is necessarily a play. In fact, SOs have to be very careful with their products to make them exciting. Although one cannot script if a tennis player will hit a backhand or not, an organisation can change rules to improve quality.

Additionally, it is fundamental to understand one issue that is spread through the world of sport. Even though it seems much more present in the minds of the academy and managers than in the fans', the paradox of commercialism, named by Smith and Stewart (2010), is a pivotal theme for the present thesis. They explain:

> Fuelled by a celebrity ethos and the centrality of entertainment, it is easy to undermine the brand and diminish its status as a heroic form of human endeavour. As a consequence, sport's quintessential nature is at risk whenever it commercialises itself to secure a larger share of the market. However, it also means that unless sport commercialises itself, it will be unable to survive in the contemporary competitive landscape. (p. 6)

The same authors describe that professionalisation and widespread commercialisation did not harm sport's popularisation, as most fans like the benefits they brought, such as more comfort and better broadcasting. Despite its importance to the ideologies that have partially dictated decision-making in sport, as seen above, this feature is far from being unique. Anyone who is in touch with the artistic scene knows too well how commercialism and money are perceived.

Moving forward, there is one other sport's feature that is a central and fundamental aspect of modern spectator sport. Already back in 1964, Neale (1964) smartly called it the "Fourth Estate Benefit". SOs are heavily dependent on the media, which in turn gives them free advertisement, talking about football clubs, for instance, for endless hours, long pages and extensive dialogues. Hoye et al. (2015) highlight how media and SOs are integrated nowadays, providing them, for example, with broadcast rights, their most important source of revenue: "professional sport would not survive in its current form without the media" (p. 63). Therefore, when it comes to revenue in sports, the media is a major player, which contributes to the entertainment side of events and accounts for a relevant part of the sports industry (Lee et al, 2021).

David Andrews (2004) shows how sport and media are absolutely linked in the context of commercialisation. According to him, the pervasiveness of sporting themes in communication platforms, like TV, in the USA, has given sports the status of cultural practice that impacts, among other things, identities. As he explains, "the media-sport entertainment complex can be shown to stand out as a key source of wealth creation" (p. 6). The importance of sport to television is due to its entertainment potential, as Andrews illuminates, networks earn money mostly from advertising and, therefore, the bigger the audiences, the bigger the investments.

However, it is not only a bed of roses. This high level of media attention brings an elevated degree of scrutiny. According to Smith and Stewart (2010), this is a distinct characteristic of athletes, insofar as other types of celebrities are not held to the same

standards; while athletes are seen as role models and are regulated, by WADA, for instance.

All said and done, there is one very peculiar characteristic. Indeed, the issue of monopoly and how the sports universe works like a cartel is a striking feature. In how many fields does one organisation control an entire universe? The goal here is not to analyse if that is a natural and necessary characteristic, or it is just simply an unfair anomaly. However, it is important to understand how this plays out, insofar as it is a component of the whole ESL controversy.

As competition, like its etymology makes clear, needs more than one element to exist, athletes and teams need each other to build up an event, a league, a cup or any other kind of competition. Even though SOs fiercely compete on the field, they had to coexist for survival. Walter C. Neale (1964), explaining the issue of monopoly in professional sports, describes what he calls the "Louis-Schmelling Paradox", in which one competitor (athlete/team) needs the other in order to survive, they depend on each other; the competition occurs in the field and, of course, between sports.

This cartel feature of sports leagues, according to Smith and Stewart (2010), happens exactly because of the interdependence between SOs, like the teams that make up different leagues, which build "agreements on areas like salary ceilings, player recruitment and drafting, admission pricing, game scheduling, income-redistributions, and broadcasting arrangements" (p. 7). As the same authors explain, sports have been using anti-competitive practices to maintain the uncertain outcome considered relevant for the industry itself.

The monopoly exists, but the alleged cooperation that needs to exist between teams, for instance, is harder to be exemplified. Actually, nowadays, there are multiple examples of how teams strengthen themselves (financially), making competitors weaker, to dominate a given market. That is, a team need competitors, but it wants to be the stronger. It wants to have all the best players and win every single champion with no defeats. Would its fans complain?

3.4.3 – Looking for the Future: challenges of the sports industry

To keep growing and surviving, there are always changes and improvements that need to be made in every industry. The sports business has its challenges. Beyond the obvious one of increasing consumers (fans) and maintaining products (athletes), there is some current literature that deals with other challenges. The future was a concern for Pierre de Coubertin (2015c) already in the 1920s. In his last speech as the IOC's president

in an Olympic Congress, which happened in Prague 1925, the Baron expressed that he did not believe that sport was something natural to humankind: it is not necessary to know much about history to realize that the current crowds' admiration will not last forever (p. 548). If one wants to make it last forever, one needs to work for that.

As sports industry is getting bigger, Holt et al. (2011) point out some challenges, especially in the European scene, such as financial vulnerability, fan-related issues, like loyalty and high costs, and the debate between national and international identity. Inarguably, an ever-going challenge for the sports industry, since with the big number of organisations, the competition is high, is the search for new consumers and, of course, the need to maintain the current ones; the competition also leads to the growing importance of brand management (Lee et al, 2021).

Moreover, Steven J. Jackson and Marcelle C. Dawson (2021) describe seven challenges and threats that the sports business face: integrity of sporting competition, athlete welfare, discrimination, mega-events and human rights, environment, terrorism and corporatisation. Regarding this last challenge, they cite the ESL as an example of the increasing hegemony in the sports business, with more power being held by corporations. The same authors criticise the model of sports business nowadays and propose that sport should be approached beyond the capitalist order, with a more sustainable and equal model.

In the context of very professionalised for-profit SOs, challenges faced by non-profit organisations include the difficulty to find volunteers and the pressure to provide a high-quality service (Lang et al., 2019). In their study with Swiss ski schools, these authors identified different clusters of SOs, from less to more professionalised, oriented towards the market or the organisation, with voluntary or paid personnel, for example, taking the characterisation of organisations beyond the binary division between their relations with profit. The authors explain that not-for-profit SOs can be as professionalised as for-profit, which in turn may be less professionalised than the former. Therefore, the issue of professionalisation is an important one for SOs.

A glance is enough to note how consumers are, each time more, demanding social consciousness from famous people and organisations, especially in the context of very relevant issues in the 21st century, like the environment and fight against discrimination. Accordingly, nowadays one other important factor for SOs is their corporate social responsibility (CSR). The sports business has seen the growing importance of

philanthropy and CSR, with SOs giving them relevance in their processes, with care for social and environmental agendas (Ratten & Babiak, 2010).

Technological development brings not only challenges but also opportunities. For example, Ania Rynarzewska (2018) approaches the possible usages of virtual reality (VR) in the sports industry. Other important businesses in the sports industry have risen in the last years, providing new sources of money and technological development. The fantasy sports industry, for example, has attracted millions of die-hard fans, making up a sector with an impressive financial relevance (Billings & Ruihley, 2014).

Finally, any document written in 2021/2022 that talks about challenges cannot deny the applicable space to the Covid-19 pandemic. In a short amount of time, an important body of literature has dealt with this matter (Grix et al., 2021; Horky, 2021; Mastromartino et al., 2020; Naurright et al., 2020). Thomas Horky (2021) analyses the financial impact of the pandemic on the German professional sports leagues, especially due to the restrictions on fan attendance in the stadia. The author notes how the different sports leagues depend very differently on revenue from physical fans attendance, with the biggest and richest leagues (football) having a lower share, while the others depended more on attendance. The Bundesliga, just like the Olympics for instance, relies much more on media revenue.

Moreover, Mastromartino et al. (2020) take on the challenges brought by the Covid-19 pandemic, specifically on the context of the stadium importance for fan identification. They highlight how virtual spaces, like social media, can also serve to build a community around the organisation. Grix e al. (2021) take on the impact of the pandemic on sport, especially in the British scenario; they highlight, for example, the financial consequences to both elite and grassroots sports and the importance of fans and their physical interaction.

Furthermore, John Naurright et al. (2020) note that, despite the high impact of the covid-19 in sports, other relevant matters, such as governance and marketing, continue to be important in the sports industry. However, they also highlight how eSports have been positively affected by the pandemic. The subject of gaming deserves special attention here. Mastromartino et al. (2020) recount how, facing the lack of live events brought by the pandemic, SOs turned to live eSports events. They bring examples from the MLS's Toronto FC, Formula 1 and the NBA, to show how some organisations used online competitions to replace the live events, with the possibility of using celebrities and

athletes. However, for the authors, it is not clear if these events can build brand communities or can satisfy sports fans.

Furthermore, Grix et al. (2021) describe three legacies that the pandemic is leaving behind in the sports field, two of them relate to eSports. One deals with the increase of eSports and online exercise and its consequential impact on consumption. More importantly for this thesis, the authors describe the growth of eSports during the pandemic and, how, big SOs, like the IOC, will probably have in the future an electronic version, an event that would not have to be postponed in a pandemic. Will there be an eOlympics?

3.4.4 – Endless Discussion: eSports, the Olympic Games, and conflicting views

Here is the thing. Anyone who has studied or has even been in a sports studies class was part of an endless and, quite honestly, somewhat boring debate: are eSports sports? I lost count of the times that this issue was raised during discussions. At first, it was interesting. At the thousandth time, it was annoying. Therefore, this thesis will not tackle this matter, for one very simple reason: it does not matter. This thesis supports a practical and fairly utilitarian view that look at eSports as an opportunity to increase revenue, regardless of its sports status.

Personally, if you ask me what is my opinion regarding this issue, I will answer: no, I do not think eSports are sports. Even though I like playing video games, I do not like watching other people doing it, I do not think is exciting and I think is far from similar to sports (the traditional ones), especially on the physical (movement) and human aspects. Jim Parry (2019) rejects the idea of eSports as sports (Olympic sports), as they are not directly human, lack physicality and whole-body skills, beyond its absence of proper institutionalisation. The theme here, however, is to find out how the literature has tackled the issue of eSports and its inclusion in the Olympics.

As Llewellyn and Gleaves (2016) note, in the context of the commercial transformations that hit the Olympics in the 60s, "elite athletes, pure or otherwise, sold television" (p. 157). Can the same be said about eSports? It is important to clarify that eSports may encompass many different types of competitive games, being a broad term (Scholz, 2019). In this context, Kalle Jonasson and Jesper Thiborg (2010) differentiate types of games: first-person shooter (FPS); real-time strategy; sports games.

There are some reasons exposed in the literature towards the acceptance of eSports in the Olympics, which might overlap, but they are mainly: business opportunity, youth appeal, relevance for the eSports industry itself. Moreover, Tobias M. Scholz (2019)

describes five reasons to involve in eSports: digital and international audience; young participants and fans; emerging industry; industry-driven; self-regulated.

On the financial and business side, Scholz (2019) notes how the eSports market has space to keep growing with much potential. Kim et al. (2020) recount the impact that eSports, with its popularisation, have been having on hospitality and tourism as well. For these authors, the eSports industry and its financial possibilities are not being fully exploited in many countries; while the pandemic itself has shined even more light on it: "with technology on the rise, esports has the potential to become the next major sport and it will be important for cities and countries to begin investing in the industry" (Kim et al., 2020, p. 1870). Of course, much of the financial opportunity relates to a new market, which is very important for the IOC: the youth. Yucong Wu (2019) describes how a possible entrance of eSports into the Olympics can bring both commercial and popularisation benefits, attracting younger audiences.

Chikish et al. (2019) describe that both sport and eSport have similarities when it comes to consumption motivation and their practice is even complementary. Furthermore, García and Murillo (2020) investigated whether eSports have a complementary or substitutive effect on sports and found out that there is "a positive association between the level of interest in the different traditional sports activities and in playing sports video games" (p. 179), which in turn can be used by SOs to enlarge their popularisation.

Beyond the benefits for the IOC, the inclusion in the Games would also raise eSports respect from society (Miah, 2021). As if it were like a father's tap on the shoulder, or a boss saying "good job", eSports may seek IOC's recognition. It is crucial for their crusade of being recognised as a sport and their growth (Kim et al., 2020). However, for Andy Miah (2021), eSports do not need the Games, it is exactly the other way around.

If opportunities stand on one side, of course, there are challenges and problems on the other side of this controversial avenue, from which it can be highlighted: content against values; sport status; complex governance; commercial dominance. Moreover, Simon M. Pack and David P. Hedlund (2020) describe four areas of concern towards the inclusion of eSports in the Olympics: compatibility (with values, for instance); philosophy (status as a sport); logistics (institutional commercial nature related issues); health and welfare.

The content of several games is a concern, especially when it comes to violence. Wu (2019) recognizes that some games, almost all the most popular ones, have aspects (such as violence) that are not in pace with Olympic values, like respect, but also push

the argument that even some Olympic sports, like boxing, are also violent in some aspects. Pack and Hedlund (2020) also point out this possible incongruity between FPS games and Olympic values. Likewise, Miah (2021) reminds how some games have political and war connotations that do not fit with the Games.

For Wu (2019), "violence or other undesirable elements will not completely eliminate the possibility of Esports becoming an Olympic sport under the premise that other sports with undesirable elements eventually are already Olympic sports" (p. 13). He expresses that games can also promote positive values, like teamwork, and the bad values allegedly promoted are a concern for manufacturers. Pack and Hedlund (2020) point in the same direction, noting how the eSports practice could also foster some positive values, like the development of body, will and mind.

Challenges also relate to the commercial character of the eSports industry, as obviously, games are born in a completely corporate context. Therefore, if the sports industry has some unique features, the eSports industry also possess some peculiarities of its own; the chain of stakeholders that offer products, such as the publishers of the games, can have different roles, also managing competitions and leaving the teams (participants) in a secondary position (Chikish et al., 2019).

Besides, Wu (2019) explains that as a commercial product at first, high commercialisation is an eSports' characteristic that "may conflict with the Olympic Games to some extent" (p. 19), with the manufacturers playing a huge role that further complicates the industry. Pack and Hedlund (2020) indicate that once eSports are part of the Olympics, for example, how there would be a need to deal with their commercial nature and how the publishers would play a role.

In the context of the games and their publisher, it is important to note that there is volatility and uncertainty of this precise business. As big companies own the products they can do whatever they want with that, updating or excluding them, with games becoming obsolete or having a shorter lifecycle (Pack & Hedlund, 2020; Peng et al., 2020; Scholz, 2019). In this setting, the issue of governance is very important to the eSports industry development (Chikish et al., 2019).

Scholz (2019) exemplify the self-regulation and lack of control and institutionalisation present in the eSports industry through the way the term itself is written. Honestly, when I began writing this thesis, I did not know exactly what would be the correct form: esports or e-sports. The author describes that eSports is the most common.

Additionally, Peng et al. (2020) tackle the formal governance structure of eSports and describe how its absence did not keep the industry away from financial growth. The authors note how the games' publishers are the central power in eSports fragmented governance dynamics, controlling and onwing the main product. In fact, IFs in sports also possess a very dominant power in each activity. Even though they do not own the game, they are autonomous and have their monopoly well protected. In this context, the eSports structure may be more volatile, yet it may be considered more democratic, insofar as different publishers compete in the same market for the audience:

> It appears that although game publishers take the lead in governing the esports industry at the elite level, there is a lack of interest in governing the entire industry. In particular, game publishers do not coordinate network-level activities that can be considered major, such as the exploitation of non-elite players. (p. 8)

These authors, therefore, describe how this left space for other stakeholders to get involved in governance, nevertheless, with limits, since governing bodies of the business do not own the games. As Scholz (2019) describes, the IOC demands from eSports the adoption of traditional sports' model with its classic structures, yet, he expresses that is not possible to put the governance of eSports under the umbrella of one organisation:

> This envisioned top-down governance structure would mean not only uniting all stakeholders in one combined federation but also compelling all future eSports titles and all emerging eSports nations to join this global federation … Many secondary stakeholders do not realize that eSports describes a range of different games, different stakeholders, and, actually, everybody playing video games competitively. Consequently, eSports is ungovernable by one clear authority (p. 74).

Some other challenges are approached in the literature: resistance towards the inclusion of eSports because some people perceive it as a threat to traditional sports participation, or even that eSports (and physical virtual sports) may attract traditional sports athletes with big prize money (Miah, 2021). There are also the issues of the inclusion of professional gamers and the establishment of national organisations to manage qualifications for the Games (Pack & Hedlund, 2020).

Nonetheless, Scholz (2019) observes that the IOC's demands towards the eSports industry, traditional institutionalisation and exclusion of violence, "are nearly impossible to enforce and would hypothetically lead to a divergence in eSports" (p. 131), creating

appropriate and inappropriate games. As if it were Adam Smith's invisible hand on the market, it is interesting to note how the IOC seems to try to impose its moral invisible hand in the sports business and, consequently, in the eSports industry that tries to be recognised as a sport. However, it does not seem feasible to impose some views on this new world. Not only sport, but eSports need a different approach, but this is a conversation for later.

Having covered the challenges, now it is important to tackle the opinions of those who are against the inclusion of eSports in the Olympics. Parry (2019) considers that organisers try to "sportify" some activities, like parkour, to demonstrate how they are in pace with the definition of Olympic sport. For him, despite the youth of computer games, the IOC will ultimately reject the notion of eSports as Olympic sports. Two years later, Parry (2021) came back to the topic. He points out that if a sport is very popular or not is a secondary issue; the primary question for the inclusion of a new sport in the Games is if it is a sport. As it is going to be clear, this thesis disagrees with this notion, putting the strategical importance as a primary question.

Further, Parry (2021) describes three common weak arguments for considering eSports as sports: resemblance (as they supposedly have similar features); recognition (as they are recognised as sports by some organisations); acceptance (as they are accepted by SOs, even if as a side event). Wu (2019) takes on the inclusion of esports on the Jakarta-Palembang 2018 Asian Games to show how the IOC recognised them as a sport in its sixth summit in 2017, even though, a year later, it put the brakes on. These summits will be covered in Chapter 5. The author places the beginning of eSports' crusade to enter the Olympic programme back in 2008 when the International Esports Federation (IeSF) was founded; which is recognised by WADA (since 2013), for example.

For Kalle Jonasson and Jesper Thiborg (2010), eSports were not in pace with the standards set by the IOC, regarding its structure, for example, which could change, of course. While for Wu (2019) eSports are "not mature enough" (p. 31). He makes some suggestions, like the need to emphasize positive factors, better communicating with the IOC, and ensure more stability.

On the other side of this endless (yet important) discussion, some scholars are in favour of including eSports in the Olympics and view them as a sport. Jaume García and Carles Murillo (2020) describe that, academically, there is almost a consensus regarding eSports status as a sport. Jonasson and Thiborg (2010) take on eSports status as a sport

within the framework of Allen Guttman's definition of sport to show how they are going through a sportification process in which eSports are gaining modern sports features.

Pack and Hedlund (2020), who support the entrance of eSports, observe that this issue is beyond the agreement on its status as a sport or not. They differentiate the "right" reasons, related to how they can make the Olympics' audience more youthful, and "wrong" ones for including eSports in the Games, with the problems expressed above. The authors deal with the inclusion as something almost unavoidable, leaving the real issue towards how and when this would happen: "policy entrepreneurs on both sides of this debate must embrace the positive attributes of esports and look towards inclusion for the right reasons that embody the values of Olympism" (p. 9).

Another author that has a positive stance on this matter is Miah (201), who describes how the connection of the Olympics with the eSports industry can be understood through their partners. He considers how the sponsors and broadcasters that partner with the Games are investing in the eSports business. This is an important issue for this thesis, as Chapter 5 will tackle a right holding broadcaster (RHB).

Looking at the future, Jonasson and Thiborg (2010) developed three possible scenarios for eSports. The first one considers that they might be a counterculture alternative to modern sport, competing with traditional sports. In a second scenario, eSports, as a popular activity, would be incorporated into the hegemony of sport, while in a third scenario, they would be the hegemonic sport. I believe that the second scenario is not only the most likely but the most desirable.

Lastly, it is important to differentiate what the question of eSports' inclusion in the Olympics means. In other words, would the Games include these new activities exactly where? The interpretations may be related to inclusion in the official programme as a medal event, or even as a type of side event (Miah, 2021; Parry, 2021). For example, ultimately having the Games a packed sports program, Miah (2021) proposes that eSports could be included in a cultural programme as medal events.

3.4.5 – Show them the Money: perspectives on prize money in the Olympics

Not only as a master's student but also as a journalist, making good, proper and deep research is an important feature. I like to think of myself as a good researcher. However, I questioned this after researching literature on the topic of this section. Contrary to the previous issue of eSports, the theme of prize money in the Olympics seem very much neglected in the literature… or I am just a bad researcher. To be more positive, I will take the first hypothesis.

This comes as a surprise, as "the centrality of a symbolic (and often very valuable) prize is one of the most consistent themes in the long history of sport" (Pope & Nauright, 2016, p. 306), and even in American colleges, there were prizes in money during the mid-19th century (Gruneau, 2006). The search terms "prize money", "athletes", and "Olympic Games" did not give me back many relevant results related to the research question tackled here: the literature is, therefore, quite silent when it comes to the question of whether or not should athletes receive prize money in the Olympics nowadays. It is a piece of good evidence that this question has not bothered very much the academy. Maybe it is a sign of how much embedded we are in Victorian moral amateurism values and how much is sport amalgamated in this rhetoric.

Pavlo Buryi (2016) deals, for instance, with the issue of prize money, however not related to the athletes' rights but instead to a strategical management concern of their effort during competition. He describes that there is little literature on the question of prize money allocation looking for stimulating effort on athletes. Furthermore, a report produced by Ted Rogers School of Management in partnership with Global Athlete (2019), despite not directly approaching the specific issue of prize money, tackles the subject of athletes' compensation in the Olympics scenario. The report delineates how the IOC, despite being not-for-profit, is 100% privately funded: "by maintaining its non-profit status and shedding the largest expense of most sports leagues, their athletes, the IOC has become hugely profitable" (p. 4).

Moreover, the report also looks at the numbers of how players of the major professional sports leagues earn compared to their respective revenue: on the NBA, NFL, NHL, and MLB, they earn from 40% to 50% of the revenue; while in the Premier League this figure reaches 60%. When it comes to the Olympic world (IOC and NOCs), the estimative is 4.1% through scholarships and grants. Yet, the document observes that only 0.5% of the IOC spending directly had athletes as recipients through scholarships. According to this report, during the London-Rio Olympiad, an athlete received an averagely of over 5 thousand dollars annually.

Moreover, this review suggests some ways through which the IOC could financially compensate athletes other than salaries, like awards, which in turn could lead to better competition and, consequently, more revenue: "instead of spending its privately earned revenues compensating athletes, the majority of these funds go towards financing the many internal and external organizations affiliated with the IOC" (p. 8).

At the end of the day, the report describes how Olympians face financial struggles, and the IOC could more than double the amount of money given to athletes through, for instance, reimbursement, by redistributing excess revenues. As the document, which defends athletes' compensation, alerts, they have the power of boycott in their hands: "if the Olympic organizations are unwilling or unable to compensate its athletes, it falls to the players to stand together for their rights and beliefs" (p. 17).

Besides, Maximilian Klein (2020) also approaches the financial struggles Olympians face, including the context of opportunity costs and their average loss of income, highlighting athletes who are not the stars of their sport or are not part of leagues, opposing the financial success of the IOC. Furthermore, Matthew Lane (2012) points out how the potential amount of money athletes may earn with the Olympics is limited by the Olympic Charter, for example through Rule 50. In this context, even though the Olympics are "the most marketable time ever" (p. 124) in an athlete career, one cannot fulfil this completely with the restrictions.

Indeed, the issue of the Olympic Charter and, mainly, its Rules 40 and 50 are of important consideration when it comes to athletes' rights, commercialism and the Olympics. Nonetheless, this thesis will focus specifically on prize money, but it is important to explain shortly what these regulations mean:

> At the very peak of their career, athletes – the protagonists of the Games – are excluded from a multi-billion market for advertisement and image rights. They do not get a fair share for their hard work and dedication over several years. (Klein, 2020, p. 33)

The Olympic Charter (IOC, 2021c) limits the extent of commercialism in the Games. When it comes to athletes' image rights is important to look at the famous Rules 40 and 50. The first one, which deals with conditions to participate in the Games establish that "competitors… who participate in the Olympic Games may allow their person, name, picture or sports performances to be used for advertising purposes during the Olympic Games in accordance with the principles determined by the IOC Executive Board" (p. 80). Moreover, Rule 50, which has become very notorious for the issue of political protests, also deals with advertising and athletes' own publicity.

Going back to what concerns this thesis, on the other side, going away from academic research, many journalistic articles covered the issue of prize money in the Olympic Games. It is an example of how this is a relevant topic with public interest. William Allen (2021) in his article on *AS* highlights that even though athletes do not

receive money for competing in the Olympics, they may earn compensations from their local NOC, which is something that is going to be deeply tackled further in this thesis. He also observes how athletes can be supported through endorsements, but how this is much more difficult for the less famous, who may face a very tough journey.

Furthermore, Emily Stewart (2021), writing for *Vox*, takes on the paradox between the high amount of money circling the Games and how athletes are left behind in this equation. She also approaches the amateur concept of doing it for the love of sport and the Olympic Charter rules limiting athletes' rights.

Beyond these examples, one very relevant piece comes from a Canadian Olympian, Deidra Dionne (2016), a bronze medalist in the 2002 Salt Lake City Winter Games, who only wished she had prize money for her performance. In her great opinion article for *CBC*, she expresses her view that the Olympics should give prize money. Dionne recounts that when she won her medal she expected to receive it, as would happen in other competitions, nonetheless, her coach explained this would not happen: "The Games are about prestige, honour and greatness. It's not supposed to be about money for the athletes. My shame was instantaneous, followed immediately by guilt over my perceived greediness".

It is very interesting how in her account of this event, it is very much clear the amateur ideology that infects sports, through which honour is opposed to money: "Every week at international competitions, I wore the Canadian colours and competed. It was prestigious and an honour to represent my country. Yet, when I won, I won prize money. Why would the Olympics be different?" Indeed, why would they be?

PART 2 – THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

CHAPTER 4 – METHODOLOGY

4.1 – Introduction

The present thesis will work with a mixed-method approach, that is, it will use both qualitative and quantitative methods. As explained in the introduction, this thesis aims to have a broad approach to the issue of sport and money. Therefore, the choice of using both types of methodologies seeks to contribute to a wider construct of knowledge. Furthermore, the theme of this thesis is both practical and intangible, insofar as it deals with the relationship between sport and money at a management level (the best practices and decisions to be made) and at a pseudo-philosophical level (the right and wrong possible balances). Therefore, the different methods contribute to distinct layers of analysis to answer the proposed research questions.

According to Howard Lune and Bruce L. Berg (2017), qualitative research, among other features, is about meanings and symbols, while quantitative is much more about measures; qualities come to understand the meanings. The authors describe how both methods have a complementary action. It is exactly this supportiveness that the thesis is seeking. Through qualitative research, it will be possible to analyse, explain, and understand the meanings of discourses surrounding the topics, while quantitative research will provide insights into how people perceive some of these matters in countable terms.

Hence, John W. Creswell (2009) highlights how the use of both qualitative and quantitative methods may better address the complexity of some problems. Furthermore, Tashakkori and Creswell (2007) have defined the mixed-method approach as a "research in which the investigator collects and analyzes data, integrates the findings, and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches or methods in a single study or a program of inquiry" (p. 4).

This thesis will work with two main case studies. The first is about the Olympic Games, while the second will concern the Super League. Both will work with in-depth description and data analysis. As part of the Olympics' case study, a survey was also conducted.

4.2 – Case Studies

In order to study and analyse the relationship between sport and money, two case studies of very distinct (and opposite) competitions were carried out. Both the Olympics and the ESL are extremely complex phenomena. As such, it was considered that only a very broad methodological approach would do justice to their sophisticated nature. Thus, the case study method was seen as an appropriate research tool.

The case studies may be described "as a method involving systematically gathering enough information about a particular person, social setting, event, or group to permit the researcher to effectively understand how the subject operates or functions" (Lune & Berg, 2017, p. 170). This method is able, therefore, to effectively respond to complexities. As Bill Gillham (2000) brilliantly points out, case studies should not "be wasted on issues that are unimportant" (p. 102). Given that the matters tackled by the present thesis are relevant, current, and complicated, this method seems the most suitable.

To conduct case studies is necessary to have several methods with the possibility of also having various sources of data, as well as they should be part of a larger category (Lune & Berg, 2017). In this context, both case studies of this thesis are part of the sports industry relationships with money. The Olympic Games' study is split into the case of the Olympic Virtual Series, the relationship of one of the IOC's partners to broadcast the Games with eSports, the possibility of paying prize money to athletes, and people's perceptions on sport, money, and the Olympics. Further, the Super League's study comprises the attempt made in 2021 to create a new league. Since the Olympics' case study has multiple layers to understand the subject of sport and money, it will be a collective case study, while the League's is an intrinsic case study, as it is a very particular case (Stake, 1994, 1995, apud Lune & Berg, 2017).

Since multiple methods are required, some choices were made to contribute to the cases' complexity. One of them is the quantitative method of survey, which will be explained in the next section. Although case studies may have both methods of research, the qualitative one is the primary (Gillham, 2000). In this sense, the following additional methods were used during the case studies: data gathering and analysis, beyond mediatic framing analysis. This possibility of working with multiple types of methods is one of the benefits of case studies (Schoch, 2019).

Data was collected from numerous sources, mainly online. From documents to several newspapers' articles. Beyond that, several additional sources were contacted to complement the other findings. Especially in the Olympics' case study about prize

money, hundreds of e-mails were sent to NOCs and IFs to gather as much information as possible to produce knowledge.

Furthermore, it is relevant to briefly approach the issue of news framing analysis, which was carried out in the Super League's case study. Erving Goffman (1986) describes a process in which people when facing an event tend to employ "frameworks or schemata of interpretation of a kind that can be called primary" (p. 21), which allows them to label the happenings. Furthermore, Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki (1993) describe "a news media frame as a cognitive device used in information encoding, interpreting, and retrieving" (p. 57). The framing of each article may influence the way the public perceives some problems (Scheufele, 2000).

Framing has multiple possible definitions and methodological approaches (Linström & Marais, 2012); however, Gaye Tuchman provides a very clear and helpful definition:

> An occurrence is transformed into an event, and an event is transformed into a news story. The news frame organizes everyday reality and the news frame is part and parcel of everyday reality, for the public character of news is an essential feature of news (Tuchman, 1978 apud Linström & Marais, 2012, p. 23)

Exemplifying framing analysis and comparing it to other types of methods, Pan and Kosicki (1993) state that one of its differentials is exactly how certain subjects are approached in the news. For the authors, "framing analysis examines the diversity and fluidity in how issues are conceptualized and consequently allows for more fruitful analysis of the conceptual evolution of policy issues" (p. 70). Sport has already been the subject of framing analysis (see Zaharopoulos, 2007).

Lastly, as framing analysis is such a broad field, it is important to establish that this thesis is working with the qualitative framing analysis, which "involves repeated and extensive engagement with a text and looks holistically at the material to identify frames" (Connolly-Ahern & Broadway, 2008).

Finally, it is important to highlight how Lune and Berg (2017) describe how case studies may contribute to the building of a theory: "theory can be uncovered and informed as a consequence of the data collection and interpretations of this data made throughout the development of the case study" (p. 172). In this context, this will be a grounded theory case study. In the end, this is the goal of the thesis: supported by the literature review and

the case studies, reflecting and discussing upon the explained facts, to provide suggestions for improvement, make a case for changes, and develop new concepts.

4.3 – Survey

"Providing they are not too complex, there is something distinctly clarifying about numbers"

(Gillham, 2000, p. 80)

What do fans think? Going over documents, news articles, literature is great for building knowledge, which will further solidify analysis, arguments, and opinions. Nevertheless, there is a limitation to it. Especially looking at the more practical side of this thesis, the audience's opinion is fundamental to good decision-making in the sports field. So, after all, what do fans think?

Several studies on the audiences' perception of commercialisation when it comes to football were previously carried out, having very different shapes, methods, and contexts. Bodet et al. (2018) worked with focus groups and also interviews to analyse the responses of fans towards their national teams and football associations regarding marketisation. The study was carried out across Armenia, England, and Lithuania. Richard Giulianotti (2005) analysed responses towards the commercialisation of football, including its impact on culture. He worked with a broader population that included not only supporters, but also officials, and even journalists.

Still on the scenario of football, David Kennedy (2012), in the context of Everton's possible stadium change, examined supporters' opinions about commercialisation, through reactions to an article, whereas Ramón Llopis-Goig (2012) tackles the commodification of football in Spain through interviews with fans, journalists, and managers.

Furthermore, studies were conducted in the sports field, not about commercialisation, but other responses to controversies. For example, Solberg et al. (2010), through phone interviews, analysed sports fans perceptions on doping. Moreover, on the issue of eSports, PwC (2018) asked, through an online questionnaire with a population of sports industry leaders, about a possible entry on the Olympic programme.

The main goal of the survey of the present thesis was to find out people's perceptions regarding sport and money, more specifically, in the context of the Olympic Games. The topics of prize money and eSports were tackled in the questionnaire, since people's opinions may illuminate a possible level of acceptance in the public space. From the beginning, time was a challenge. There was no possibility of carrying out a longer process, with more refined sampling techniques, as everything had to be done in a couple of months.

As the Olympics and sports are a global phenomenon, one of the initial aims was to have a culturally diverse set of respondents. For that reason, joined by the pandemic context, the choice for an online survey was a no-brainer. Therefore, the process of designing and gathering answers was made through the Survey Hero platform. Also to achieve as much diverse audience as possible, the original English questionnaire was also available in three other languages: Portuguese, Spanish, and French (this last one was made available a week after the launch).

The design of the questionnaire had three features in mind: time, level, and objectivity. That is, it had to be quick, uncomplicated, and direct. Easy questionnaires, with not so much cognitive burden, have more chances to be completed and provide more accurate results as well (Harlacher, 2016). There a many different types of questions, appropriate for different contexts (Rowley, 2014). In total, there were 18 questions[13]. The questionnaire had a mix of types of questions: closed ones (yes/no, multiple-choice, drop-down list, and numeric scale) and also two open questions, which provide the respondents free space to give their opinion.

Because of time and in order to have a larger base of participants (among the population of speakers of the questionnaire's languages), the chosen sampling technique was Convenient Sampling (see Alvi, 2016). Both sports' fans and not fans were aimed, as there was an initial interest to get to know if there are differences between them. Of course, this is a limitation, so further research may aim other populations and use different sampling techniques.

Distribution of the survey was made online, mainly through social media, but also using e-mail and WhatsApp, to reach as many people as possible, both fans and not fans, and also both people who work in the sports industry and those who do not. All of these diverse participants provide a colourful picture, which further enriches the data analysis. Besides, in the second month of collection, two online platforms of survey exchange (in which people answer each other's questionnaires) were used: Survey Circle and SurveySwap.

Before distributing it, the questionnaire was validated with 12 volunteers in Brazil, who also received a second survey, in which they provided feedback, regarding possible improvements, length and clarity of the questionnaire. No significant changes were made after.

[13] The complete version of the questionnaire in English is available in the appendix section.

Answers were collected from December 1, 2021, until January 28, 2022. 528 responses were collected, which indicates a 75% participation rate among the 704 visualisations the survey had. The completion rate was high: 95,8%. Meaning that among the total number of responses, 506 completed the whole questionnaire. In the findings, only them will be taken into account (n=506).

41,50% of the participants were aged between 20-29, the biggest group. 19,76% were between 50 and 59 years old, 12,85% 40-49, and 11,07% 30-39. 8,70% of the sample were 19 or less, while 6,13% were 60 or more. 56,32% of participants were women, whereas 42,69% were men, and 0,99% (5 people) choose the option "other" for gender.

The goal for having a universal survey was reached: participants represented 51 countries. The majority, as expected, was Brazilian (45,06%). However, there were also meaningful groups, namely: British (12,36%), North American (10,84%), German (4,18%), Dutch (3,61%), and Indian (3,23%).

67,98% of respondents were sports' fans, while 32,02% identified themselves as not fans. The numbers are similar to their routines. 60,28% practice sports, whereas 39,72% do not. When it comes to their field of work, only 6,72% worked in the sports industry.

PART 3 – BETWEEN THE OLYMPICS AND THE SUPER LEAGUE: CASE STUDIES

CHAPTER 5 – THE OLYMPIC GAMES

5.1 – Introduction

The first case study of this thesis refers to the greatest sports event in the world: the Olympic Games. Oftentimes, we say that someone or something needs no introduction. Sometimes is true. Most times is not. However, this sentence is indeed very meaningful when it comes to the Olympics. I will not bore you with numbers, facts, and figures that translate how big of a spectacle they are. Or even the way they are culturally, politically, or financially relevant. That is all widely known across the world. The Olympic Games are the highest level of elite sport, a celebration of internationalism and a global phenomenon embedded in an important philosophy: Olympism.

As explained before in this thesis, only the Summer Olympics are refereed here. Furthermore, it is clear from what was explained previously, how the Games are preserved in a non-commercial and extremely purist, sometimes very moralistic, rhetoric. With its not-for-profit owner, the Olympics attempt to translate these tenets. Frequently, very positively, yet sometimes in unfair or hypocritical ways. Anyway, with this characteristic, the Games are placed on one side of the Sport's Coin; the one highlighted in this chapter.

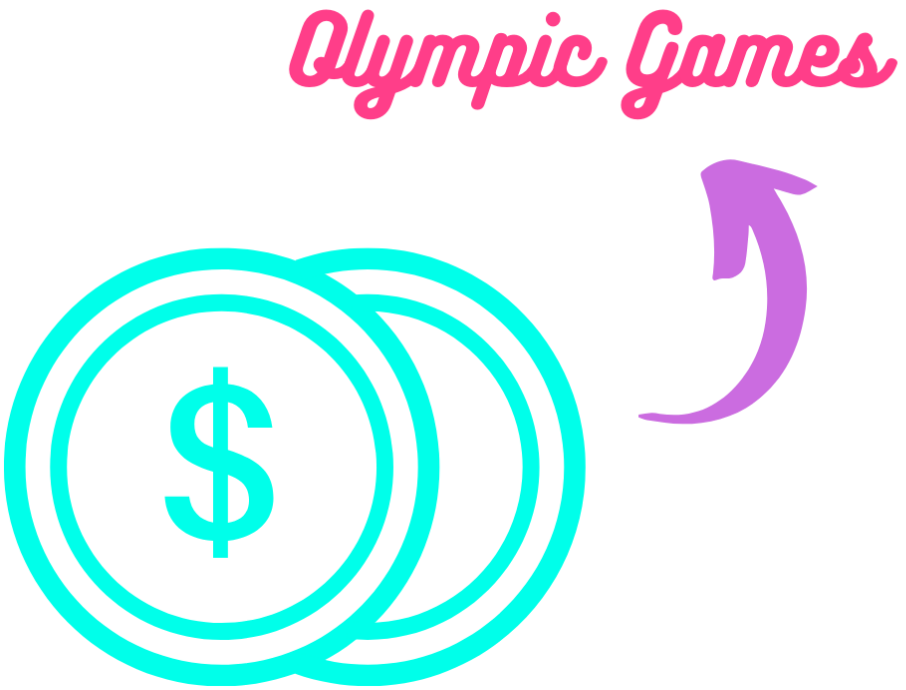


Figure 9: The Olympic side of the Sport's Coin: cultural and societal practice

At the end of the day, this thesis is about sports and money. Thinking of this topic, this chapter is going to be broken down into three parts. The first concerns the relationship between the IOC, its main event and eSports, insofar as they can bring new revenue streams to the organisation. However, values are placed as a barrier to that end. It is exactly this conflict, between the Games and eSports, between values and money, that the first part of the case study is going to focus on, particularly on the Olympic Virtual Series and how the media deals with eSports.

Next, the conversation shifts from the Olympics' consumers (fans), which would be the most important reason to include eSports at the Games, to their product, the stars of the show: athletes. The framework of this conversation is going to be the issue of prize money (or monetary rewards). The Games themselves do not pay them, however, several NOCs and governments do. The case study aims to answer the question of whether the IOC should itself pay medallists prize money.

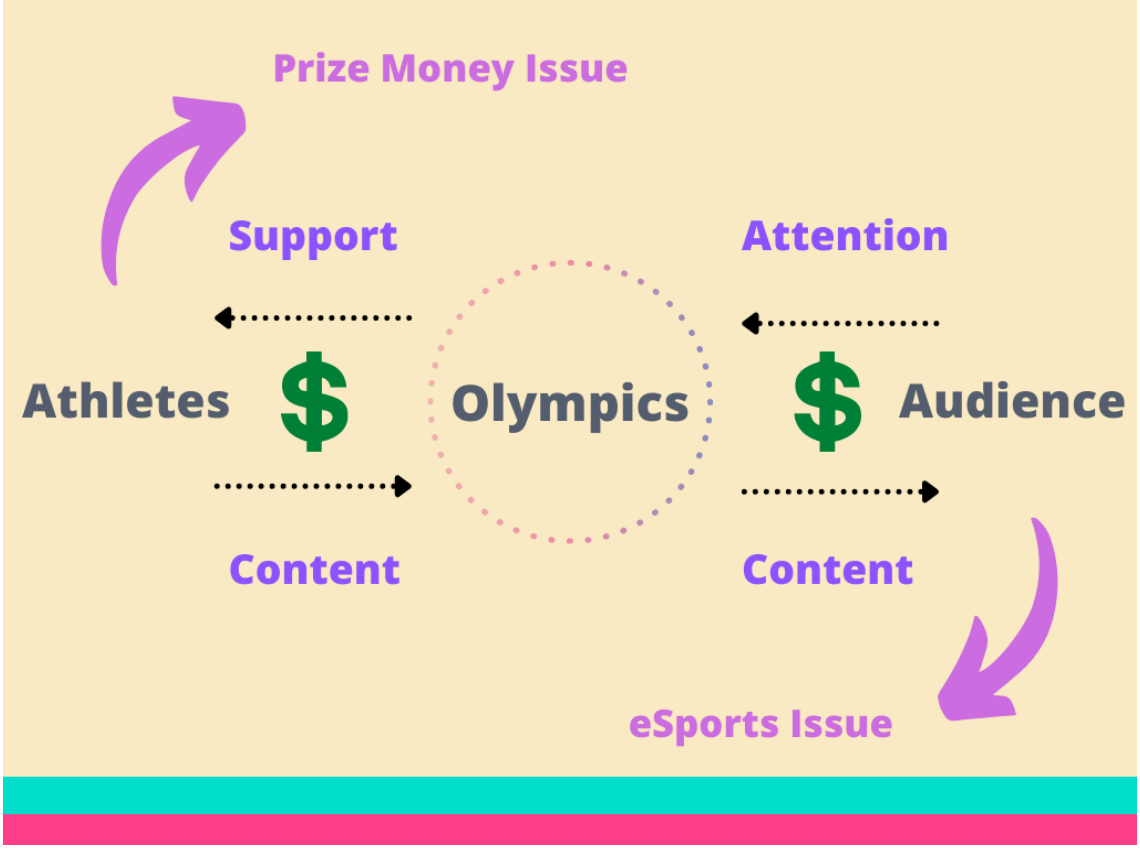


Figure 10: Chapter 5's framework

The final part of this chapter turns back the conversation to the consumers. More broadly, to the people who love sports, and even to the ones who are not fans, but are part of our society, with relevant opinions. It is going to be about what perceptions people

have towards the above-mentioned topics. Through a survey, 506 people expressed their points of view. The last section will present the findings.

5.2 – How to Cope with a Brand-New World? The possibility of Olympic eSports

I remember very well when my father went to the United States and brought to me and my sister an amazing gift. It was back at the beginning of this century. A Nintendo 64. We would stay up very late playing and having fun. Super Mario 64 was our favourite game. I cannot even imagine how many hours we spent playing that game. To this day, I think that this is the most incredible game ever. The years passed, and PlayStation came, along with a number of other brands. Each one is more technological, developed, entertaining and beautiful than the other. That affected a whole generation. Mine grew up with some options of games. The next? With a whole world of games and technologies; a whole culture that carries a lot of meaning nowadays.

As far as I know, back in the day, no one played Super Mario 64 professionally. That reality was far from being believable. If one would be a professional player late in life, one would play football. Nowadays, kids grow up in a different reality. They are embedded in this game culture, that we might not completely understand, like or even appreciate, but it is one that we cannot leave out of the equation. In 2022, one little boy or girl might not dream of conquering the fields of football, but instead, they may want to conquer the world through the screens of their favourites games. Or they may dream of both. The sports industry and the Olympic Games have to consider this.

This section will deal with the research question about whether eSports should be at the Olympics. It is not about if they are sports or not. For answering the relevant question, first, this thesis will present an overview of the eSports industry and how the IOC has been dealing with it. After that, the case study about eSports and the Olympics will tackle two themes: the OVS and the RHBs.

Of course, one thing is the philosophical, conceptual and practical acceptability of the entrance of eSports in the Olympics. Another situation is its viability and how everything would be done, taking into consideration the complex and unique stakeholders' system of eSports. As Goldman Sachs (2018) noted, "historically, eSports has been the Wild West of sports" (p. 11). This thesis concerns much more the first problem.

5.2.1 – eSports: an industry of its own and the IOC as a player

A phenomenon that no one in the sports industry may disregard. The eSports world has been growing and rising, conquering more popularity and attracting a high quantity of money. In order to understand what they may bring to the IOC's table, it is

important to get to know the size of this rising field. Newzoo's most recent report on the eSports industry, published in 2021, brings relevant indicators of the industry's size.

In 2021, the eSports awareness indicator demonstrated that almost 1.2 billion people in the universe already heard about eSports, while among them, 215 million were enthusiasts, that is, "people who watch professional esports content more than once a month" (Newzoo, 2021, p. 17). These numbers show how, even though a still recent phenomenon, eSports have spread around the world, and there is a big gap for potential growth between the ones who are only aware of eSports (but not enthusiasts), and even more among the billions who never heard of it. The Olympic Games may be a good platform for building awareness, which would further make teSports' inclusion on the programme very valuable for the industry. This is something that the IOC can take advantage of. Beyond its big size, as Goldman Sachs (2018) notes, the eSports audience has some other special features: it is young and global.

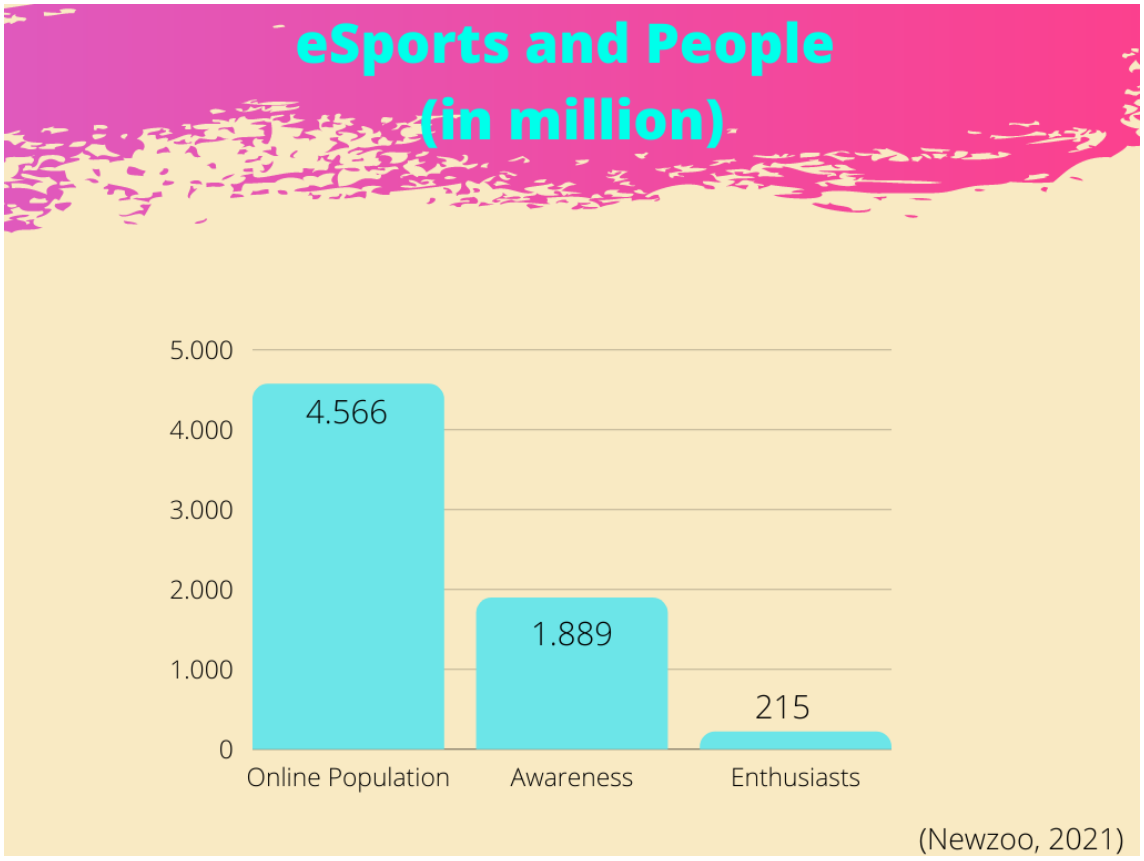


Chart 2: People's place in the eSports industry

Moreover, another advantage present in the eSports industry is its capacity to generate revenue. Newzoo's report expects this market to reach the billion dollars level on revenues already in 2021, and surpass the one and a half billion baselines in 2024. This would represent an 11,1% compound annual growth rate between 2019 and 2024.

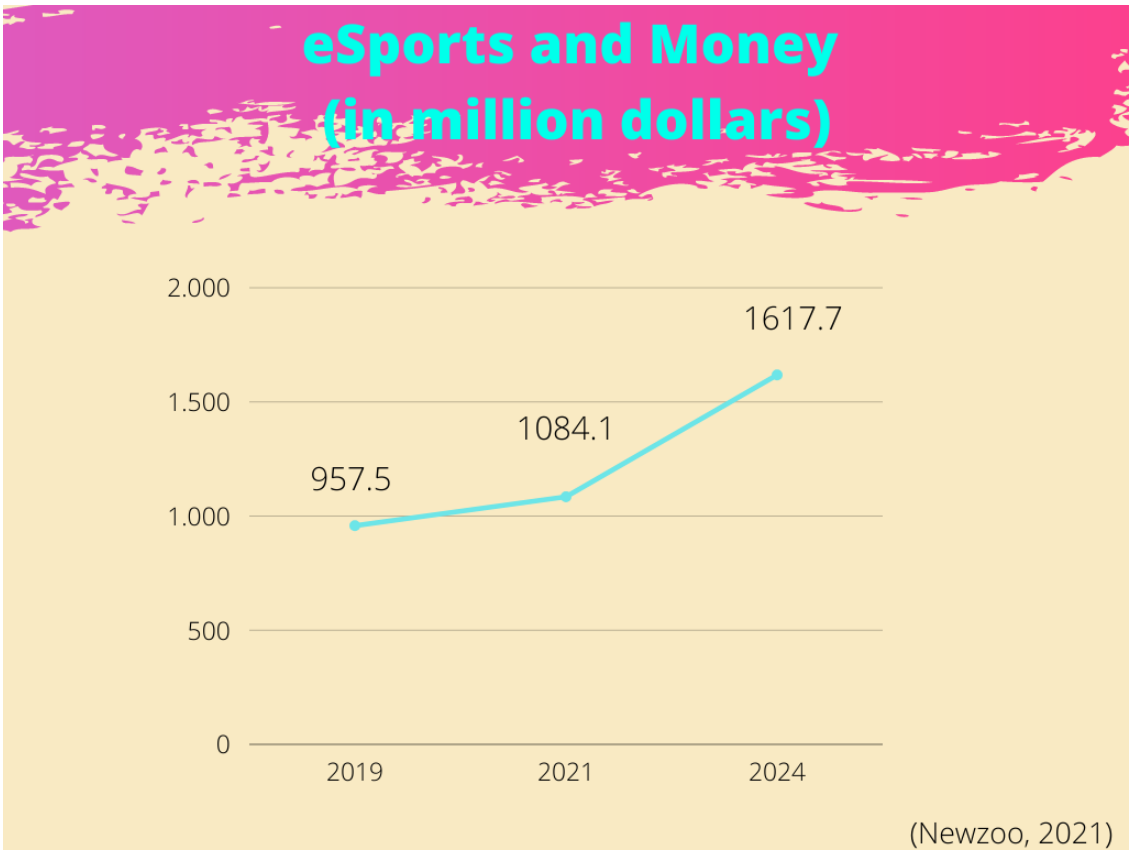


Chart 3: eSports revenue growth

Weel, but where does the money come from?

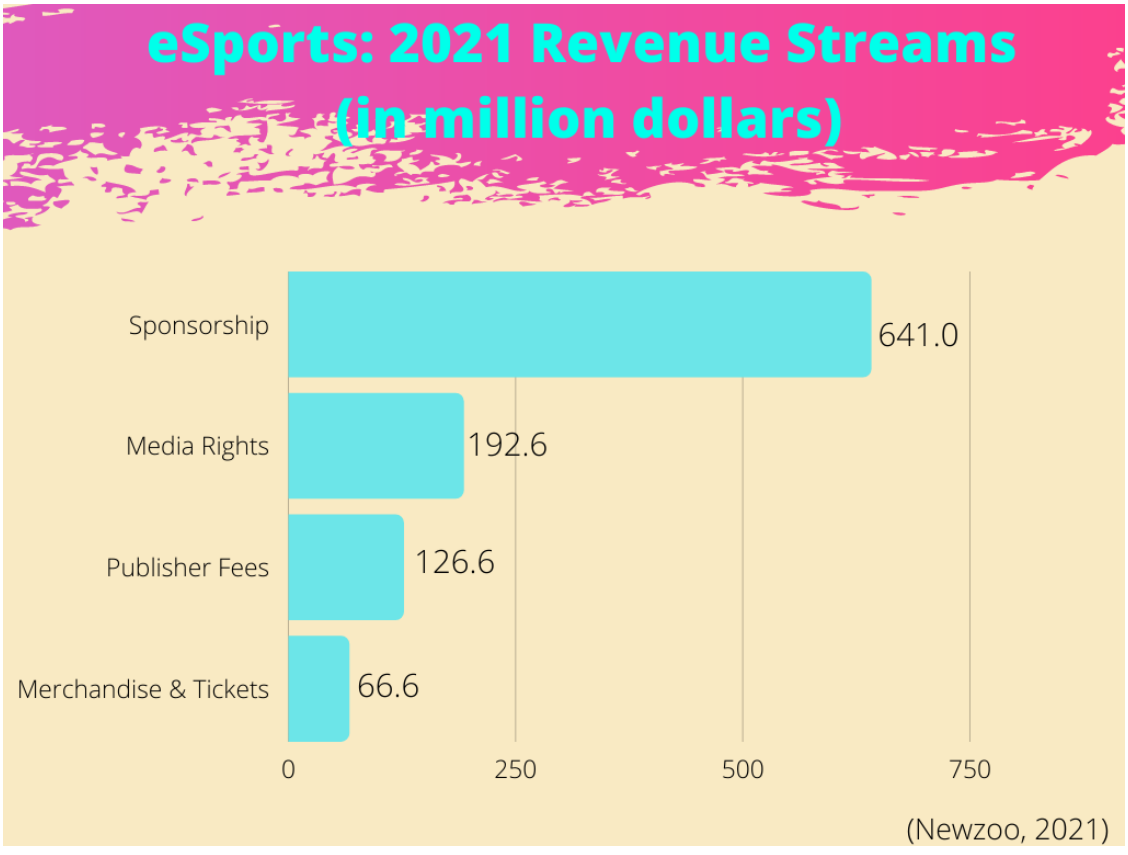


Chart 4: eSports revenue streams

As seen above, in the case of the IOC, the majority of revenue comes from TV Rights. Yet, the industries are different. In the case of eSports, sponsorships dominate. Newzoo describes that the sponsors accounted for 59% of the market in 2021, but notes that this will decrease with the growth of ticket sales. However, Goldman Sachs (2018) predicts that media rights will surpass the revenue from sponsorship, accounting for 40% of eSports total revenue streams by 2022.

The Covid-19 pandemic also brought opportunities in this field, in which physical contacts are not required and social distancing is extremely feasible. People can connect through the digital world and be safe from any risk of infection while being able to compete for both amateur and professional levels. Writing this thesis by the end of 2021 and beginning of 2022, as much as hopeful and faithful in a bright future, we simply do not know what is to come in the next years, decades.

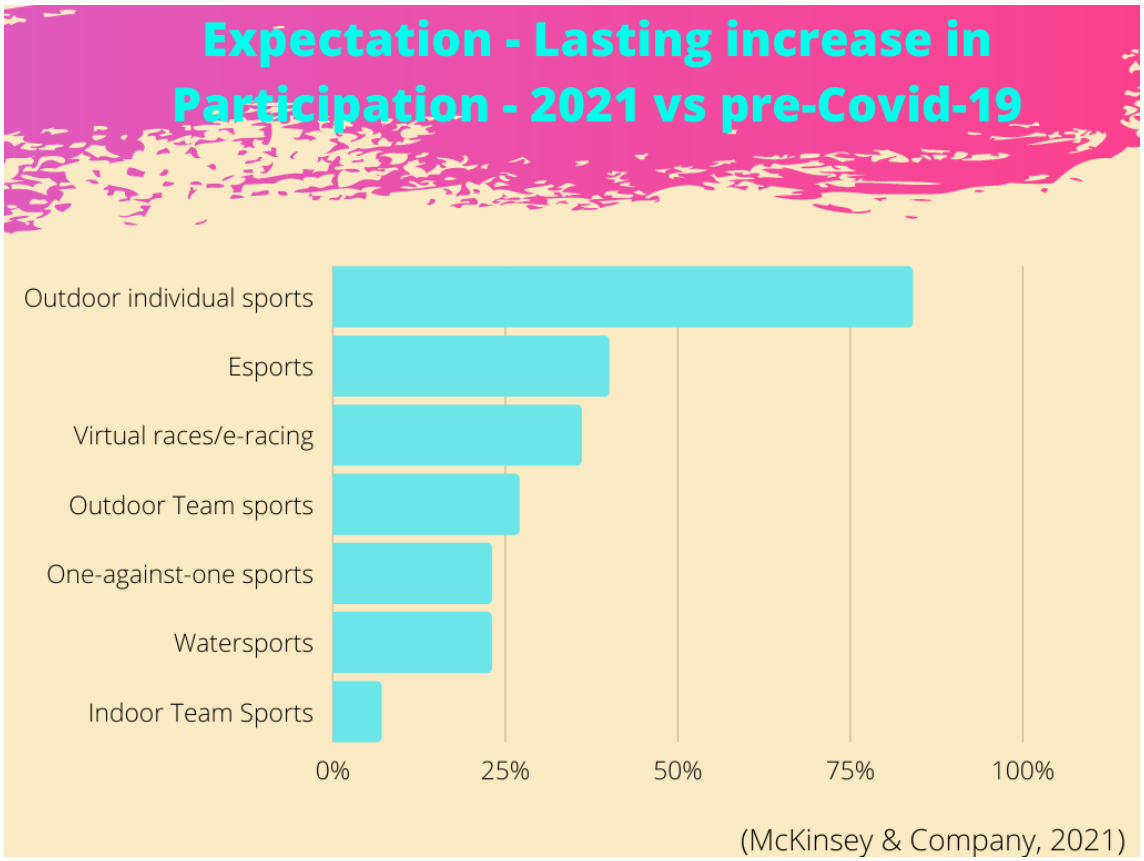


Chart 5: Expectations about a lasting increase in participation

The trend brought by the pandemic may last a long time. When asked about their expectations regarding a lasting increase in participation comparing 2021 with pre-pandemic times on different activities, a good part of sporting goods industry executives chose eSports and virtual sports (McKinsey & Company, 2021). Only considering

summer Olympic sports-related activities, they only placed lower than outdoor individual sports, like running and cycling.

All said and done, on the other side of this complicated equation, there is the IOC. Nowadays, when talking about the current state of affairs and the future of the Olympic Games, it is crucial to look at the Olympic Agenda, both the 40 recommendations made in 2014 and the other 15 made in 2021. These documents have been guiding President Thomas Bach as the leader of the Movement. The Agenda 2020, which provided several needed directions for the Olympic Movement, had as one of its pillars the issue of youth, not only as an audience of the Games, but also their health, life, and education. However, there is nothing about eSports or even virtual sports, something very dear to the youth. The Closing Report of this same document has no mentions either.

Nevertheless, seven years later, the Olympic Agenda 2020+5 was released and the issue of eSports gained an entire recommendation (number 9), which says "encourage the development of virtual sports and further engage with video gaming communities" (IOC, 2021a, p. 21). Before explaining it, to understand briefly how the IOC reached this proposal, it is important to contextualize the previous discussion.

Back in 2017, the IOC tackled the issue of eSports in the sixth Olympic Summit, where it recognised their youth appeal and potential as a platform for the Movement. Most importantly, the Summit Communique[14] brought a sentence that carried a lot of meaning: "competitive 'eSports' could be considered as a sporting activity, and the players involved prepare and train with an intensity which may be comparable to athletes in traditional sports". However, in the same Summit, it was agreed that eSports status as sports was subject to the content of the games, which should "not infringe on the Olympic values".

Even though this thesis is not interested in the sports/not sports debate, it is remarkable how the theme of Olympic values was put as central, not to its inclusion on the Olympics, but its recognition as a sport. This put the conversation about eSports on more subjective terms. Beyond that, on more practical grounds, the same document asked for the institutionalisation of eSports in order to be recognised.

One year later, the Olympic Summit once again tackled the same issue. This time it stepped on the breaks. The Communique[15] released after the encounter differentiates competitive from leisure gaming, putting on hold its status as a sport. This Summit

[14] See IOC (2017).
[15] See IOC (2018).

continued to recognize eSports importance and its youth appeal, but further detailed some of its problems: incompatibility of games with Olympic values, and its commercial nature. For the Summit, "the sports movement is values-based". Here it is very clear something that has been appearing often during this thesis: the opposition between values and money (commercialism), and sport as related to the former. The sports movement may be values-based but it is also commercially driven. Not recognizing this is either naïve or just marketing rhetoric.

Furthermore, the Summit called premature the conversation about eSports inclusion in the Olympics. In this Communique is also clear how the participants dealt with eSports within the framework of traditional sports, asking the IFs to have control over the e-games and further trying to apply to them the classical imperious/hierarchical structure.

In the 2019 Summit, eSports with sporting content were more welcomed. A year later, once again eSports were on the Summit's agenda, which this time brought the differentiation between virtual sports (both physical virtual sports, like cycling, and non-physical eSports, like football) from the other games, both competitive and casual. The Summit called for IFs to embrace the former. As a matter of fact, the IOC itself embraced physical virtual sports in 2021.

Having understood this distinction highlighted by the 2020 Summit, here we reach the Olympic Agenda 2020+5, mentioned above. Recommendation number 9 opens the door of the Olympics to what the IOC calls the physical virtual sports in the Programme, through the IFs of the existing traditional sport. For the other kind of games, the IOC, in the context of this recommendation, only seek to engage with the communities to promote physical activity, and also provide them with tools to support their health. While very kind, this creates a duality, in which on one hand the IOC recognizes that may include in the Olympics physical virtual sports, yet it extends these proposals to the whole gaming community. It is a paradox created that stands in the medium of the path, not going one way or another. If the IOC wishes to help the eSports community (non-physical), it should also take them seriously enough to include them, somehow, in the Olympic Movement.

As far as 2021, it is clear that the IOC, when dealing with its main event, is flexible towards virtual sports, however, it does not seem to close the door to eSports. Right now, we shall understand a little more the issue of virtual competition with sports content, before digging into non-physical, non-sporting eSports, which are, for the IOC, incompatible with Olympic values.

5.2.2 – Virtual Series: the first step towards new days?

In April 2021, the IOC announced a new event that seems to show the first more practical and solid step towards a new era: the Olympic Virtual Series. From May to June, several virtual events across five sports warmed up the climate for the Tokyo Olympics. This action reflected what was previously stipulated on Agenda 2020+5, excluding games with non-sporting content, but including publishers and non-physical activities as well. As an experiment, it was a good test in which the IOC used the already existing traditional stakeholders' system of sport with the commercial partners who own the games. Baseball, Cycling, Motorsports, Rowing, and Sailing were part of the programme.

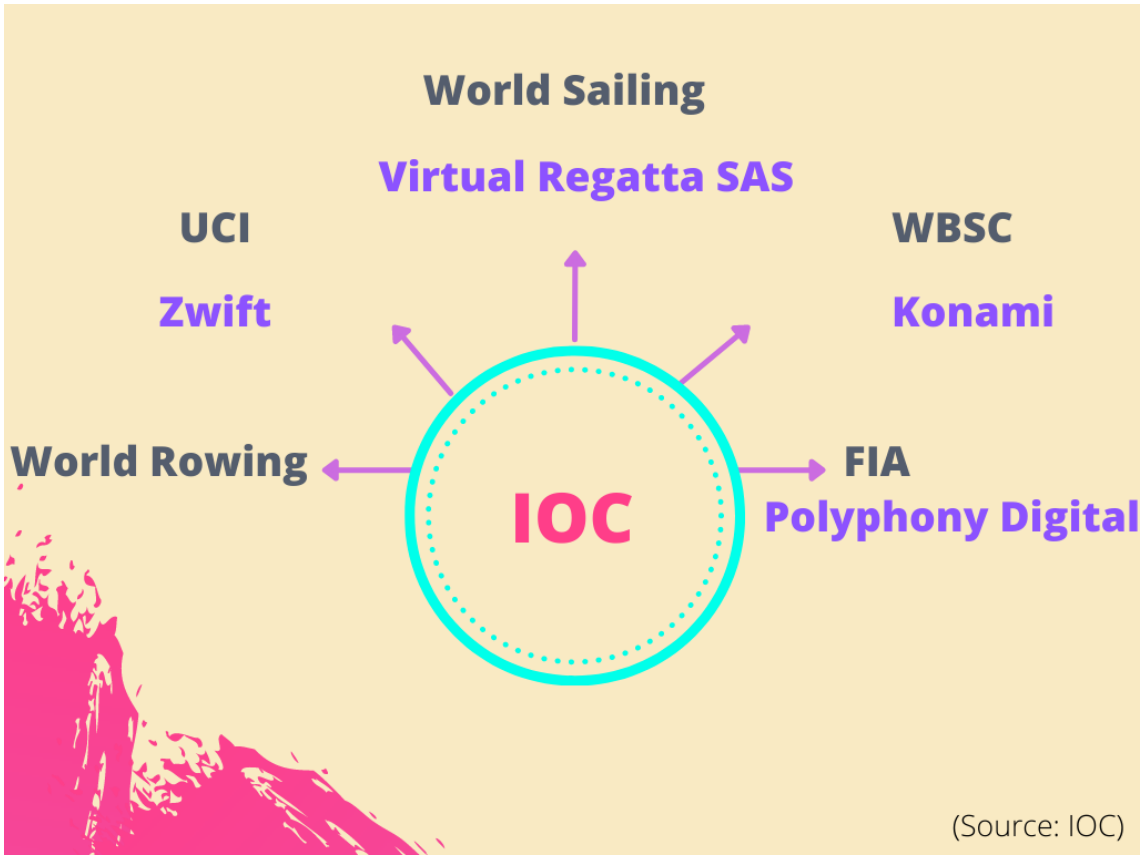


Figure 11: Overview of the OVS' partners

That is, as explained above, everything was mediated by the traditional sports IFs, namely: *Fédération Internationale de l'Automobile* (FIA), *Union Cycliste Internationale* (UCI), World Baseball Softball Confederation (WBSC), World Rowing, and World Sailing. Almost all of them have events at the Summer Olympic Games, except for FIA. All games have sports content. It is very important to address that the OVS was aiming towards mass participation, rather than a professional competition between gamers. One of the goals was to reach new audiences, promoting participation, especially among the

youth. According to the IOC, other IFs, including FIFA and the *Fédération Internationale de Basketball* (FIBA) already demonstrated interest in participating in the next editions.

A first step? Yes! But, a small one and, most importantly, shy in terms of eSports. The OVS was created very distinctly from the major eSports competitions. That can be explained in three levels: content, organisation and professionalisation. While the OVS only had games with sports content, the biggest eSports competitions, most watched[16] and with the highest prize money[17] have nothing to do with sports. It is enough to have a glimpse at League of Legends (LoL), Free Fire, PUBG, Dota 2, and Fortnite to understand this. They are allegedly against Olympic values, a conversation for Chapter 8.

Figure 12: eSports vs OVS

For now, as a consequence of the content aspect, another important difference between the OVS and the most important eSports competitions are the stakeholders. With the sports content, the Series was based on cooperation with traditional IFs and the publishers. The world of eSports has a complicated multiple stakeholders' systems, in which publishers may organise their own tournaments, or even pay fees to other organisers (Newzoo, 2021). Lastly, it is important to note that, whereas the biggest

[16] By 2021, the 10 most watched eSports events did not have a traditional sporting content (Sandoval, 2021).
[17] Also among the top 10 prize poll events by September 2021, none had sporting content (Gough, 2021).

eSports competitions have highly professionalised gamers, the OVS was much more about mass participation.

Each sport in the OVS had a different format. Only two of them were actually based on video games. The baseball discipline had a more competitive/professional aura, as it featured a qualification and a final with the best players together in Japan. Similarly, motorsports also had this pathway, culminating in a final event with the best from each country, in a more Olympic-like system.

On rowing, people could use their rowing machines to participate and each week there would be a new workout for people to take part in the community. The event would also contemplate an 11 thousand dollars donation to help young refugees. Unlike the others, the rowing competition did not have a company behind it, it was instead an open format. Participants would upload their workouts in an app.

The sailing part of the Series brought professional athletes to the virtual event, having two different modes of play, one being a race from Rio de Janeiro two Tokyo. To play, people had to sign up for the Virtual Regatta platform. The cycling series had several different events, with social interaction and community ties being highlighted, along with the companionship of Olympians cyclists in a special race. Everything through Zwift, a paid service that offered a free trial for the OVS period, which also of course functioned as a marketing tool for the company.

Above, we have seen how the seventh Olympic Summit, when the IOC pushed back the previous advancement on the issue of eSports, defined the industry as commercially driven, putting it in opposition to the values-based sports movement. Less than three years later, the IOC itself created and promoted a series of events in which an app like Zwift much probably gained new subscribers and was able to showcase its brand to the participants; anyone who wished to play in the motorsports ought to have access to a PlayStation and the Gran Turismo game. Companies like Zwift and Sony may have access to great benefits through the OVS, and people who wished to participate would encounter this commercial landscape. No problem about it. However, practice what you preach. It is about time for the IOC to soften this phoney anti-commercialism rhetoric.

In practical terms, the OVS was only a tiny glimpse of what the Olympics may achieve by engaging with non-physical digital games. Using Google Trends, it is possible to compare the search interest of the global audience towards the Olympic Virtual Series with other types of eSports events. Here, it is compared with a single eSports tournament: the League of Legends World Championship

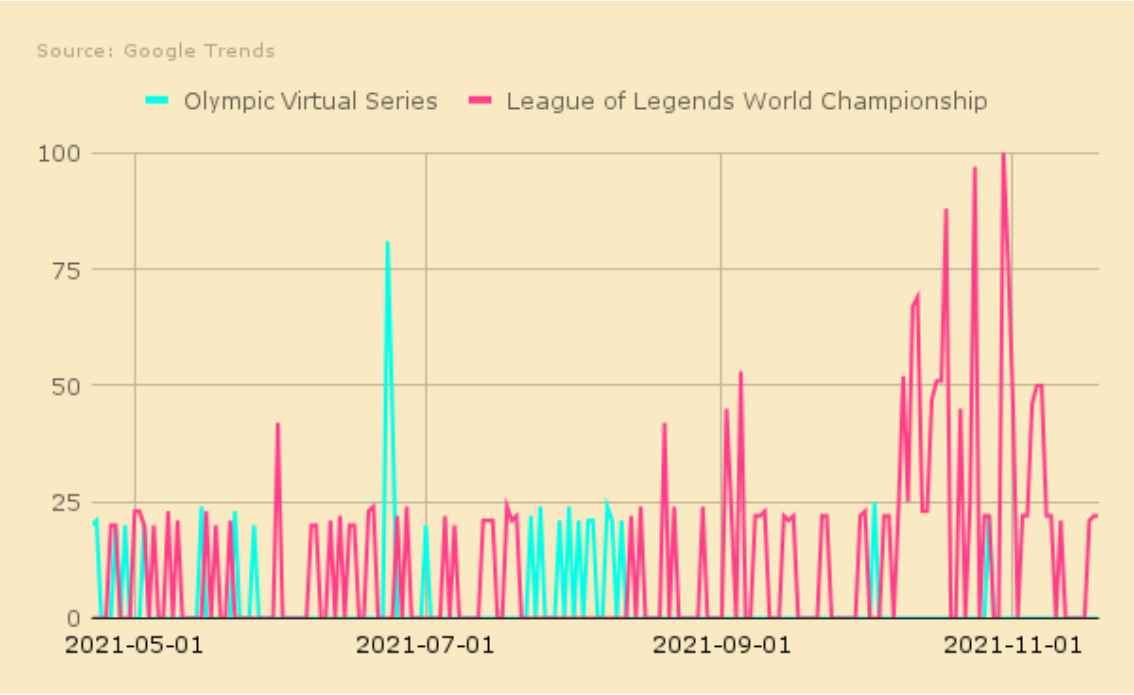


Chart 6: OVS vs LoL World Championship: search interest

The above chart shows the search interest of the two terms between April 22, when the OVS was announced, to November 11. As Google explains, 100 is the peak of popularity and 50 the half. Just a look at the image, it is clear that there is much more potential in the virtual world to utilised by the Olympic Movement. There is a whole world out there for the IOC to explore. Of course, LoL is probably the type of game considered not to be in pace with the Olympic values; yet real guns in the shooting competition at the Olympics are no problem. The map below also shows how the LoL World Championship attracted more interest across the world, while the OVS was only more searched in France, India, and Japan, the host of the 2020 Games.

Picture 3: Worldwide search interest - OVS vs LoL (Source: Google Trends)

By the end of 2021, in the 10th Olympic Summit, the IOC revealed that the OVS had almost 250 thousand participants and more than two million entries. The same document also points out the organisation's intention to keep promoting the Series annually. Therefore, as a preparation activity for Tokyo 2020 to unite people in the middle of a pandemic through sport, the OVS was a great project. Keep doing it seems a good idea. Nonetheless, it barely touched the surface of what can be achieved in a deeper relationship with the eSports digital world. To take advantage of a new universe that can benefit the Movement, the IOC has to further embrace eSports, not only virtual non-professional sports. Would there be a philosophical issue here? Are they incompatible? Now, we shall see how the main financiers of the Olympic Movement approach eSports.

5.2.3 – The Ones who Own the Money: RHBs and eSports

As seen in the introduction of the present thesis, the broadcasters of the Olympics represent the vast majority of the IOC's revenue. As such, it is fundamental to understand how they relate to eSports, insofar as this industry also provides content with mediatic usages.

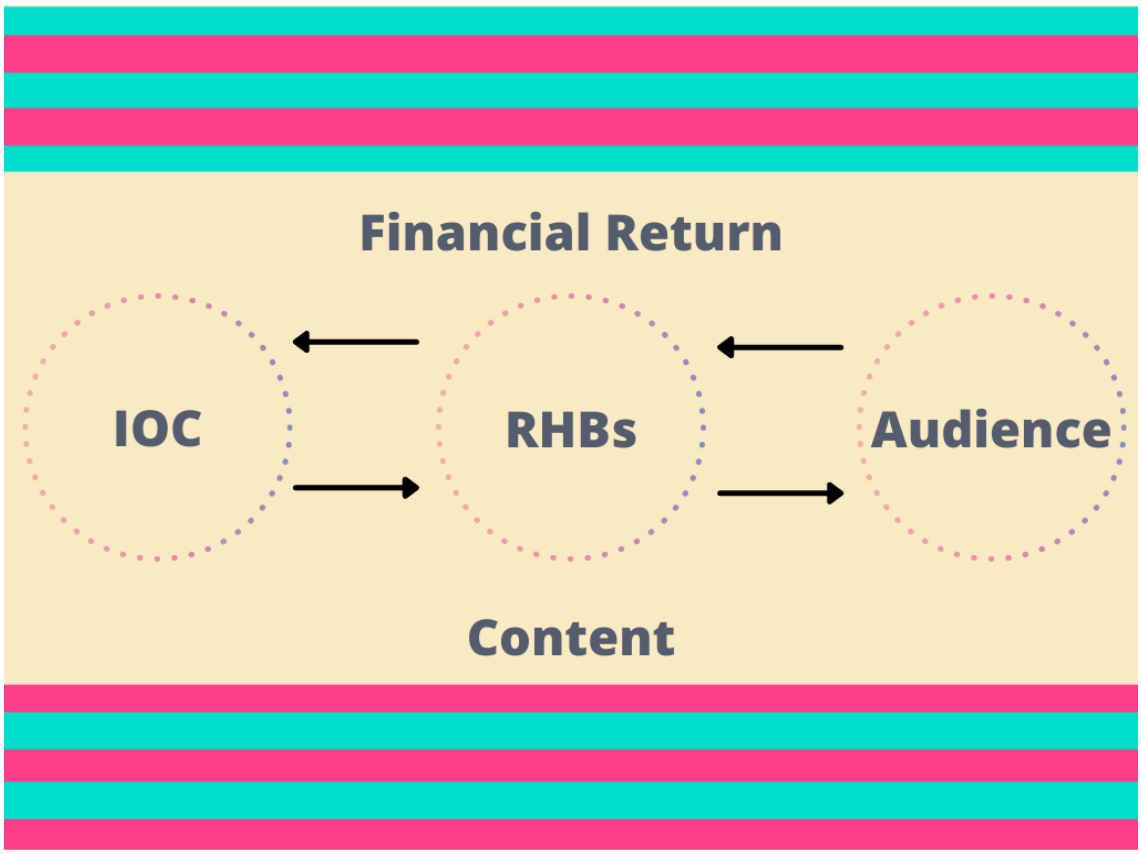
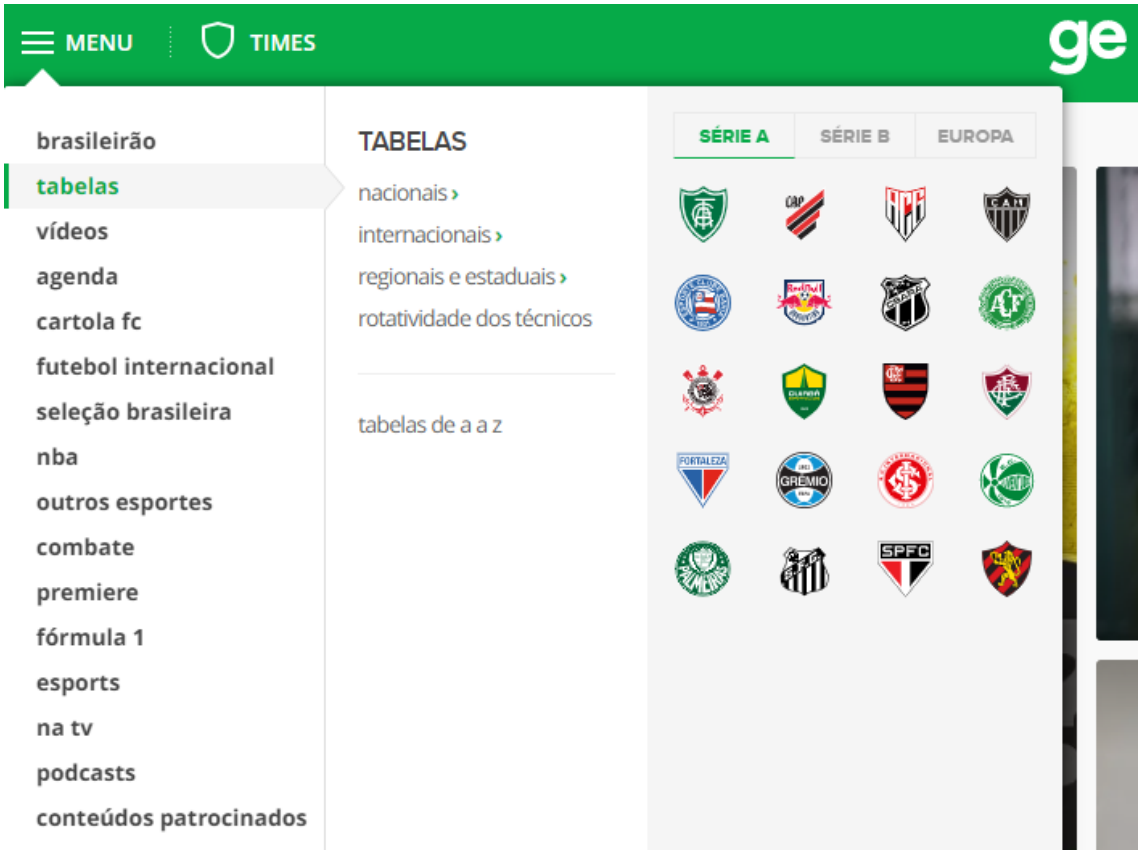


Figure 13: From IOC to the audience - content/financial relationship

Having in mind that the fans (consumers) of the Olympics are fundamental for its financial health, as well as the audience is pivotal for media companies, it is interesting

to note how RHBs deal with eSports. Since most of them are for-profit private companies that need money: the audience's interests and wishes dictate this relationship. For the Olympics what people want to watch is equally fundamental.

For this study, it was chosen one of the main IOC's partners: *Grupo Globo*. The Brazilian main media company has an agreement for all Olympics' broadcast rights until 2032, including subscription TV and internet. When it comes exclusively to sports, the most important Globo's assets are the TV channel *SporTV* and the website *ge*, both of which provide solely sports content. Throughout the next paragraphs, we will see not only how Globo treats eSports as a sport but also dedicates an important space for them.



Picture 4: ge's main page and menu (Source: ge.globo.com)

Starting with the website of the company dedicated to sporting news: ge. Right at the main page menu is possible to regard the importance of eSports. The first position of the menu belongs to the Brazilian most important championship of the most beloved sport: football. After that, the next different sport to be a feature in the menu is basketball, with the NBA. Right below it, there are "other sports", followed by combat sports, Formula 1, and finally the eSports section. Two facts deserve highlighting here. First, as eSports have their own section on Globo's sports webpage next to other traditional sports, it shows that the company treats them as a sport. However, it is not only that. The vast

majority of sports are included in the "other sports" section, with a few sports having their own space broken down on the main menu; eSports are one of them.

Moving into the eSports section, I carried out a content analysis of one whole week of news. The main goal was to identify the types of games that were more covered, having in mind the previous distinction made by the IOC between virtual sports and other games, among which there are several which would not be compatible with Olympic values. In 2018, President Bach exemplified this through the "killer games", which have violent content[18]: "If you have egames where it's about killing somebody, this cannot be brought into line with our Olympic values".

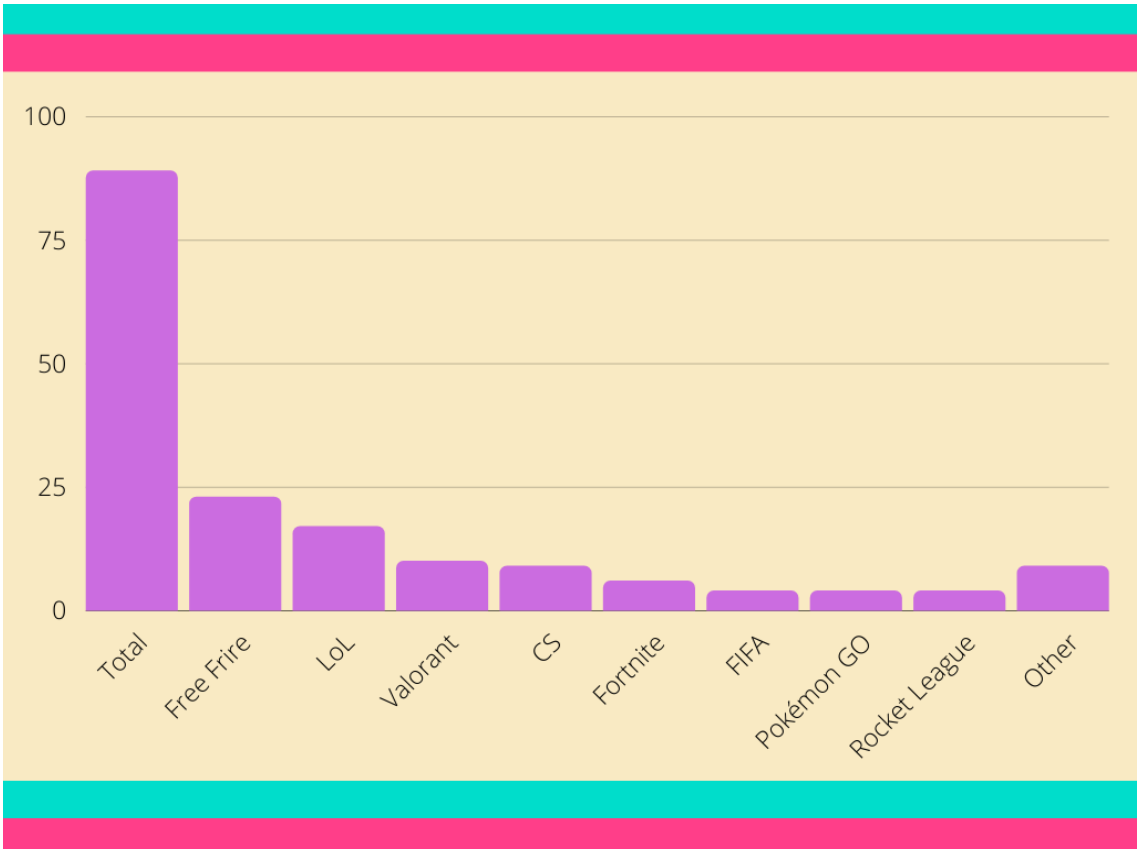


Chart 7: ge' coverage of eSports – articles' topics

Between November 18 and 24, the ge eSports section published 89 news articles. Among them, only four were general and did not concern a particular game. All the other 85 were about a particular title; the champions (with ten or more articles) were Free Fire (23), LoL (17), and Valorant (10). They were followed by Counter-Strike (9) and Fortnite (6). All of them have an action content, which may involve guns, fights, battles, and

[18] Declaration given to the AP News at the Asian Games (Wade, 2018), which featured eSports.

shooting (all fake and digital, of course), something allegedly incompatible with Olympic Values.

When it comes to virtual sports, only FIFA (4) and Pro Evolution Soccer (1) were news' topics. Beyond them, seven games[19] were covered as well, of which six were also action-themed. With that, more than 83% of the articles that dealt with a specific game were talking about action titles, with content that, presumably, would not be allowed at the Olympics. Only a little less than 6% were virtual sports, the type of game with which the IOC has worked in the OVS.

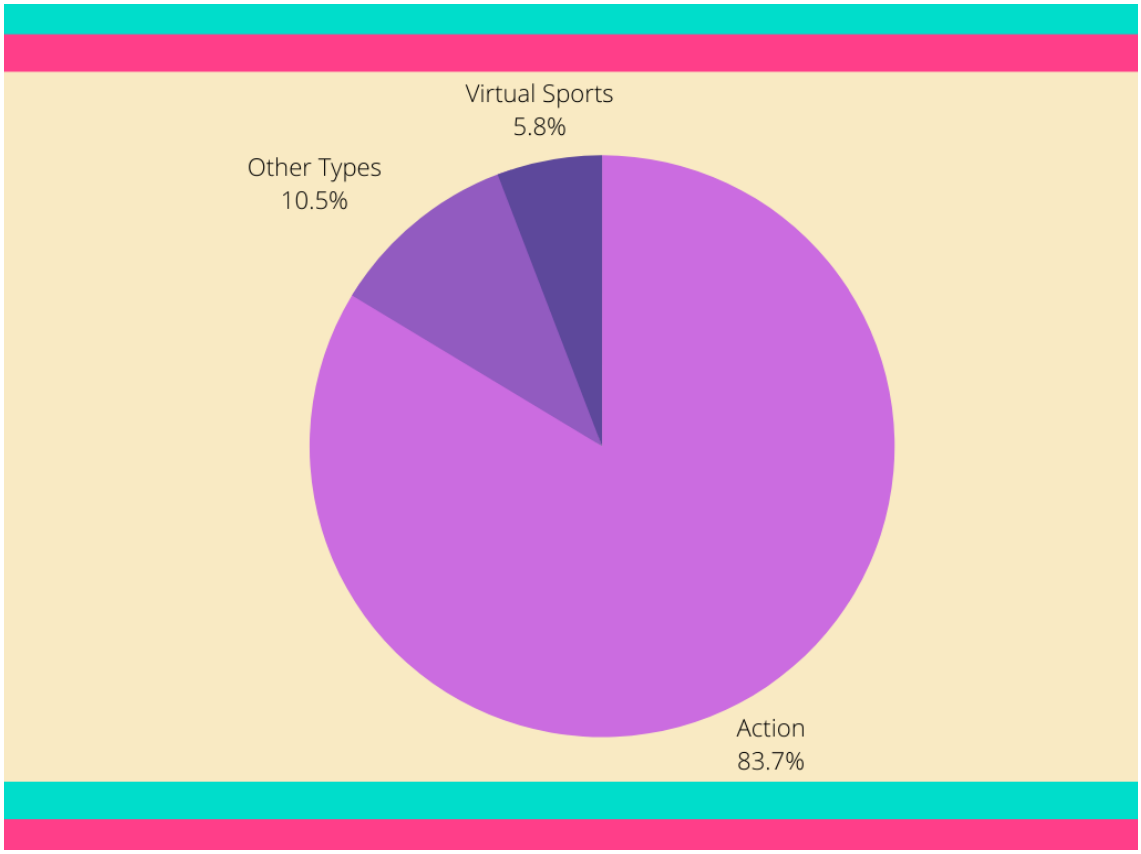


Chart 8: ge' coverage of eSports – articles' types of games

The same very intense level of coverage can be noted on Globo's sports-dedicated subscription TV channel, SporTV (it possesses three different channels), which also broadcasts the Olympic Games in Brazil.

Occasionally, some moments in history translate a whole transformation; people usually call them a "sign of the times". The eSports had that magic instant on Brazilian television back in 2017. A moment that represents very well their growing relevance, as well as the rising space they are conquering in the sports media. In his TV show, Galvão

[19] Call of Duty, Dota 2, MultiVersus, PUBG, Rainbow 6, Street Fighter, and Magic: the Gathering.

Bueno, the most notorious and successful sportscaster in the country, famous for giving life to the major achievements of the beloved football national team, also lend his remarkable voice to eSports. He made the play-by-play reporting of a LoL excerpt of a match.

The channel has been broadcasting many major eSports events across different games. The September schedule, for instance, brought the Counter-Strike (CS) Brazilian Circuit and the ESL Pro League, which also features CS[20]. SporTV also broadcasted the Brazilian Free Fire League and the Brazilian LoL Championship. These reinforce the importance of action games. Moreover, on the field of virtual sports, the channel broadcasted, for example, the eGol Open, which was a PES tournament (football) and contemplated a number of the most important Brazilian football clubs.

Reinforcing the investments of SporTV in eSports is the fact that its first-ever reality show focused exactly on electronic games. In *Looking for a Caster*, which aired in 2019, sportscasters competed for prize money and the chance to be part of the Rainbow Six Siege Brazilian Championship final broadcast.

More than providing the audience with eSports content through television or website, *Grupo Globo* also made some important moves regarding games. It invested in the industry through two other new business: Player1 Gaming Group, which possess competitions and content making as part of its portfolio, and LnK Gaming (in partnership with DC Set Group), which is behind some Brazilian eSports leagues, such as the Free Fire and CS championships.

On TV, on the internet, or in businesses that organise competitions, *Grupo Globo*'s, the Brazilian major media group and an important IOC partner, investments in eSports may take many forms, however, all of them seem to point to a unique meaning: eSports as a valuable asset. Treated as a sport by one of the most important RHB, they should not be taken for granted by the Olympics. It translates how media groups, which are the basis of IOC's revenues, may regard this new and relevant phenomenon. One that has its eyes wide open may easily interpret the message.

[20] It should not be confused with the European Super League.

5.3 – Professionals and their Rights: the case of athletes' prize money

Imagine one thing. You do something that you love. More than that, you choose this as a profession. You will spend years of your life working towards improvement; learning and evolving to get better results and achieve success. In your profession, there is one accomplishment and dream that all of your colleagues around the around share. You work hard, sacrifice a lot… dedicate hours, weeks, and years to get it. You invest money. When you finally turn the dream into reality, you do not receive a monetary reward. In most fields, this would set up a clear injustice and abuse. However, that is what happens at the Olympic Games. Actually, for many people and even Olympians, this might seem noble and honourable. Nevertheless, it is important to make it crystal clear that this is not about the will of some. This is about what is right. This is about equality and respect, as it is going to be evidenced further.

This case study about prize money and the Olympics will work with data analysis in order to identify what are the consequences of the non-existence of monetary rewards. The goal is to dig deep into this subject, investigating its different aspects. To do that, before entering the specific issue of the Olympic Games, the next section will tackle the topic of prize money at other competitions. Put differently, it is essential to recognize that the Olympics are part of a bigger picture: the sports world, in which the issue of prize money may take very contrasting shapes depending on the sport. Therefore, a careful analysis of monetary rewards in the context of each Summer Olympic Sport[21] will be carried out to capture how each discipline recompenses its winners.

Afterwards, this section will bring an analysis of how NOCs deal with this issue since many of them pay prize money to their Olympians. Consequently, a study about values was carried out, in the context of the last Olympic Games, Tokyo 2020. As is going to be evidenced further, governments also play a role in this equation. A comparison between these two studies will be of great value to identify the current picture, spot potential inequalities, problems, and serve as a basis for possible solutions.

5.3.1 – How Big of a Piece of Pie? Athletes, prize money, IFs and the Olympic sports

For many, it might be taken as given… when they watch the most brilliant athletes in the world, competing at World Championships, surpassing what was thought as limits to humankind… running faster, jumping higher, doing more somersaults, every movement more accurate and precise than the other… "Damn, they are making some

[21] The studies will take into account the Tokyo 2020 programme.

money out of it", some may think. Unfortunately, often that is not the case. I am not even talking about lower or higher quantities of money. Sometimes, there is simply no money. That is right; many World Championships do not pay a single dollar to their medallists, let alone to other participants.

Of course, as more popular a given sport is, the more money it has in its internal industry[22]. In other words, there is much more money floating in the football ocean than in the weightlifting lake. Accordingly, prize money (salaries) in football are higher. Still, it is remarkable to note how in some sports, monetary rewards are absent. After all, athletes are IFs' and leagues' essential assets, the ones responsible for the content sold to fans. Without them, there is nothing. In sports' pie, there are many slices, some bigger, some smaller… what is athletes' piece of pie size? What should it be? Should there even be any? These are questions that deserve our attention in the present chapter.

Before going over the data, it is important to describe the method, problems, and needed precautions to produce valid results. It is essential to work with comparable data. When it comes to prize money, this might be tricky, insofar as different people may be awarded. That is, in team competitions, the real size of the award depends on the team, which can be a double, a 23-players football roster, or many other configurations. Even in individual competitions, where there is always only one recipient of the prize, there might be confusion, since many tournaments may reward the three best, as others may distribute money to all participants.

Besides, since the numbers will be further compared with the Olympic Games, it is important to make sure that the competitions analysed match, at least to some extent, the calibre of the Olympics. Therefore, to ensure comparability of the data among themselves and also with the ones of the next section, some criteria were established:

- All sports that were part of Tokyo 2020 were analysed;
- Two different studies: one for individual, and the other for team sports;
- Individual sports may have team events (like in tennis, with singles and doubles). In this case, only the individual discipline was analysed;
- One event was chosen per discipline, preferably the World Championship. However, some do not offer prize money. Therefore, the event should be an elite,

[22] As approached back in the thesis' introduction. The sports events receive most of their revenue from sponsors and broadcast rights, both of which are intrinsically linked to the number of fans. An event that 1 million people want to watch is way more valuable than one which will only be watched by 1 thousand.

recent and international one, beyond distributing prize money and bringing together the same (partially) participants of the Olympics;

- Some events are part of a series. That is, they have multiple stages. They are accepted, as long as the prize money is won in the final. In other words, the study does not work with "overall winners". The money has to be won in one competition, whether that is a unique event or a final stage. Bonuses are not counted as well;
- Because of the pandemic, many events did not take place and the sports international calendar was heavily impacted. Consequently, the study aims to events that are planned to take place in 2022 or did take place from 2018 to 2021;
- The majority of tournaments only rewards the top places. If the event did not have a bronze medal contest, it was taken into consideration the prize money of the semi-finalists;
- The prizes were distributed in dollars, euros, and Swiss francs. In this context, all values were standardised to USD through the InforEuro official currency converter with the rate of January 2022;
- For the teams' study: when the sport has doubles and teams (like artistic swimming), the latter is analysed; sometimes there are prizes for winning matches, but only the prize for the final achievement is considered here; the number of players considered recipients of the money is the one of the final match (if applicable), even if the whole delegation is bigger;

The collection of data was first made through research on official documents and the press. Although much information was not found. Hence, several contacts were made with SOs, especially IFs, through e-mail, to clarify this issue. Most of them answered the requests for information for which I thank them. Unfortunately, in a few cases, I did not find the relevant information and did not manage to make fruitful contacts with the SOs.

5.3.1.1 – The Highs and Lows of a Complex World: individual sports

Firs stop: individual sports. The inequality is striking. It is not surprising, yet it is remarkable how great achievements in different sports are rewarded in contrasting ways. Well, that is, if rewards exist.

Sport	Individual Events – Tokyo 2020	Event	Prize Money (in USD)		
			1st	2nd	3rd
Archery	Men/Women	Hyundai Archery World Cup Final – 20221	26.248	13.124	6.562
Artistic Gymnastics	Men/Women: Apparatus	FIG Apparatus World Cup Series – 2022/24	13.124	10.936	8.749
	Men/Women: All-Around	FIG All-Around World Cup Series – 2022/24	1.093	820	546
Athletics	Men/Women: Marathon	New York City Marathon – 2021	100.000	60.000	40.000
	Men/Women: Race Walking	IAAF World Race Walking Team Championships – 2018	30.000	15.000	10.000
	Men/Women: Track & Field	Wanda Diamond League Finals[23] – 2021	30.000	12.000	7.000
Badminton	Men/Women	HSBC BWF World Tour Finals – 2021	120.000	60.000	30.000
Boxing[24]	Men	AIBA World Boxing Championships – 2021	100.000	50.000	25.000
	Women	AIBA Women's World Boxing Championships[25] – 2022	100.000	50.000	25.000
Cycling BMX Freestyle	Men/Women	UCI Urban Cycling World Championships – 2021	9.067	4.533	2.266
Cycling BMX Racing	Men/Women	UCI BMX World Championships – 2021	9.067	4.533	2.266
Cycling Mountain Bike	Men/Women	UCI Mountain Bike World Championships – 2021	9.067	4.533	2.266
Cycling Road	Men/Women	UCI Road World Championships[26] – 2021	9.067	4.533	2.266

[23] The Diamond League (DL) does not contemplate combined (heptathlon and decathlon) and hammer throw events. Nonetheless, since they are an extremely relevant track and field circuit, this thesis will extend the DL prize money to all athletics events, ruling out road events.

[24] Of course, professional boxing has very high prize money, but this thesis consider AIBA's Olympic boxing competitions, since both the format and participants are different.

[25] Even though it is schedule to happen in 2022, it was already announced that the women's championship will offer the same amount of money in prizes as the men's tournament (see The Times of India, October 2, 2021).

[26] Naturally, there are much more valuable prize money in important Tours, however the World Championships is taken into consideration because is an one-day road race similar to the Olympic event, and it has the same prize money of other cycling disciplines.

Cycling Track	Men/Women	UCI Track Cycling World Championships – 2021	9.067	4.533	2.266
Diving	Men/Women	FINA World Aquatics Championships – 2019	9.067	4.533	2.266
Equestrian	Dressage	FEI World Equestrian Games – 2018	38.000	23.500	15.000
	Eventing		54.000	30.000	22.000
	Jumping		94.660	75.760	56.860
Fencing[27]	Men/Women: Épée	Fencing Grand Prix Qatar – 2022	5.000	3.000	1.500
	Men/Women: Foil	Fencing Grand Prix Qatar – 2021	5.000	3.000	1.500
Golf	Men	The Open Championship – 2021	2.070.000	1.198.000	682.500
	Women	The Amund Evian Championship – 2021	675.000	414.573	300.743
Judo	Men/Women	World Judo Championships Senior[28] – 2021	23.574	13.600	7.253
Karate	Men/Women	Karate 1 Premier League Fujairah – 2022	1.133	566	283
Marathon Swimming	Men/Women	FINA World Aquatics Championships – 2019	20.000	15.000	10.000
Rhythmic Gymnastics	Women	FIG World Cup Series – 2022/24	2.187	1.640	1.093
Shooting	Men/Women	ISSF President's Cup[29] – 2021	15.000	12.000	10.000
Skateboarding	Men/Women: Park	World Skate Park World Championship – 2019	40.000	20.000	15.000
	Men/Women: Street	World Skate Street World Championship – 2021	24.000	12.000	8.000
Sport Climbing	Men/Women	IFSC Events[30] – 2021	4.349	2.747	1.602

[27] Beyond Épée and Foil, there is also the Sabre event at the Olympics; however, I did not manage to find information about prize money for this discipline. In this case, the *Fédération Internationale d'Escrime* (FIE) also did not answer my request.

[28] The International Judo Federation (IJF) offers 20% of the prize money to the coaches. Here it is considered the 80% designated to athletes.

[29] Even though the International Shooting Sport Federations (ISSF) does not offer prize money at World Championships or World Cups, it does at the President's Cup, which reunites the best ranked athletes of the World Ranking in the Olympic events of shooting.

[30] The amount refers to each of the three individual events (boulder, lead, and speed), not the combined Olympic event, which unites all of these different disciplines. Nonetheless, I decided to accept this prize money to the study because, at the end of the day, the events are the same, the only difference is that in the Games, athletes take part in all three competitions.

Surfing	Men/Women	World Surf League Finals – 2021	200.000	105.000	70.000
Swimming	Men/Women	FINA World Aquatics Championships – 2019	20.000	15.000	10.000
Table Tennis	Men/Women	Bank of Communications ITTF Finals – 2020	50.000	30.000	20.000
Taekwondo	Men/Women	World Taekwondo Grand Slam Champions Series[31] – 2019	49.000	14.000	3.500
Tennis	Men/Women	US Open – 2021	2.500.000	1.250.000	675.000
Trampoline Gymnastics	Men/Women	FIG World Cup Series – 2021/24	1.640	1.093	546
Triathlon	Men/Women	World Triathlon Championship Series Grand Final – 2021	30.000	22.000	16.000

Table 1: Elite international events across individual sports

Yes, unfortunately, the Olympics are not the only big stage that does not pay their athletes for their achievements. Several events do not distribute money. What is even more severe, some sports do not offer prize money at all: canoe (both slalom and sprint), rowing, sailing[32], and weightlifting[33].

The International Canoe Federation (ICF) informed that, currently, does not offer any prize money at World Championships or World Cups. Nonetheless, according to the ICF, there is the Super Cup, which invites top athletes. However, it features races of 350 meters, a different format from the Olympics. Moreover, according to the World Rowing and the International Weightlifting Federation (IWF), they do not offer prize money in their events. As for World Sailing, it stated that it did not offer monetary rewards at the 2018 World Championship, but it has previously offered in the World Cup[34].

The values offered by the IFs (mostly, but also other sports organisations) range from extremely low to intoxicating high. A disclaimer is important here. As much as the

[31] As in the Judo case, the World Taekwondo also designates part of the prize money to coaches. Here it is considered only what is intended to athletes.

[32] Sailing is an interesting case; since the expensive aura may deceive people (including this author) in thinking that it offers great prize money (see Springer, 2016).

[33] In the case of modern pentathlon, the *Union Internationale de Pentathlon Moderne* (UIPM) informed that they pay prize money in the World Cup Series' events. However, when asked about the values, sadly, the UIPM said that this information is undisclosed for the public. This is not only unfortunate, but far from transparent and raises governance questions. As far for wrestling, the Ranking Series awards prize money, but only for the overall winner. I tried to make contact with the United World Wrestling (UWW), yet they were not returned.

[34] Beyond these sports, BBC (March 8, 2021) accounts that other non-Olympic disciplines do not offer prize money, namely, netball and rugby union. It is important to acknowledge BBC's study, which takes into consideration money given only to the top ranked athlete/team. It produces a comparative table between years and genders, not being specific to Olympic disciplines (it includes national leagues, for example).

inequality may shock, especially one who is not used to the world of sport, it is natural. Some sports have more fans, participants, and people willing to turn on the TV to what their events than others. That is, different sports (and IFs) have different revenue streams (quantities) and distinct structures (with the presence of private leagues and tournaments, for example). All of this influences the quantity of money circulating in a given sport, which in turn affects how much ends in athletes' pockets.

Yet, this also serves as a big and important reminder to people of how sports are not about the Connor McGregors', Lionel Messis', and Cristiano Ronaldos'[35]. It is also about them. However, it is first and foremost about thousands of athletes around the world who struggle to make a living off their favourite sport, who are not respected as professionals, do not sign expensive sponsorship deals, and, even if after much training and sweat they manage to deliver a great performance, may not receive much (or anything) in return. Still, they are required to act a certain way.

Looking at the traditional list of the highest-paid athletes in the world released by Forbes is a good way to translate some of what has been suggested above. To reach the numbers, the magazine collects both on-the-field (including prize money) and off-the-field earnings (such as sponsorship). The Top 50 athletes represent only eight sports[36]. Yes, eight! Of which three are Olympic. Actually, maybe one or another[37].

Therefore, when specifically tackling the Olympic Games, we are not talking about millionaire athletes. Who is going to take care of them? Even though this thesis approaches the issue of prize money to talk about money and sport, it is not only about it. Forbes reports that when combined, the Top 50 athletes made over one billion dollars off-the-field. Looking at the Top 10, the quantity of money made off and on-the-field is almost the same. Despite the Olympics being a stage from which athletes may become more famous and earn money from the broader exposure, the IOC severely limits the athletes' freedom of doing so (I briefly discussed the issue of rules 40 and 50 in Chapter 3).

[35] These three athletes topped Forbes' list of the highest paid athletes in 2021.
[36] They are: Football (18); Basketball (13); Soccer (8); Tennis (4); Golf (3); Auto Racing (2); Boxing (1); Mixed Martial Arts (1).
[37] I consider basketball, tennis, and golf as Olympic sports. Men's soccer is not really Olympic, as the best (and even the not so good) players are far from the under 23 tournament. As for boxing, it is "professional" boxing, not the short three-round Olympic version. Even, as far as the three mentioned sports, we know how their biggest stars may overlook the Games, focusing on their careers on the professional circuits/leagues.

So, what remains for athletes from other sports (and even those from these sports, but who are not at the top)? The figures of prize money from the major competitions in some sports are not encouraging. Who does not know the story of great athletes for whom we cheer that struggle a lot financially?

Coming back to the study on Summer Olympic Sports. As expected, Golf and Tennis top the ranking, with millionaire prize money to the first place (even though, there is a significant gender gap in Golf). The rest of the Top 8 sports pay 50 thousand dollars or more for the winner. However, the vast majority falls below this baseline. Beyond that, it is important to remember at all times that we are talking about the first places. That is, the biggest prize there is.

Sport	Prize Money – 1st Place
Tennis	2.5 m
Golf	2.07 m (men) 675k (women)
Surfing	200k
Badminton	120k
Athletics	100k (marathon)
Boxing	100k
Equestrian	94k (jumping) 54k (eventing)
Table Tennis	50k

Table 2: Top 8 individual sports by prize money

Having this in mind, the reality is very contrasting looking at the Bottom 8 of the study.

If the best-paid sports were no surprise, it was quite shocking seeing artistic gymnastics falling at the bottom. Paying slightly over 1k for winners in the Apparatus World Cup Series, the *Fédération Internationale de Gymnastique* (FIG) is far from being well represented in this study, as trampoline and rhythmic gymnastics also placed low. A much-celebrated sport at the Olympics, artistic gymnastics has big stars, it is entertaining, both beautiful and impressive, and yet, with the absence of prize money, they are left with FIG's rewards, which are not encouraging at all.

Sport	Prize Money – 1st Place
Artistic Gymnastics	1k (individual apparatus)
Karate	1k
Trampoline Gymnastics	1k
Rhythmic Gymnastics	2k
Sport Climbing	4k
Fencing	5k
Cycling	9k
Artistic Gymnastics	13k (all-around)

Table 3: Bottom 8 individual sports by prize money

Of course, it is not possible in this thesis, as space and time are limited, to look at the finances of each IF to decide if they should pay more and, if so, how much[38]. This section aims to provide an overall picture of how each sport is rewarding the main actors of their content, product: their athletes. In this sense, it is essential to look at the average.

Among the different sports (and sometimes disciplines inside the same sport), the individual Summer Olympic Sports have paid recently 175 thousand dollars for the winner of elite competitions. Second and third places have received 96 and 56k. However, since there are some extreme values compared to the majority, the simple average calculation does not seem very trustworthy, not representing the overall picture.

Summer Olympic Sports
Prize Money

	1st	2nd	3rd
Average	175 k	96 k	56 k
Median	24 k	14 k	10 k

Figure 14: Statistics of individual sports and prize money

In this sense, it is best to look at the median, that is, the value that remains in the middle of the different values of prize money. This excludes the extremes and gives the best picture of what is paid across all sports analysed, finding a common ground between the best and worst recompenses. With that, we have 24 thousand dollars for first place, 14 for second and 10 for third. These are more reliable numbers since the recompenses are so diverse.

In order to exemplify the discrepancy, below there is a histogram to show where most sports fall when it comes to prize money. For that, instead of focusing on the first or second places, the chart brings the average compensation of each sport across all places, that is, the average value that each tournament has given to the top three places. In this case, it is clear how most recompenses are not very high. As we can see, only three

[38] However, the absence of prize money is rather inexcusable.

sports have distributed average prize money higher than 250 thousand dollars to their three top-ranked athletes. All of the others fall below that line.

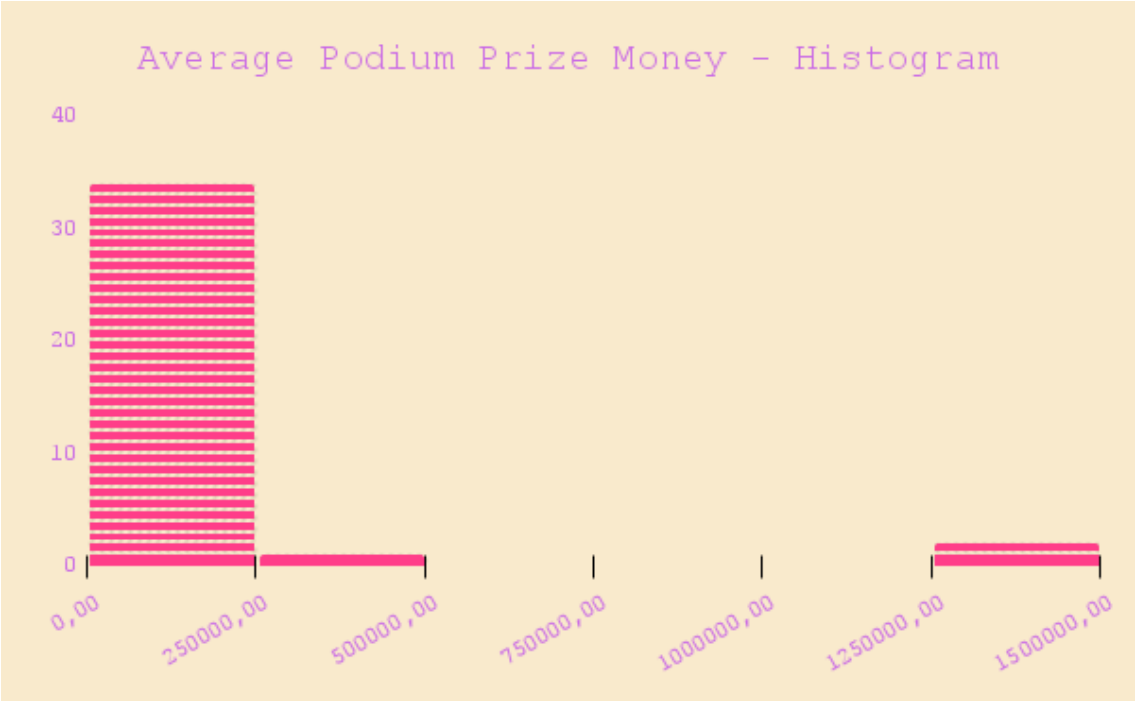


Figure 15: Average paid to the top three athletes in each sport

In fact, among all tournaments analysed, 75% had an average podium prize money of 35 thousand dollars or less. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that the vast majority of Olympic individual sports offer prize money, however, excluding the very high values disseminated in a couple of richer sports, the values were not very high. Especially considering that all tournaments analysed in this study are international, elite-level competitions, and we are only considering the rewards received by the best three athletes.

5.3.1.2 – The Highs and Lows of a Complex World: team sports

Now it is time to move forward to team sports where the scenario is similar to the one introduced above. As with individual sports, some team disciplines are also not contemplated with prize money. In the case of basketball, FIBA informed that it does not offer prize money at national team competitions. Whereas, for Softball, the World Baseball Softball Confederation (WBSC) stated that the only competition in which they pay rewards is the Premier12 (exactly the tournament considered for baseball). Unfortunately, World Rugby did not answer my request for information, nor had available information online that I could find. Nonetheless, considering that BBC relates that there is no prize money in rugby union, it is possible to imagine that this inexistence also affects rugby sevens (the Olympic discipline).

Sport	Events – Tokyo 2020	Event	Prize Money (in USD)			Nº	Prize Money per Member (in USD)		
			1st	2nd	3rd		1st	2nd	3rd
3X3 Basketball	Men	FIBA 3X3 World Tour Final – 2021	60.000	42.000	32.000	4	15.000	10.500	8.000
	Women	FIBA 3X3 Women's Series – 2021	15.000	10.000	6.000	4	3.750	2.500	1.500
Artistic Swimming	Team	FINA World Aquatics Championships – 2019	50.000	40.000	30.000	8	6.250	5.000	3.750
Baseball	Men	WBSC Premier12 – 2019	1.000.500	750.000	50.000	28	53.571	26.786	17.857
Beach Volleyball	Men/ Women	FIVB Beach Volleyball World Tour Finals – 2021	150.000	80.000	50.000	2	75.000	40.000	25.000
Football	Women [39]	FIFA Women's World Cup – 2019	4.000.000	2.600.000	2.000.000	23	173.913	113.043	86.957
Handball	Men/ Women	IHF World Handball Championships – 2021	100.000	60.000	40.000	16	6.250	3.750	2.500
Hockey	Men/ Women	FIH Hockey Pro League[40] – 2020/21	15.000	10.000	0	18	833	556	0
Volleyball	Men/ Women	FIVB Volleyball Nations League – 2021	1.000.000	500.000	300.000	14	71.429	35.714	21.429

[39] Needless to say that the Olympic Games also have the men's event in football, however is an under 23 tournament, which makes it impossible to compare with the World Cup. Actually, men's football is not even considered here as FIFA does not possesses a similar event, only staging an under 20 World Cup. In this context, for football, it is only considered the women's tournament, as FIFA Women's World Cup offers the necessary comparability, as both are elite competitions.

[40] The *Fédération Internationale de Hockey* (FIH) informed that these quantities were heavily affected by the pandemic.

Water Polo	Men/ Women	FINA World Aquatics Championships – 2019	80.000	70.000	60.000	13	6.154	5.385	4.615

Table 4: Elite international events across team sports

For now, it is also important to talk about the gender gap again. The subject of prize money, when carefully analysed, is so fascinating. It can put forward several indicators, insights and enable different layers of examination. One of them is exactly the issue of gender. Once again, we can note at the above table a discrepancy between men and women. All is not bad, on the contrary, among 33 sports (both individual and team which have different gender categories) analysed, only in 3 there are differences in what is paid. Obviously, with men receiving more. In the previous section, we saw the issue of golf. Now, we can notice the gender gap in 3X3 basketball and baseball/softball[41].

For the top prizes, here we have football. Arguably, the most mainstream sport in the world. Even with women's football still being subjugated to a lot of prejudice, not being able to make money circulate at the same level as the male counterpart, it is still has a very comfortable lead in the Top 4. The difference between this top and the rest of the sports is pretty remarkable: over 35 thousand dollars separate the fourth and fifth places.

Sport	Prize Money – 1st Place (per team member)
Football	173k
Beach Volleyball	75k
Volleyball	71k
Baseball	53k

Table 5: Top 4 team sports by prize money

Sport	Prize Money – 1st Place (per team member)
Hockey	833
3X3 Basketball	3k
Water Polo	6k
Handball	6k
Artistic Swimming	6k
3X3 Basketball	15k

Table 6: Bottom 6 team sports by prize money

The same method applied in the last section will be carried out here. The average calculation is not enough to capture the essence of the picture, being too much affected

[41] It is relevant to remember that I am not taking men's football into account here. Certainly, the gender gap is very wide in football.

by the extremes, in this case, football and hockey. Accordingly, we are going to take into consideration the median.

Summer Olympic Team Sports Prize Money

	1st	2nd	3rd
Average	41 k	24 k	17 k
Median	10 k	8 k	6 k

Figure 16: Statistics of team sports and prize money

Awards are given to the whole team, although, with the number of members on the team, it is possible to draw how much was paid per individual. In the case of team sports, the median of the prize money paid by IFs for the first place was 10.625 thousand dollars per team member. For the runner-up, the prize money for each athlete is valued at 7.942 thousand dollars, while the third-place team would be contemplated with 6.308 for each member.

We have now managed to take a view on the landscape of Summer Olympics sports when it comes to the prize money at top-level events. Most sports work with a reward system based on money, even though this is not unanimous. Reflecting the different popularity and other factors, there is a big disparity between values. Nonetheless, in the end, athletes can receive something for their performances, beyond a medal, honour, glory, and prestige. If the Olympics stick with these more symbolic rewards, Olympians may count on their homeland to make some money.

5.3.2 – How Big of a Piece of Pie? Athletes, prize money, NOCs and the Olympic sports

Just like in Ancient times, the ones who are glorified and turn into deities in the apotheosis of the Olympic Games may encounter gold back at home. Even though the IOC itself does not award its medallists with prize money, oftentimes they return to their home soil to find some rewards, not only money but also apartments and cars. As it is going to be shown, this unfair system, which the IOC neglects, promotes inequality insofar as the same deeds are met with extremely different recompenses.

Before presenting the findings, it is important, as done in the previous section, to clarify the methodology carried out in this study. The goal was to collect as much information as possible to produce a very rich picture. Besides, to create comparability between the numbers, some criteria were adopted. At first, the idea was to tackle the rewards given by NOCs, however, early in the study, it was noted how prize money to Olympians is mostly awarded by governments. Therefore, they were also incorporated into the study.

- The data gathering was made in different ways. First, by online research in English and Portuguese. Some data was found. Afterwards, I have sent several e-mails to NOCs. This process was repeated twice subsequently. I take this opportunity to thank all NOCs that answered the requests for information. Unfortunately, many did not. To gather more data, with the assistance of an online translator, searches were made in several languages. A lot of data was collected, especially from the local press of each country;
- As explained in the last section, team sports impose a challenge, since the number of members is different, not only across sports but also in the same discipline[42]. Beyond that, NOCs' and states' recompenses to teams follow different criteria[43]. Therefore, I focused the data collection on individual medallists to better compare all countries;
- This study took into account recompenses paid to Tokyo 2020 individual medallists;
- Overall, 93 countries had athletes who won at least one medal at Tokyo 2020. However, three were excluded from the study because their medals were won in teams[44]. Hence, 90 countries were analysed in the study; the ones which have at least one athlete winning a medal individually;
- Sometimes prizes may be accumulated by athletes, while in other cases an athlete may only receive one payment;

[42] For example, in swimming relays, the participants of qualifications are also awarded. Teams may enter the same four athletes at heats and finals, while others may change the swimmers. At the end, different numbers of athletes may win medals.

[43] Countries may offer recompenses individually to members or a one-off payment to the whole team. In the latter example, systems may also be different. For example, the NOC of Brazil has offered different values to teams with six or less athletes and to bigger teams, while Spain differentiates doubles from teams.

[44] Argentina, Botswana, and Fiji are the three countries that are not part of the study. Fiji won medals in rugby sevens, while Botswana won its bronze medal at athletics' relay. Argentina obtained three medals across hockey, rugby sevens, and volleyball. By the way, just out of curiosity, the South-American country NOC informed that did not pay any prize money.

- Not only monetary rewards are offered by countries and coaches may also benefit from recompenses. However, for this study, only prize money to athletes is considered. This also excludes monthly payments or pensions that may be given;
- Once again, to produce comparability, only awards to the medallists are considered. NOCs, like the Belgian and Israeli, may offer recompenses to athletes who placed in other positions, like fourth or fifth. Countries may also award all participants;
- Of course that payments are made across several different currencies. Just like in the previous studies, all values were dollarised using the InforEuro official currency converter;
- Finally, it is relevant to make clear that NOCs and governments support athletes and their training in different ways. However, this study concerns prize money. Helping athletes in their achievements is one thing. Putting money in their hands for use as they wish is a completely different situation. It is a matter of independence and freedom, as is going to be discussed later in Part 4.

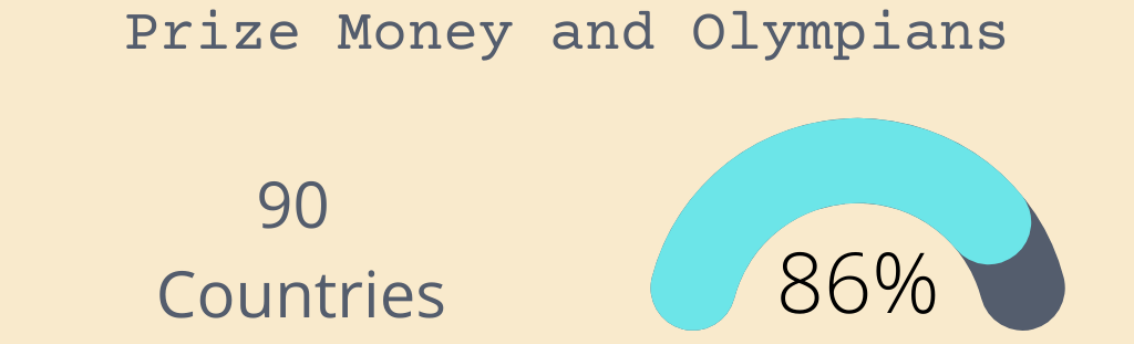


Chart 9: Countries with individual medallists and participants in the study

Enough said since my goal here is to please, not bore you, let us jump into the numbers. Overall, 90 countries were analysed. All of them were researched and almost all NOCs contacted[45]. Data were collected from 78 of them, 86%. Only 12 countries[46] were left out of the study, from which finding the needed information online was rather impossible and their NOCs never answered my successive attempts of contact[47].

[45] I only did not make contact with the ones from which I already had the necessary information.
[46] They are: Armenia, Bahrain, Cuba, Ethiopia, Grenada, Latvia, Lithuania, People's Republic of China, Qatar, San Marino, Syrian Arab Republic, and Venezuela.
[47] Some NOCs did not have a website, and even some had e-mails that were not valid. This is a negative perception that the IOC should be worried with, in the context of good governance and transparency.

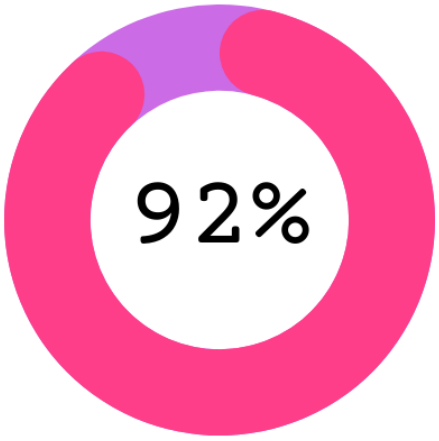


Chart 10: Countries that offer prize money

Among the 78 countries participants[48] in the study, the vast majority, either through NOC or state, offered prize money to its medallists. That represents 92% of the sample. Only six countries do not give any monetary rewards to their athletes. Interestingly enough, all of them share some common characteristics that evoke some discussion.

Great Britain, Greece, Ireland, New Zealand, Norway, and Sweden are all first-world countries[49]. They are, for example, members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)[50], often called a rich boys/countries club. It is hard to think that these countries do not possess the means to pay athletes prize money. If we remember, and I hope we do, the Part 2 of this thesis, I wrote a lot about the British construction of amateurism. Well, here they are. And they are not alone. Ireland (the Republic of Ireland) gained its independence from Great Britain only in 1921, while New Zealand is a former colony of the British Empire. As for Norway and Sweden, there are interesting ties between British and Scandinavians[51]. Finally, there is Greece, the land of the birth of the Ancient Olympics and the first modern Games, which were wrapped on that amateurism aura that was (falsely) linked to the "fact" of being an ancient heritage.

Do you believe in coincidences? It is hard to think that the fact that countries that do not offer prize money can be easily related to the British culture is a product of fortuity. It cannot be a coincidence. It probably is not. The British Olympic Association says it prefers to use money to better prepare athletes, which they feel is more important for Olympic success. It is quite interesting to note how the issue of prize money here is viewed as an incentive for success, not a right. I will come back to this in the next part.

Furthermore, the New Zealander NOC declared that medallists might receive other benefits, like more funding from the government, while the Swedish also

[48] That is, countries that had at least one individual medallist at Tokyo 2020 and had available information or answered my request about prize money.
[49] This is a quite dated expression, but it serves the purpose here to explain how these countries are related.
[50] I use the term Great Britain because the IOC uses it. In the case of the OECD, it is United Kingdom.
[51] See Coughlan (2016).

highlighted the investments in training athletes, alerting that if the NOC paid prize money, they would probably have a worse performance at the Olympics. That is, the act of paying money for an athlete performance is not seen as a fair reward, but as something that may get in the way of the overall success of the country.

These views help me introduce the idea (which will be further explained in Chapter 7) of the objectification and instrumentalisation of athletes, especially through their amateurisation[52]. That is, here the issue of paying prizes to athletes is not treated as a matter of rights (labour) of professionals, but as an instrument to win more medals or something that may get in the way of doing so. For instance, Australia (yet another former British colony), which does offer prize money, puts it as an incentive, not a reward[53]: "athletes must maintain appropriate training regimes with the intention of gaining national selection in the following year in order to receive the payment". Athletes here are not seen as professionals with their freedom, rather are instruments for external (which may also be in harmony with internal) goals.

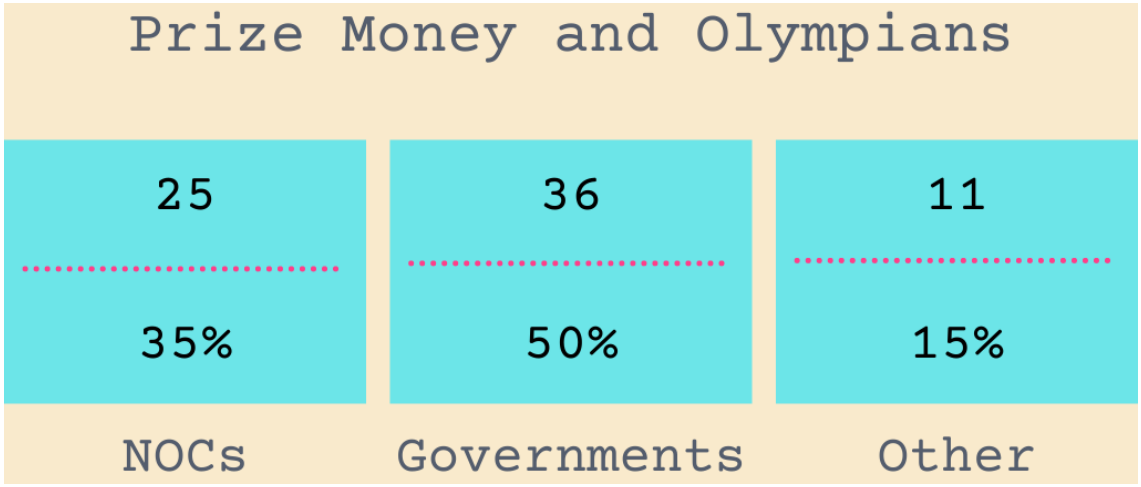


Figure 17: Who is behind the prize money?

Furthermore, let us approach the countries that do offer prize money. Sometimes the NOCs are the ones who give the rewards. However, most times, they come from the state. There are also times in which the money is offered in different kinds of systems, for example, provided both by the NOC and state. State-prize money is responsible for 50% of the rewards, while 35% of the monetary acknowledgements come from NOCs, and the rest (15%) of prize money is offered in different formats.

[52] This word does not actually exist, but I am proposing here this neologism, which would mean the process by which organisations/people turn athletes into amateurs, not respecting/regarding them as professionals.
[53] See Australian Olympic Committee's Funding.

5.3.2.1 – How Big of a Piece of Pie? NOCs' prize money to Olympians

Although there are different sources of the prize money that Olympic medallists receive, it is important to recognize that the differentiation is not always clear. Funding of the NOCs is diverse. For example, they may have their own private revenue streams from sponsorship, beyond the IOC's contributions. However, as Meier and García (2019) note in the case studies about some NOCs, oftentimes public funding is essential and represents a big share of their total source of money. Still, it is important to make this distinction, especially to note if there are differences in values. Governments may also take advantage of Olympians' achievements. Therefore, this may reflect on the prize money given by them, which may, for instance, take place in ceremonies with politicians, as it is going to be later analysed.

25 NOCs offered prize money to their individual medallists at Tokyo 2020. The list and values are shown in the table below.

NOC	Individual Medals			Prize Money (in USD)		
	Gold	Silver	Bronze	Gold	Silver	Bronze
Australia	11	4	13	14.536	10.902	7.268
Austria[54]	1	1	5	19.267	14.734	12.467
Bahamas	2			40.000		
Belgium	2	1	2	56.670	34.002	22.668
Brazil	5	5	7	44.458	26.674	17.783
Canada	5	4	6	15.653	11.740	7.826
Denmark	2	1	3	15.241	11.430	7.620
Estonia			1			51.003
Finland			2			22.668
India	1	2	3	100.887	53.806	33.629
Israel	2		1	160.976		80.488
Italy	6	8	14	204.012	102.006	68.004

[54] Actually, Austria does not award the money directly. Instead, they give Vienna Philharmonic gold coins. As the NOC informed the exact values of them, they were accepted in the study.

Jamaica[55]	3	1	3	39.544	26.363	13.181
Japan	23	10	14	43.445	17.378	8.689
Jordan		1	1		42.313	28.208
Kenya	4	4	2	7.961	5.750	3.538
Netherlands	7	8	11	34.002	25.501	17.001
Poland	3	1	4	29.592	19.728	12.330
Puerto Rico	1			50.000		
Romania		1			56.670	
Slovenia	3	1	1	22.668	19.834	17.001
Spain	2	5	4	106.539	54.403	34.002
Switzerland	3	3	5	43.747	32.810	21.873
Uganda	2	1	1	15.000	10.000	5.500
United States of America	29	29	27	37.500	22.500	15.000

Table 7: NOCs' prize money to Olympic medallists

As easily spotted at a glance, the amounts vary a lot between NOCs. Here the gold medal is valued from 7k (Kenya) to 204k (Italy). In the Tokyo Games, everybody was quite surprised with the amazing victory of Marcell Jacobs in the 100 meters, one of the noblest events of the entire Olympics. Furthermore, what can we say about the amazing Eliud Kipchoge and yet again another impressive performance, winning the gold medal at the marathon, one other much-awaited moment in every Olympics? The two of them were celebrated, as they should. One was awaiting more than 200 thousand dollars at home, while the other would receive a little more than 7 thousand. It is becoming clearer and clearer how the issue of prize money at the Olympics is much about equality.

The same deviation was noted between the two countries in the silver medal (102k to 5k), and between Israel and Kenya for third place (80k and 3k). On average, each gold medal was returned with 52 thousand dollars, while the median between NOCs was 39 thousand.

[55] In partnership with sponsors.

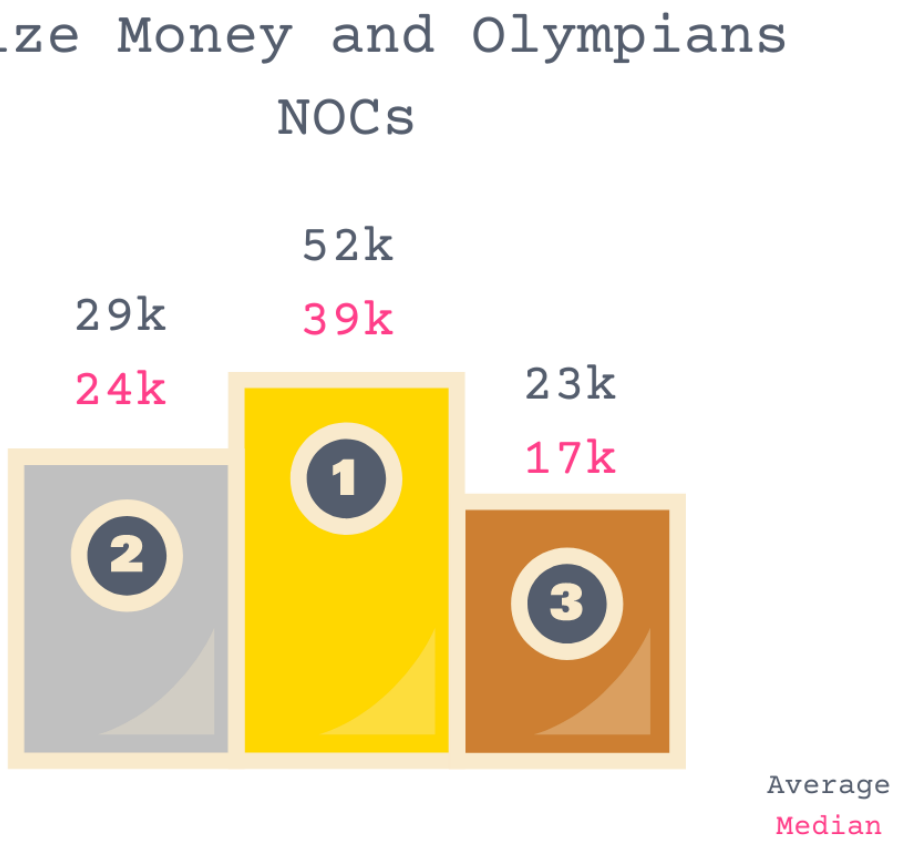


Figure 18: Statistics about prize money from NOCs to medalists

Most NOCs that pay prize money are from Europe (13)[56], while 6 come from the Americas, and 3 are located in Asia. There are only 2 African countries on this list. All of them are joined by Australia. Many angles may be envisioned here to look at all of these numbers. One can imagine that countries that have more medallists, end up paying less to each one of them. Indeed, this is true, but not always. The top prizes given by NOCs come from Italy, which was the seventh country with the most medals (overall) in Tokyo 2020.

It is also very fascinating to account how the countries of this first list are mainly democracies. For example, taking into consideration Freedom House's Global Freedom Scores[57], almost all countries are considered free and have a high rate[58]. Together they have an average of 83 (out of 100), with only Jordan and Uganda considered not free, while India and Kenya are partly free. Contrasting these numbers with the ones in the next section may provide some valuable insights.

[56] Here, I am considering Israel in Europe, since it participates in European sports competitions and its NOC is a member of The European Olympic Committees (EOC).
[57] It deals with issues like political rights, access to voting, freedom of expression and equality.
[58] Bahamas and Puerto Rico are not on the ranking.

5.3.2.2 – How Big of a Piece of Pie? Governments' prize money to Olympians

When it comes to prize money for Olympic medallists, in most of the countries that work with a reward system the money comes from governments. Here, the quantities are higher, reaching rewards comparable with the richest sports that distribute the most valuable prizes.

Country	Individual Medals			Prize Money (in USD)		
	Gold	Silver	Bronze	Gold	Silver	Bronze
Belarus	1	2	3	128.867	64.433	42.955
Bermuda	1			25.000		
Bulgaria	2	1	2	144.876	115.901	86.926
Burkina Faso			1			8.639
Chinese Taipei	1	3	5	721.910	252.668	180.477
Colombia		4	1		33.298	23.784
Croatia	1	2	2	31.344	19.590	13.864
Czech Republic	3	4	2	109.168	81.876	54.584
Côte D'Ivoire			1			8.639
Ecuador	2	1		100.000	80.000	
Egypt	1	1	4	63.797	47.847	31.898
France	4	7	5	73.671	28.335	17.001
Georgia	2	5	1	325.194	162.597	81.298
Ghana			1			3.000
Hong Kong, China	1	2	2	641.070	320.535	160.267
Hungary	5	7	3	153.100	109.313	87.267
Indonesia		1	3		140.242	70.121
Kazakhstan			8			75.000
Kuwait			1			33.058
Kyrgyzstan		2	1		117.924	82.547

Malaysia		1			71.831	
Mexico			1			14.628
Namibia		1			9.435	
Nigeria		1	1		10.000	7.500
Philippines[59]	1	2	1	195.923	97.961	39.184
Portugal	1	1	2	56.670	34.002	22.668
Russia	13	15	19	53.406	33.378	22.697
Republic of Korea	2	3	7	52.987	29.437	21.026
Republic of Moldova			1			112.487
Serbia	2	1	3	79.338	68.004	56.670
South Africa	1	2		28.307	13.839	
Thailand[60]	1		1	299.310		119.724
Turkey	2	2	9	252.578	151.547	75.773
Turkmenistan		1			50.000	
Ukraine	1	5	9	125.000	80.000	55.000
Uzbekistan	3		2	200.000		50.000

Table 8: Governments' prize money to Olympic medallists

Here we can find the most valuable prize money for a gold medal: 721 thousand dollars offered by Chinese Taipei. The silver and bronze medallists of the Asian country were also very much graced: 252 and 180k, respectively. The contrast could not be bigger. Ghana's only medallist in Tokyo received 3 thousand dollars for his bronze medal. Are you comfortable reading this? I can say that I am far from being comfortable writing this.

[59] The gold medallist Hidilyn Diaz received an incredible amount of prizes beyond the one given by the official incentives system, including more money and a house from the country's president, free flights from an airline company and other benefits (see CNN Philippines Staff, 2021).

[60] Medallists could chose two ways to receive money. In one, they would receive half of the amount and the other would be paid monthly (earning a little more overall). The thesis is taking into consideration the values of the one-off payment, because it is more in pace with the criteria to exclude monthly payments or bonuses given in other countries.

To be honest, it is quite outraging, but it makes me happy to tackle this issue, which might help to change a completely uneven landscape.

How can you sell beautiful rhetoric of universal ethical values, with a moralistic tone, and union between societies and nations when you have a real mess behind the show, affecting the ones who are supposed to inspire the world? The IOC uses athletes as it wishes, but it does not seem to offer much in return[61], contributing to my thesis of objectification.

We have a quite different situation from the inequality between sports tackled in section 5.3.1. Of course, it is possible to critically discuss this. However, these sports have distinct amounts of fans, audiences, participants and organising structures that dictate broadcast and sponsorship deals. On the other hand, we have the same Olympic Games: Tokyo 2020. The same event: boxing. Two people who had the same performances: starting as seeds, won two bouts but ended up losing the semi-finals, which gave them the bronze medals. The Ghanaian Samuel Takyi and the Taiwanese Huang Hsiao-wen both accomplished an amazing outcome. Shouldn't they deserve the same reward? It is great that countries and NOCs pay prize money to their medallist. How much they pay concerns only to them. Nonetheless, when the IOC omits itself from paying prizes, it is being connived with inequality, against its own tenets.

Anyway, the prize money offered by governments, as expected, is much higher than those given by NOCs. Here the average gold medal is valued at 175 thousand dollars, with a median of 117k. The bronze medal reward is, on average, 55k when given by governments, a very similar value to the gold medal when provided by NOCs (52k). The geographical landscape is severely different here as well. The majority of countries in which the state pays prize money to medallists is located in Asia (13), followed by Europe (12). Here are also present a significant amount of African countries (7). Besides, there are also 4 nations from the Americas.

In this context, when we talk about freedom, the picture is far from positive. Here, we can note several authoritarian regimes. It is not possible to generalise, there are still some solid democracies, like France, Portugal, and Taiwan. However, the clear democratic landscape present in the NOCs' study was swept away in a geopolitical

[61] We will come back to this in Chapter 7, but it is important to note the difference between supporting people through programmes or other bodies and putting money on their hands, especially when some are earning much and others almost nothing.

scenario that points in the direction of closed regimes[62]. Analysing the countries through the Democracy Index 2020 made by The Economist Intelligence Unit, it is possible to note a trend. The scores range from 0 (authoritarian) to 10 (full democracy). The average score of the countries that offer state-prize money is only 5.56, which characterises a hybrid regime.

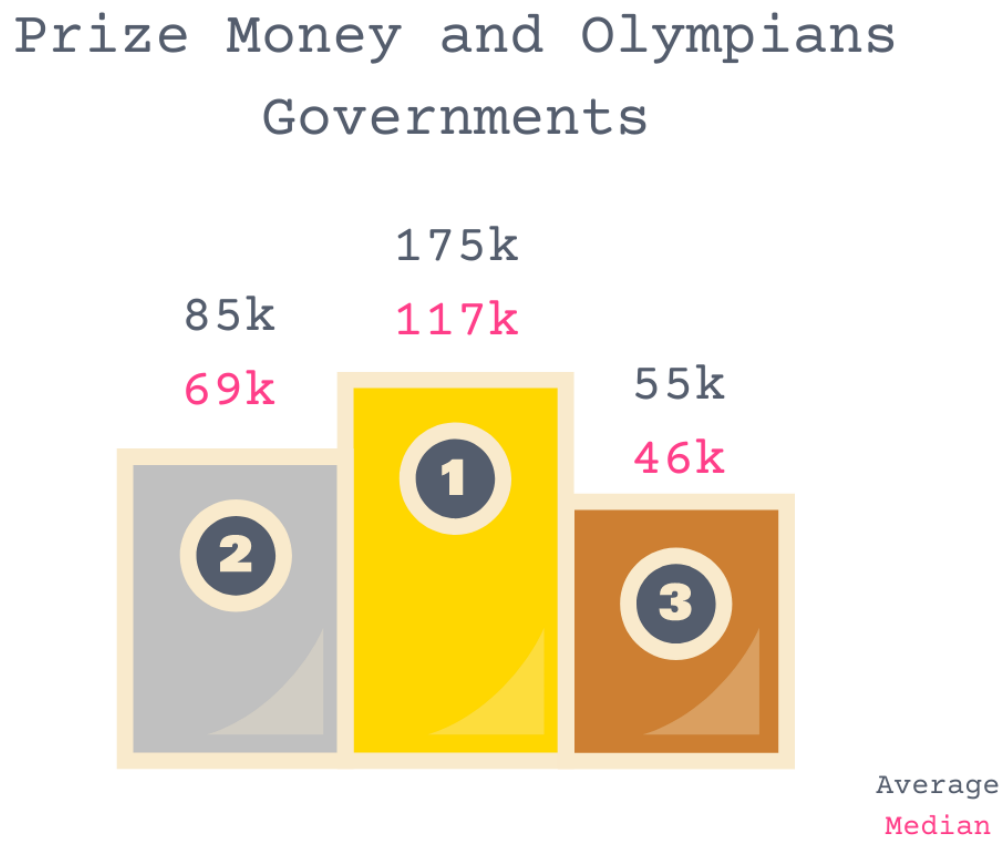


Figure 19: Statistics about prize money from governments to medalists

Before, going deep into the comparison between rewards given by NOCs and governments, and focusing on the amount of money that could be paid by the IOC, it is important to acknowledge the third modality of payment.

5.3.2.3 – How Big of a Piece of Pie? A mixed way to reward Olympians

Sometimes the money to reward Olympic medallists come from mixed sources or even other types of organisations.

Country	Individual Medals			Prize Money (in USD)		
	Gold	Silver	Bronze	Gold	Silver	Bronze
Azerbaijan		3	4		176.470	88.235

[62] According with the Democracy Index 2020, among the countries analysed in this section, several of them are authoritarian: Belarus, Egypt, Kazakhstan, Russia, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan.

Dominican Republic		2	1		141.070	105.802
Germany	7	5	9	22.668	17.001	11.334
Islamic Republic of Iran	3	2	2	487.524	291.381	194.442
Kosovo	2			124.674		
Mongolia		1	3		22.062	11.531
Morocco	1			215.741		
North Macedonia		1			68.004	
Saudi Arabia		1			1.333.333	
Slovakia	1	2		56.670	45.336	
Tunisia	1	1		34.551	25.913	

Table 9: Special cases of prize money to Olympic medallists

The above countries were separated from the others because they are special cases when it comes to the source of money. Sometimes both the state and the NOC offer money. In Azerbaijan, beyond the prize money given by the government, the NOC also gave a reward, which also happened in Iran, Kosovo, Mongolia, and Slovakia. Other times, the prize money is given by governments and Committees together: Dominican Republic, Morocco, North Macedonia, and Tunisia.

The biggest payment identified in the study comes from Saudi Arabia, where its one and only silver medallist was awarded the impressive prize of 5 million riyals (1.3 million dollars). This reward was announced by Prince Abdulaziz bin Turki Al-Faisal, who is both Ministry of Sport and President of the Saudi Olympic Committee[63].

Our last special case comes from Germany, where the prize money is offered neither by the government nor the state. The *Stiftung Deutsche Sporthilfe* is the organisation (a private one) responsible for the payment. Since these are special examples, there is no need to talk about average/medians, let us jump into the next and pivotal section of the topic of prize money.

[63] In the Fundamental Principles of Olympism, the IOC defends that the "sports organisations within the Olympic Movement shall apply political neutrality" (IOC, 2021c, p. 8). Whereas the Rule 27, which deals with NOCs, states that they have to "preserve their autonomy" (p.61). It is hard to think how autonomy and someone sharing these two positions fit together.

5.3.3 – How Big the Piece of Pie Should Be? A conversation about prize money, the Olympics, equality and democracy

"Olympism seeks to create a way of life based on… respect for universal fundamental ethical principles"

(IOC, 2021c, p. 8)

"Excellence, Respect, and Friendship are the three core values of Olympism"

(IOC, 2016, p. 17)

Everything boils down to two basic principles… without them, humankind is left with little to be celebrated. Their absence is like life without air, freedom with chains, and time without love. Where there is no equality, where there is no respect, there cannot exist any ethics and there is much work to be done in order to ensure that these two fundamental tenets are valued and put into practice. Equality and Respect. This thesis supports the argument that the inexistence of prize money in the Olympic Games directly paid from the organisers to athletes hurts both equality and respect. Equality between people. Respect towards peoples' effort and freedom.

When the IOC refuses to pay prize money, athletes are left only with their country's possible rewards, ranging from nothing to thousands of dollars. Paying monetary recompenses would not come to substitute NOCs/governments' payments, but to correct an inequality. It is also about what is the right thing to do. The goal here, obviously, is not to make some athletes earn less. Possible IOC's prize money would add to other rewards. In this way, the organiser of the Olympic Games would make its part ensuring that all medallists earn something. The same value, regardless of the sport. If they come back home to receive more money, great! It is the governments and NOCs' own decisions based on each country's national culture, context, interests, and possibilities.

We might put on several glasses to look at different numbers. We can think about continents[64], for example. The differences between the medians of each place are remarkable. By far, Asia gives out the most valuable prizes to medallists. The Old Continent comes in second, the Americas in third, while Africa is responsible for the least amount of money.

[64] Because Australian is the only Oceania's country with individual medallist at Tokyo 2020 that pays prize money, I am not considering this continent here, as it would have a poor statistical value.

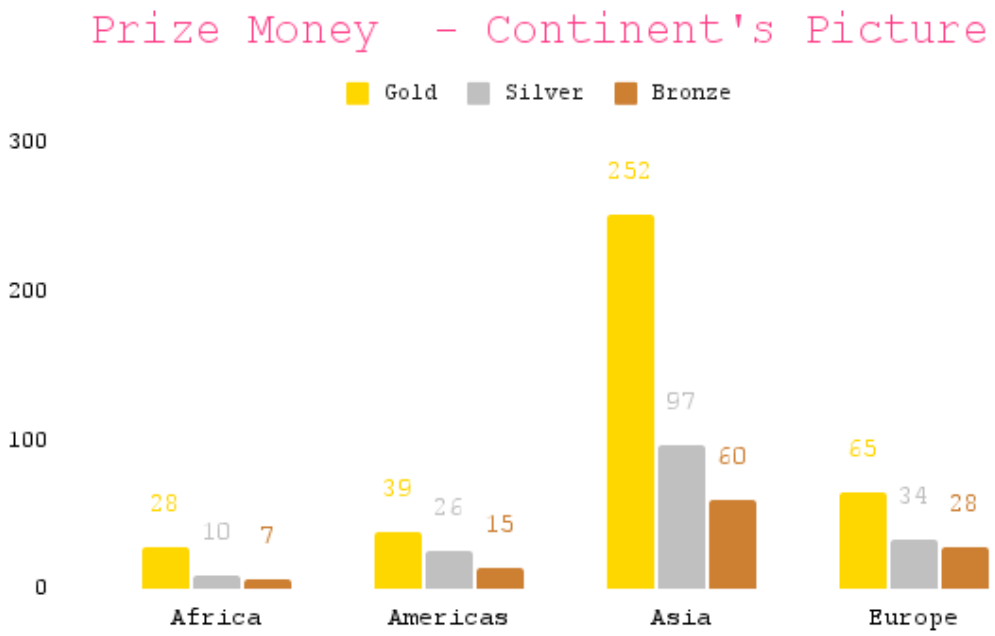
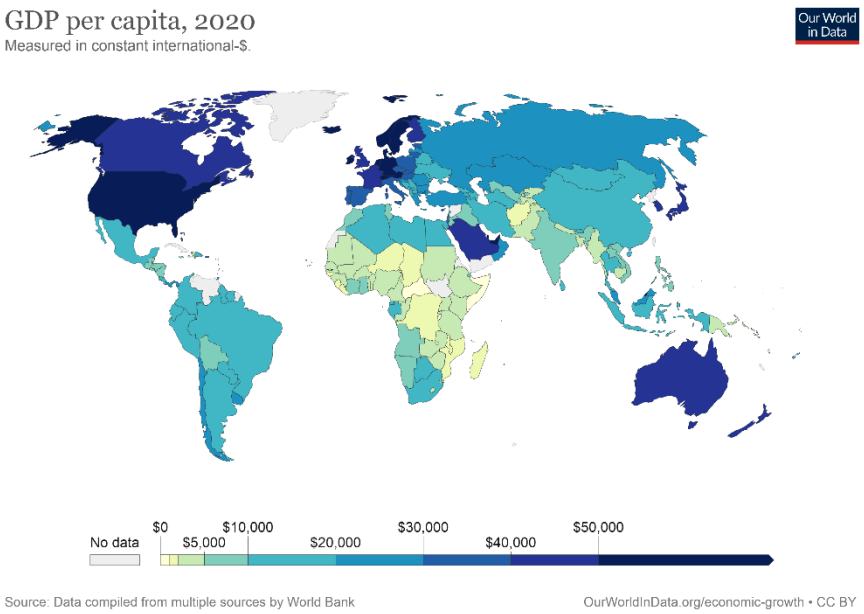


Chart 11: Prize money per continent – median value

Why is there such a big deviation? Well, several answers may be suggested. The two most palpable reasons are the economy and the number of medals. Comparing the above data with the continents' GDP per capita (as compiled by the World Bank), Europe would have to be in the first place, while the difference between Africa and the Americas would be bigger, and Asia would not have such an overwhelmingly impressive performance.



Picture 5: Global map for GPD per capita (Source: Our World in Data)

Thus, even though countries' wealth is definitely a factor, the hypothesis of having a suitable correlation between continents' economies and the value of prize money is not solid enough. What about the number of medals? Of course, if a given NOC has dozens of medallists, it will probably pay less money per athlete than a country that only has one Olympic hero.

Table 10: Medals per continent

Continent	Average Nº of Medals
Africa	2,91
Americas	12,73
Asia	3,8
Europe	9,5

While this is also a factor, when comparing the average number of medals won by each continent's country with the median value for gold, silver, and bronze, there is not a completely positive correlation. Both Africa and Asia won much fewer medals per country than the Americas and Europe, yet these are the same two continents that offer the highest and lowest values.

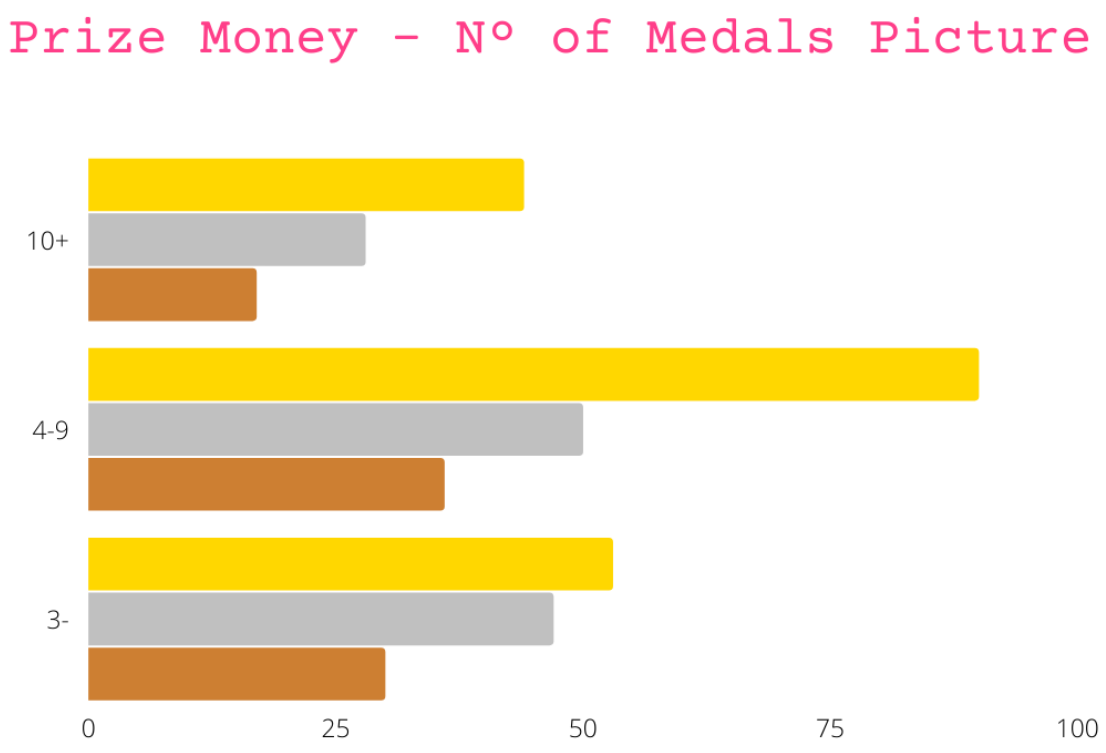


Chart 12: Prize money per countries' overall performance – median value

Indeed, placing the countries into three distinct groups based on the total number of medals won is revealing. Nations who obtained at least 10 medals at Tokyo 2020, overall, had indeed the lowest median value of prize money to gold, silver, and bronze

medallists. Nonetheless, the highest prizes did not come from the group who won the least medals (3 or less). In reality, the most valuable recompenses (both in average and the median) were given by the middle group, which won between 4 and 9 medals.

Once again, an exception. It is hard to precisely and positively correlate values with other factors. Although finances and the number of medallists play a role, it is not only that. Throughout the studies on prize money, it was possible to observe that many of the countries that paid opulent rewards seemed to share a common ground.

All states[65] were analysed through the Democracy Index 2020[66], which classifies countries into four categories: full and flawed democracies, and hybrid and authoritarian regimes. To talk about equality and respect is also to talk about democracy. After all, this is the one system (antagonistically to authoritarianism) in which, if healthy, equality is respected and respect is equal, that is, all are equal towards the law, treated fairly and with no prejudices, with equitable access to essential services and protections. To work for a better world, as aimed by the Olympic Movement, is arguably to work towards democracies.

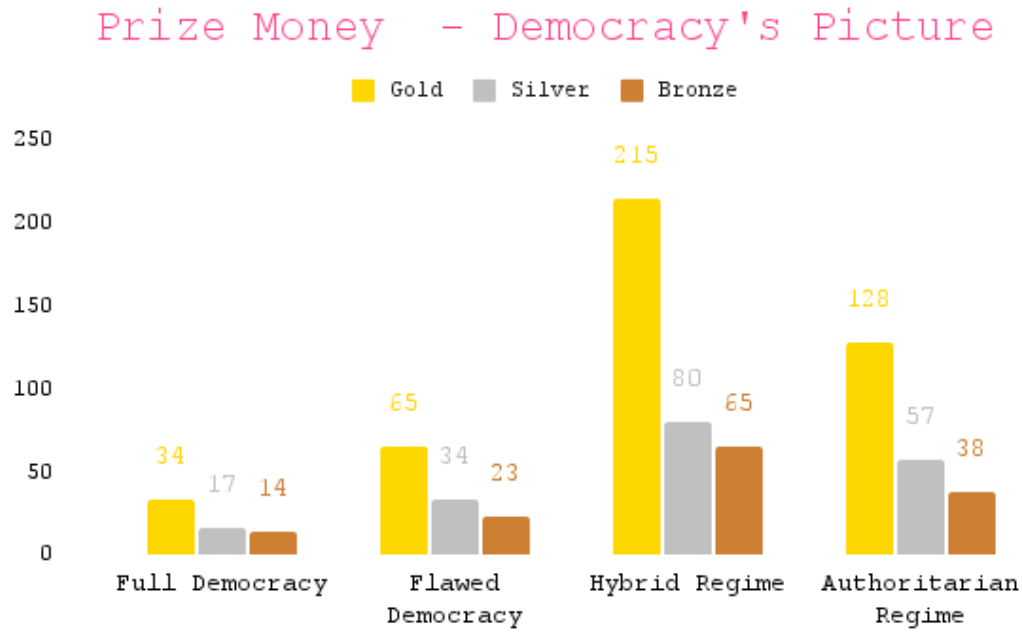


Chart 13: Prize money per countries' level of democracy – median value

Interestingly, democracies are the ones that pay less money in prizes. Full democracies have paid a median value of 34 thousand dollars for gold medallists in Tokyo

[65] Bahamas, Bermuda, Kosovo, and Puerto Rico were not contemplated in the Index.
[66] It is based on five areas: "electoral process and pluralism, the functioning of government, political participation, political culture, and civil liberties" (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2021, p. 3).

2020, while flawed democracies paid almost the double: 65k. They both rewarded significantly less than other (non-democratic) regimes. The median value of a gold medal in hybrid regimes was 215k, whereas in authoritarian regimes it was worth 128k.

Furthermore, countries' prizes were compared with their level of freedom. The Freedom House's Global Freedom Scores, which concerns political rights and freedoms in several countries[67], groups them into three categories: free, partly, and not free. Here we have a perfect correlation, which suggests that the value of prize money is inversely proportional to the country's level of freedom.

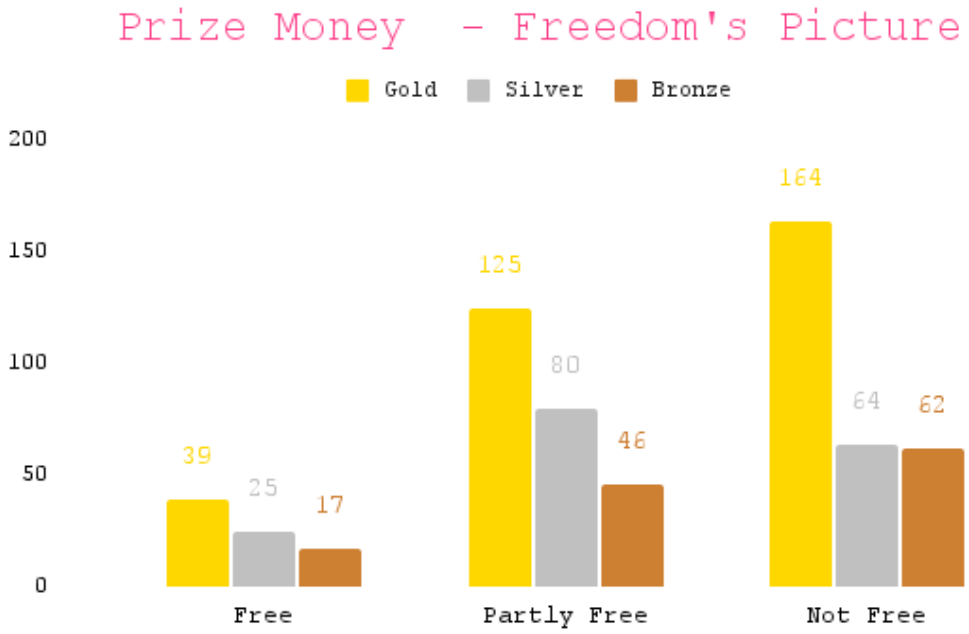


Chart 14: Prize money per countries' level of freedom – median value

The biggest rewards are found in not free nations, while the smallest are in free. Partly free countries stand in the middle. The gold medal (taking into consideration the median) is 320% more valuable in partly free countries than in the free. When comparing the two extremes, the difference is tremendous: 420%.

Much has been written about sport being a tool of soft power in international politics, diplomacy, and relations[68]. As the main actors and actresses in the sporting scene, athletes may also be part of this external usage. Worldwide famous artists are mainly from a few countries, especially English-speaking. Oftentimes, athletes are the most well-known representative of a country in other parts of the world. In this context, it is essential

[67] In this case, only Bahamas, Bermuda, and Puerto Rico were left out.
[68] See, for example, Rofe and Pigman (2014), who describe the importance of international sport as a stage for states to showcase themselves.

to remember that the Olympic Games have almost all eyes of the world upon them. For athletes, it is a dream. For governments, it may be an opportunity.

Athletes coming back to their home soil after snatching a medal at the Olympics to receive greetings from local authorities during ceremonies is not an uncommon scene. Authoritarian regimes, naturally, have all interest in transmitting a better image to the rest of the world. If sports competitions are an appropriate stage, the Olympics is the biggest there is. In this context, are the very valuable rewards that come from these regimes like a payment to ambassadors that help to soften the nations' image before the world? A very complex question that deserves further investigation.

Belarus is one of these countries: 128 thousand dollars for a gold medal; 2,59 (out of 10) on the Democracy Index; 11 (out of 100) on the Global Freedom Scores. The retired Olympic medallist, the Belarussian swimmer Aliaksandra Herasimenia helps fellow countrymen and women, athletes like her. She heads an endeavour called Belarusian Sport Solidarity Foundation. The reason? Athletes who oppose Alexander Lukashenko, the country's president, have even been arrested. According to her 10, while 20 were banned from training in the nation[69]. Among the support they provide, there is financial assistance.

During the Tokyo Olympics, Krystsina Tsimanouskaya, a Belarusian sprinter, was pulled from the Games by the country's NOC and taken to the local airport against her will, while she refused to come back to Belarus. She said that this came after speaking about the coaches' negligence on social media[70]. Days later, she was accepted in Poland where she and her husband were granted refuge[71].

Now, do you think Belarus offer great rewards because it cares and respects athletes? Money is polysemantic. It can mean independence, autonomy, and freedom. It also can represent subjugation and control. Autonomy can only be reached with independence, including economic. The IOC talks a lot about organisations' autonomy, what about athletes' own autonomy?

Some of the rewards given by authoritarian governments may be considered as a way to control athletes and subjugated them to act a certain way that pleases the central power, which may wish to transmit to the world a better image of itself. Would one deny

[69] Interview conceded in 2020 (see AFP, 2020).
[70] See Tétrault-Farber (2021).
[71] See Ptak and Tétrault-Farber (2021).

receiving this money? Why would they if the IOC itself do not pay prize money? Can they?

Accordingly, paying prize money is:

- The right thing to do. It demonstrates respect for athletes' work and effort;
- Recognise that athletes are the biggest stars of the show and, therefore, deserve their fair part of the revenue;
- Respect for athletes' freedom. Therefore, the rewards should be given directly to them, for them to use as they wish;
- About equality: some athletes may receive fantastic prizes, while others earn much less from the same performances;
- About independence: having money means also more freedom to make autonomous choices.

I do not intend here to suggest that some thousand dollars offered each four years will change everything. However, it is part of the change. It is a necessary step to take athletes from objectification (from people, media, organisations, governments) towards autonomy and full professionalism.

Now, the fundamental question is: how much should be paid? How much will the IOC spend?

5.3.4 – How Big the Piece of Pie Should Be? More numbers and, finally, a proposal

My ideal Olympic prize money system would be similar to tennis tournaments. All participants receive monetary rewards, not only the top performers. In this context, everyone that participates in the Olympics would be entitled to earn something. This would be ideal. Nonetheless, each sport has a different number of participants and formats. Hence, this would require even more research and a broader study, which is incompatible with this thesis. Accordingly, the focus here is on the medallists, since there is uniformity among them (all disciplines award three medals). Also seeking uniformity, first individual medallists will be approached, but afterwards, as it is going to be demonstrated, will be possible to extend the findings to teams.

Before presenting the numbers, it is important to make clear that this is an egalitarian approach, that is, equal prize money to men, women, and across all Olympic sports. Although some events have bigger audiences (being more important to RHBs, for example) than others, all sports make up the Olympic scenario, they are all part of the show, whether with more important or smaller roles. Paying equal prize money is

fundamental to maintain unity among participants and to be in pace with the fundamental principles of Olympism. In the previous sections, data was presented separated between NOCs, governments and other systems. Now, overall findings are the object of analysis.

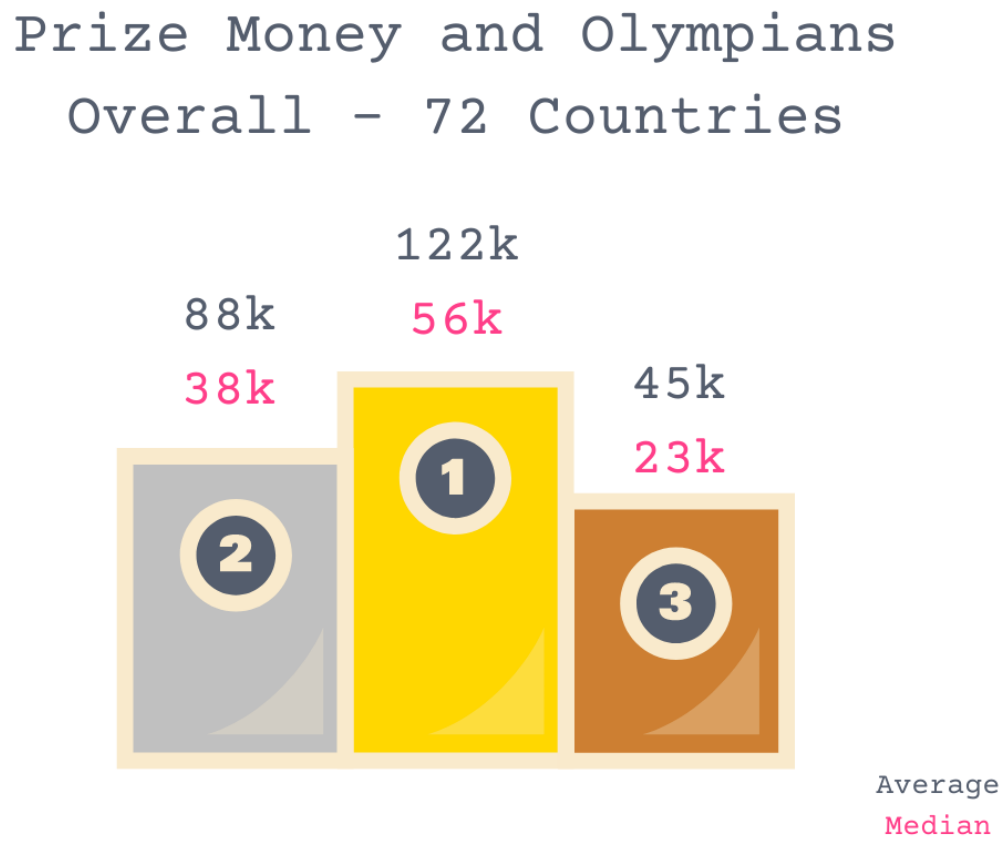


Figure 20: General picture of prize money for Olympic performance

The median value of the gold medal awarded was 56 thousand dollars. Silver medallists went on to receive a recompense of 38k, while the median amount of money among bronze medallists was 23k. The average paid overall was higher, of course, in the three cases: 122, 88, and 45 thousand dollars for gold, silver, and bronze respectively.

Throughout this 5.3 section, a lot of data was collected from several sources. Now there are multiple values to work with, as the figure below summarizes. The first conclusion is clear: the rewards given by governments/NOCs are very good compared with the rest of the sports world (taking into consideration the median). The average of elite competitions (helped by sports like tennis and golf) are similar to prizes given by governments.

To come up with values for proposing a reward system paid by the IOC, this thesis will consider the medians values from the four categories: elite competitions, prizes given

by NOCs, governments, and the overall prizes at the Olympic Games, which also include the prizes offered by other systems, like joint payment between NOCs and governments[72].

Realities of Prize Money

	1st	2nd	3rd
Elite Competitions	175k 24k	96k 14k	56k 10k
Governments OG	175k 117k	85k 69k	55k 46k
NOCs OG	52k 39k	29k 24k	23k 17k
Overall OG	122k 56k	88k 38k	45k 23k

Average Median

Figure 21: Overall picture of prize money

The average of the above medians points out our values: 59, 36, and 24 thousand dollars. To give more precise numbers, the proposed reward system would provide the Olympic podium with the following rewards.

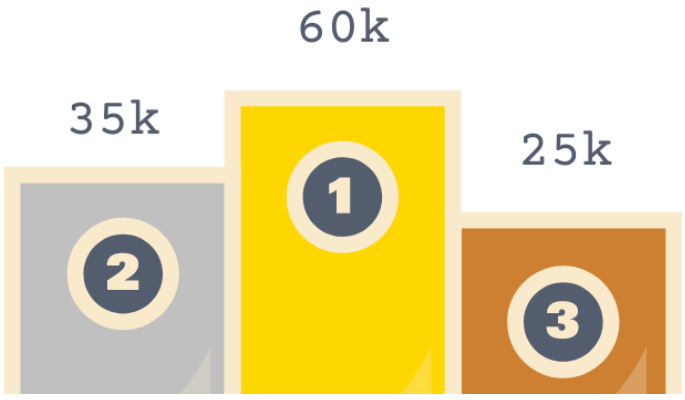


Figure 22: Olympic prize money system - a proposal - individual

What about team sports? The value has to be different. Giving 60k for a 23 roster is not fair. Giving 60k to each member of a 23 roster is not realistic and compatible with

[72] I did not consider those as a distinct category for having different systems and being a smaller sample.

the individual prizes. As seen previously, the median of values paid per team member in the analysed elite competitions is: 10, 8, and 6 thousand dollars for first, second, and third places sequentially.

There are different ways to reward teams. The Belgian NOC pays 12.5 thousand euros per team member that wins a gold medal, while the individual prize is 50k. That is, a team member receives 25% of the individual prize. The Spanish NOC differentiates team sports from doubles, paying around 80% to each member compared with the individual prize. Other NOCs pay a higher amount to teams for them to distribute between members.

The differentiation between teams and doubles makes sense. Applying the 80% used by Spain, the values would be 48, 28, 20 thousand dollars.

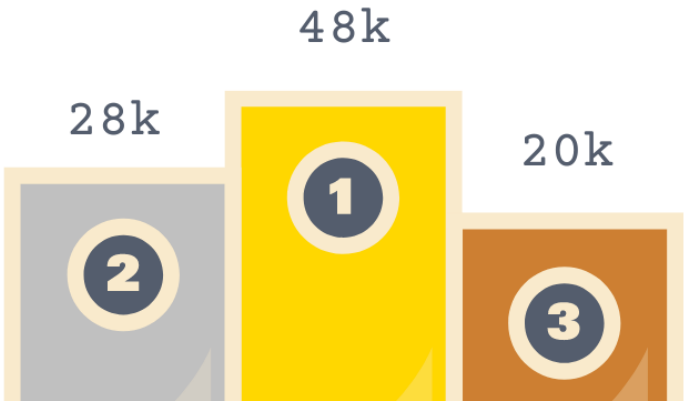


Figure 23: Olympic prize money system - a proposal - doubles

Furthermore, when it comes to teams, applying the 25% used by Belgium, the following numbers would be paid for each member: 15, 9, and 6 thousand dollars, in pace with what is paid at elite competitions.

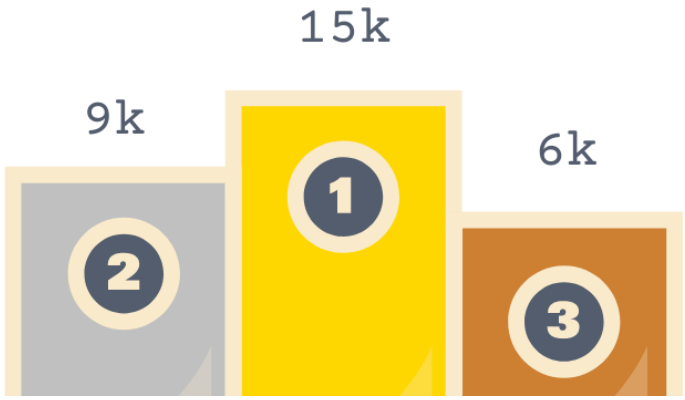


Figure 24: Olympic prize money system - a proposal - teams

Having set the amounts, one more challenge lies in front of defining an overall expense for the IOC: the number of athletes. With individual medallists and even doubles

is straightforward. However, teams, as described above, have different sizes even in the same sport. Therefore, through the official Tokyo 2020 webpage, data was collected on each medallist team's size. With these numbers and the proposed values for prize money, it was possible to calculate how much money would be needed to fund the reward system.

Events	Number of Teams			Number of Individuals			Expenses (in USD)			
	Gold	Silver	Bronze	Gold	Silver	Bronze	Gold	Silver	Bronze	Total
Individual	244	242	305	244	242	305	14.640.000	8.470.000	762.5000	30.735.000
Doubles	36	36	36	72	72	72	3.456.000	2.016.000	144.0000	6.912.000
Teams: 3	8	8	8	24	24	24	360.000	216.000	144.000	720.000
Teams: 4	17	18	17	68	72	68	1.020.000	648.000	408.000	2.076.000
Teams: 5	5	5	6	25	25	30	375.000	225.000	180.000	780.000
Teams: 6	4	7	4	24	42	24	360.000	378.000	144.000	882.000
Teams: 7	2	0	2	14	0	14	210.000	0	84.000	294.000
Teams: 8	2	2	2	16	16	16	240.000	144.000	96.000	480.000
Teams: 9	4	2	3	36	18	27	540.000	162.000	162.000	864.000
Teams: 10	0	0	1	0	0	10	0	0	60.000	60.000
Teams: 11	2	0	1	22	0	11	330.000	0	66.000	396.000
Teams: 12	4	6	5	48	72	60	720.000	648.000	360.000	1.728.000
Teams: 13	4	3	4	52	39	52	780.000	351.000	312.000	1.443.000
Teams: 14	0	1	0	0	14	0	0	126.000	0	126.000
Teams: 15	1	3	2	15	45	30	225.000	405.000	180.000	810.000
Teams: 16	2	0	1	32	0	16	480.000	0	96.000	576.000
Teams: 18	2	2	2	36	36	36	540.000	324.000	216.000	1.080.000
Teams: 22	2	2	2	44	44	44	660.000	396.000	264.000	1.320.000
Teams: 24	1	1	1	24	24	24	360.000	216.000	144.000	720.000

Table 11: Calculating the expenses with prize money

In the end, a total expense of 52.002.000 million dollars. It is money. It is a lot of money. It is necessary. Amounts and systems may be exhaustively discussed. Here is one proposal that, hopefully, kicks off a meaningful reflection. In Part 4, I will further discuss what could also be new sources of revenue.

Still, 52 million is not even 1% of the IOC' revenue during the Sochi and Rio Olympiad. Not even 1%, I repeat. It is about equality, respect, and freedom.

5.4 – Perceptions on Sport, Money, and the Olympic Games: a survey

Oftentimes throughout this thesis, I have insistently talked about the essentiality of fans and their wishes. They are the consumers, they are basically the reasons why SOs have revenue streams. What do people think about sport and money? Why not ask themselves?

In this context, a survey was distributed and answers were collected. It had three main themes: prize money at the Olympic Games; the possible inclusion of eSports in the Olympics; and general perception on sport, money, and commercialisation of the Games. Let us dive into the findings[73].

5.4.1 – Perceptions on Prize Money

Since the study of this thesis focused on medallists, the questions on the survey also did it. Before all, it was essential to know if people were aware of this issue; if they knew or not the fact that the IOC does not pay prize money to the medallists.

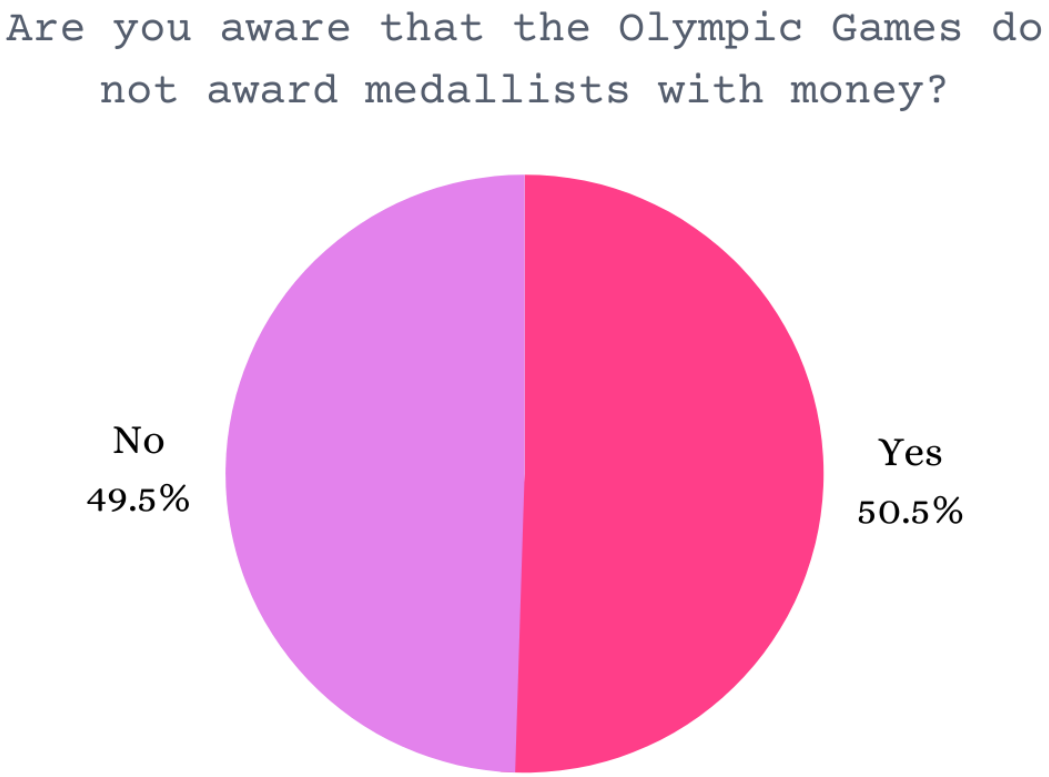


Chart 15: Awareness of prize money[74]

The split decision is indeed very interesting. It is very impressive how many people do not know that the medallists do not receive prize money from the Olympics.

[73] Information about the sample is on Chapter 4 (p. 72).
[74] Specifically for this question, there were 503 participants, as 3 people failed to answer it.

Even between fans, the unfamiliarity with the subject is high. Among sports' fans, 44,57% said they are not aware of the fact (55,43% said yes). The findings meet the somewhat negligence that this subject has in the academy. Despite a little more attention on the issue of prize money, the media coverage does not give this topic the level of attention it deserves either.

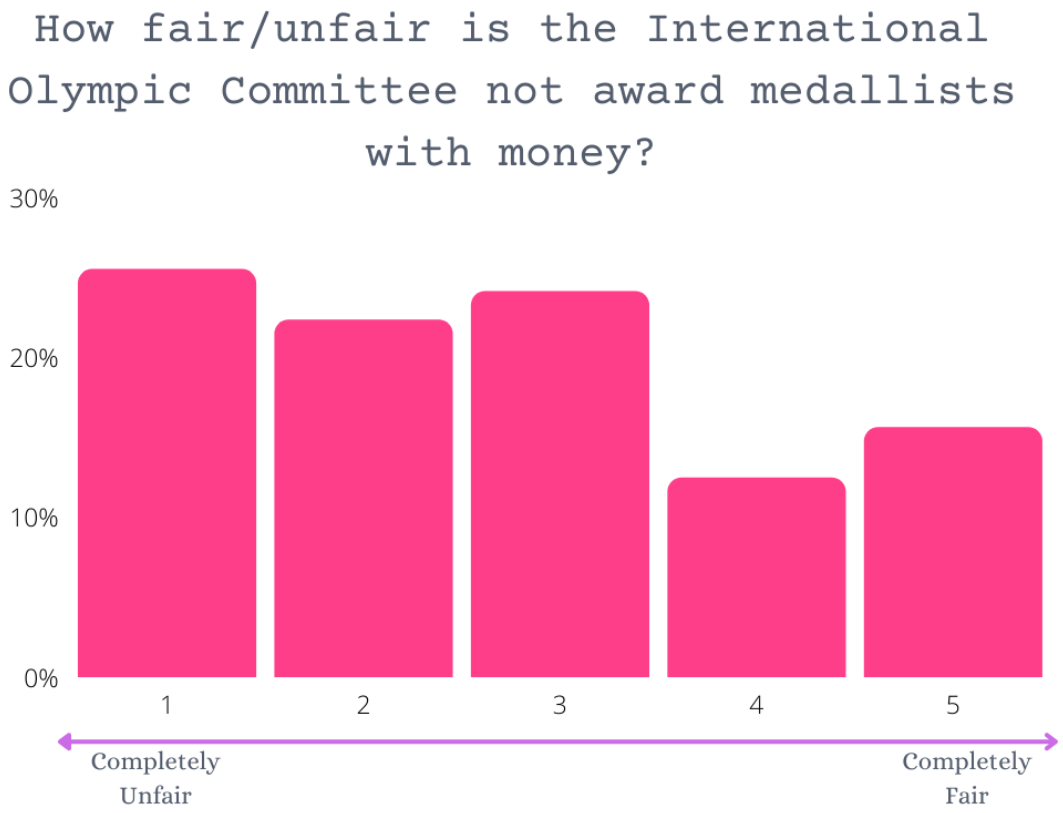


Chart 16: Prize money, the Olympics and the issue of fairness

Moreover, participants were questioned if they thought that this fact was fair or not. On a range from 1 (completely unfair) to 5 (completely fair), almost half (47,82%) stayed on the unfair side, with 25,49% considering it completely unfair, the highest rating. 24,11% stayed in the middle, while 28,06% remained on the fair side of the range, with 15,61% thinking it was completely fair that the IOC did not pay prize money to medallists.

Nonetheless, the ones who favour the payment of prize money were the wide majority. 67,39% answered that they think the Olympics should award money to medallists, while 32,61% do not. The numbers were stable among sports' fans: 67,44% and 32,56%, indicating that this does not impact views on monetary rewards. It is interesting to highlight that number. The issue of prize money, as demonstrated, goes beyond sports themselves. Professionalisation of athletes concerns workers' rights, a broader issue.

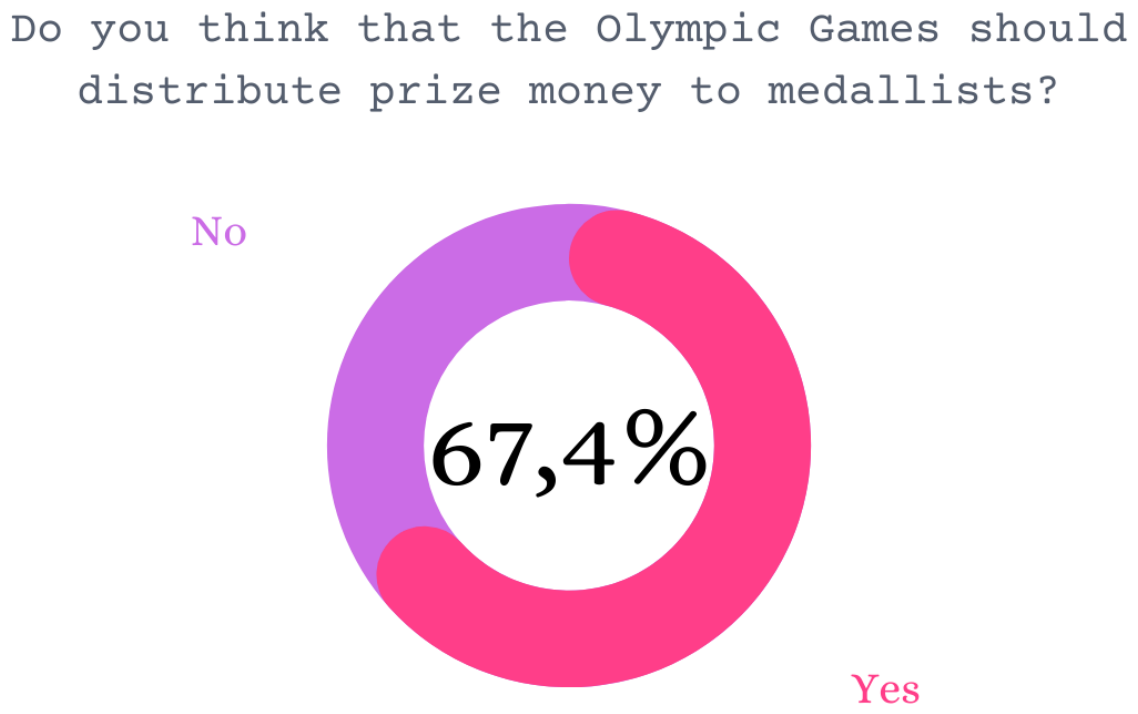


Chart 17: Favourability towards prize money

As the thesis supports, even though the people's support is important, the payment of prize money goes beyond wishes and perceptions, being simply the right decision to make. Still, it is relevant to know if the rewards would bother people, especially fans and the ones who thought the Olympics should not pay prize money. In this context, an overwhelming majority (81,42%) would not be disturbed by it.

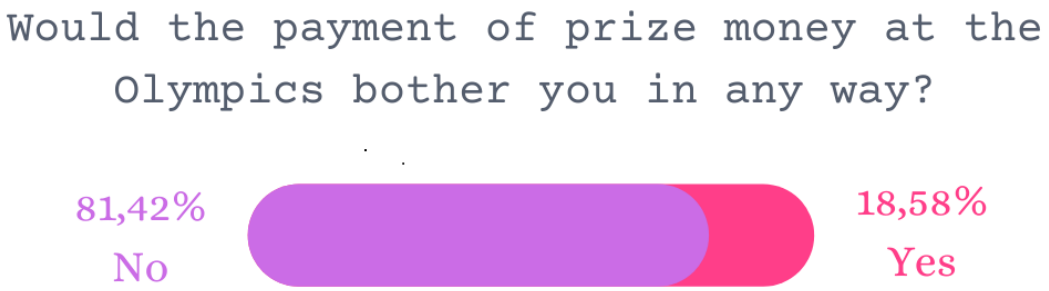


Chart 18: Prize money, the Olympics and people's reactions

It is particularly important to highlight that even among the minority who was not in favour of prize money, the vast majority would not be bothered by the payment in any way (63,64%). Among people who work in the sports industry, there is an equal split

between the ones who think the Games should pay prize money or not. Still, the majority (76,47%) would not be bothered by it.

Respondents, then, were welcomed to further explain their feelings regarding this question. 208 (41,1%) choose to answer the open question. The word cloud below brings some of the most used words: deserve and work in English, beyond fair, effort, and incentive in Portuguese.

Figure 25: Word cloud about prize money at the Olympics (generated by SurveyHero)

Among the ones who were not bothered by prize money, with the majority actually supporting it, a very recurring theme was the effort and hard work that an athlete put up in order to be better each day, dedicating a lot of time to training. People also recognised the fact that other stakeholders make money from athletes' work, who are the stars of the show and, therefore, deserve their fair share. For some, money should go to the least financially privileged sports, while for others athletes need more financial support.

Contrastingly, the ones who were against prize money, with some even feeling bothered over it, explain their reasons. From the Victorian era to the current days, the heritage of amateurism lives on. The fake news spread at those times, as described in Chapter 3, of ancient amateurism still has its impacts. In this context, it is interesting to note the amount of misinformation here: some of the participants still referred to Olympians as amateurs and the Games as an amateur competition.

Moreover, participants linked money to negative practices, such as corruption. Many of the ones who oppose prize money mentioned the sports and Olympics' spirit, as they should not be about money, but instead about effort and representing their nations. Respondents also approached athletes as already being well paid, while others believe that having their expenses covered and receiving mediatic attention is enough.

The amateur motto of playing only for the sake of it, for love, passion, with no other interests whatsoever, still has supporters. Furthermore, some people worry that the

payment of prize money might interfere with the Olympic concept of union of the people. Still, the ones who oppose prize money are the minority.

5.4.2 – Perceptions on eSports

Now to the controversy! A subject that always produces a lot of dispute and heated debates. Should eSports be part of the Olympics? Differently from the previous topic, this is not of matter of rights. It is part of a commercial strategy to attract new audiences and diversify (and grow) revenue. In this context, people's opinions, especially fans, is fundamental.

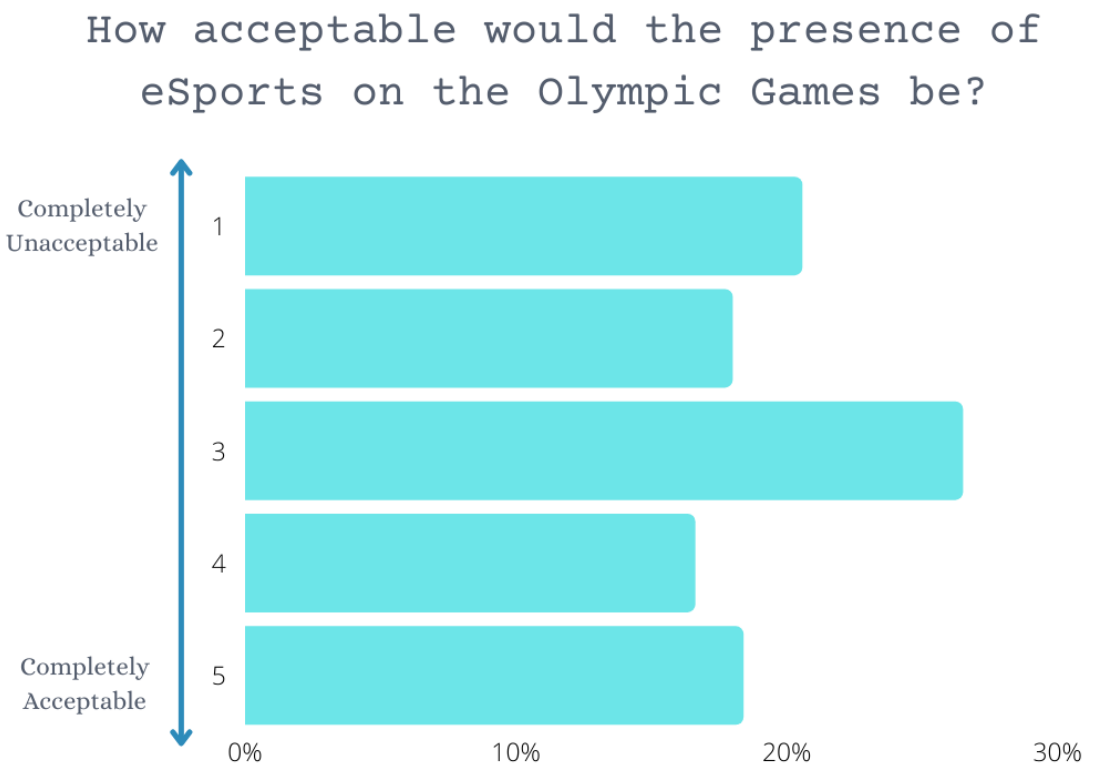


Chart 19: Acceptability of eSports - option 1

The division is clear. It is so big that the biggest rate here is in the middle (26,48%) of a range that goes from 1 (completely unacceptable) to 5 (completely acceptable). More people lean towards the non-acceptance of eSports in the Games: 38,53%, with 20,55% considering it completely unacceptable. On the other hand, 34,98% leaned towards the acceptability of eSports, with 18,38% of participants thinking it is completely acceptable.

As seen in Chapter 3, in the context of eSports and the Olympics, it is important to reflect upon where in the Games they would be. That is, with very split opinions when it comes to gaming being part of the Olympics, the participants were also asked about a different situation: eSports as part of a side event. The reception was powerfully different.

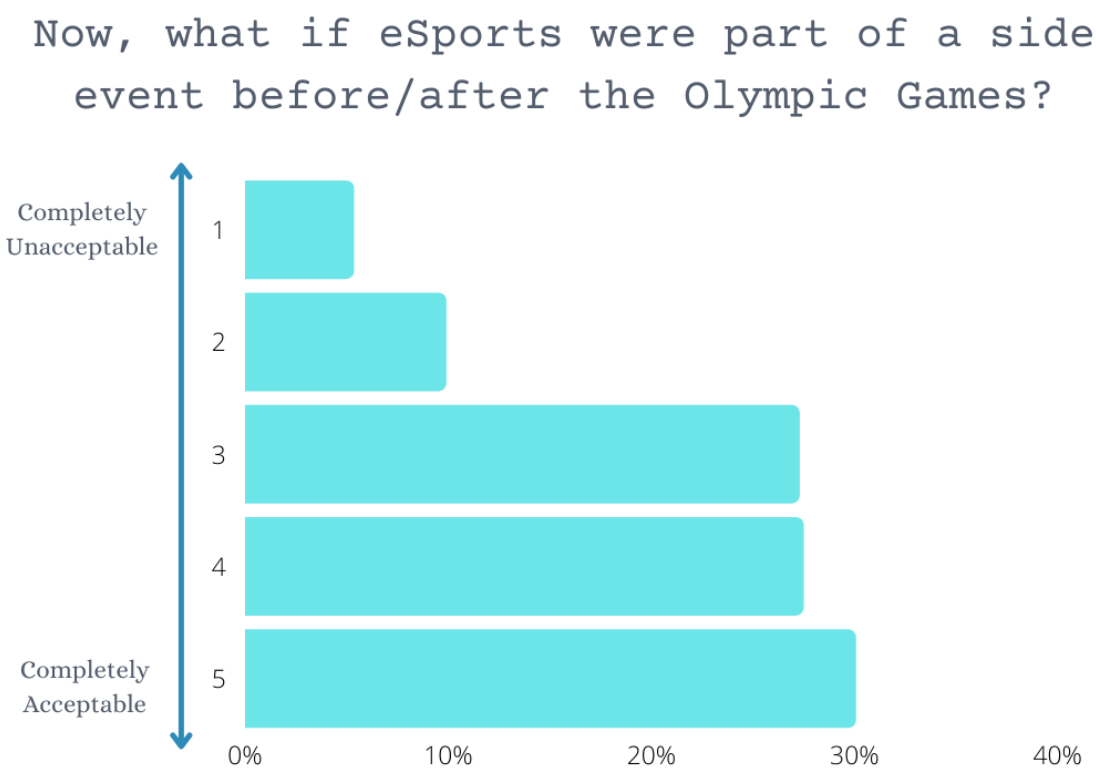


Chart 20: Acceptability of eSports - option 2

For this proposition, only 15,22% of respondents choose the side of unacceptability, while 27,27% stayed in the middle. The meaningful majority (57,51%) choose the acceptability, with the highest rate considering eSports as a side event before or after the Olympics completely acceptable: 30,04%.

Among people who work in the sports industry, the difference between the two possibilities was remarkable. The level of unacceptability (that is, options 1 and 2) went from 58,83% in the case of eSports during the Olympics to 20,59% when the option was a side event.

The issue of eSports has all to do with the future, with a younger generation. Hence, it is important to analyse how the different age groups regard it. Surprisingly, as a matter of fact, the levels of acceptability towards a side eSports event is very similar regardless of the age of the respondents. This is interesting, insofar as the expected resistance from older people may not be so big[75].

[75] In the literature about eSports, there are also several mentions about gender, not only as games being sexists, but also being a masculine and misogynistic environment. Here, the differences between men and women in eSports acceptability is not significant either.

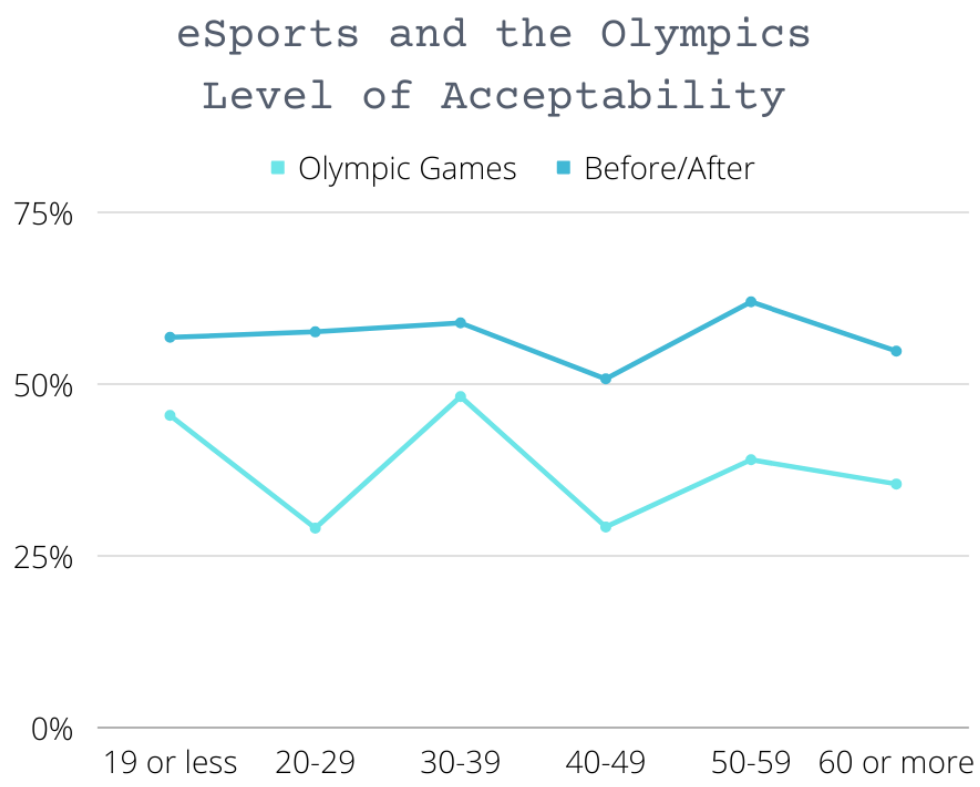


Chart 21: Acceptability of eSports - age groups

On the other hand, indeed, the younger generation is more willing to accept eSports during the Olympic Games than the majority of other groups. Still, there was considerable resistance among people between 20 and 29 years. The disparity between these two groups seems to confirm that the eSports phenomenon is very incipient yet.

5.4.3 – Perceptions on Level of Commercialisation, Sport, and Money

The main topic of this thesis, sport and money, is very broad, complex and present in the whole history of sports. Yet, this conflict and apparent paradox may not be so well defunded and present in the minds of people. It was covered, mainly in Part 2, how the academy deals with it. In this context, it is very interesting to note how people perceive it, especially sports' fans.

This is about perception, feelings. Much probably, most people never really thought about it, even though is an important subject in the literature and an IOC's concern. Only 21,54% of participants think that the Olympics are over-commercialised, whereas 15,02% believe they are actually under-commercialised. An important group do not mind the level of commercialisation: 24,11%. The highest rate thinks that the Olympic Games are commercialised at a proper level: 39,33%.

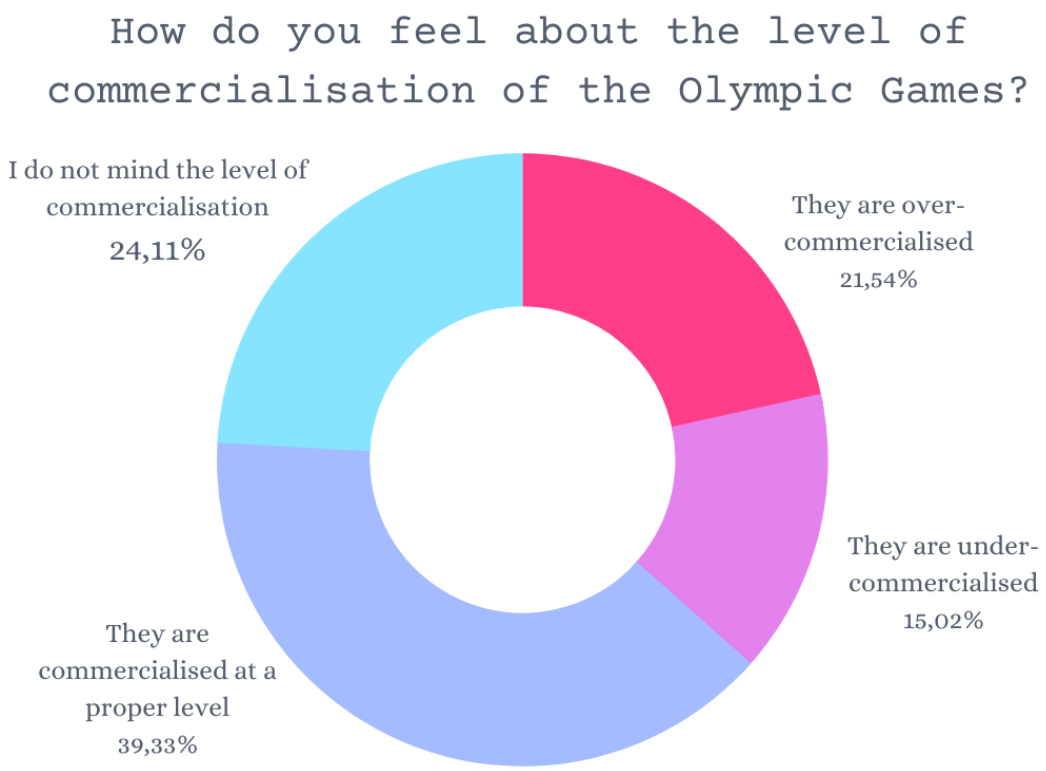


Chart 22: Perceptions on Olympics' commercialisation

Furthermore, on a range that goes from 1 (nothing) to 5 (very much), people were divided when it comes to how much the level of commercialisation both of sports and the Olympics may hurt their cultural dimensions.

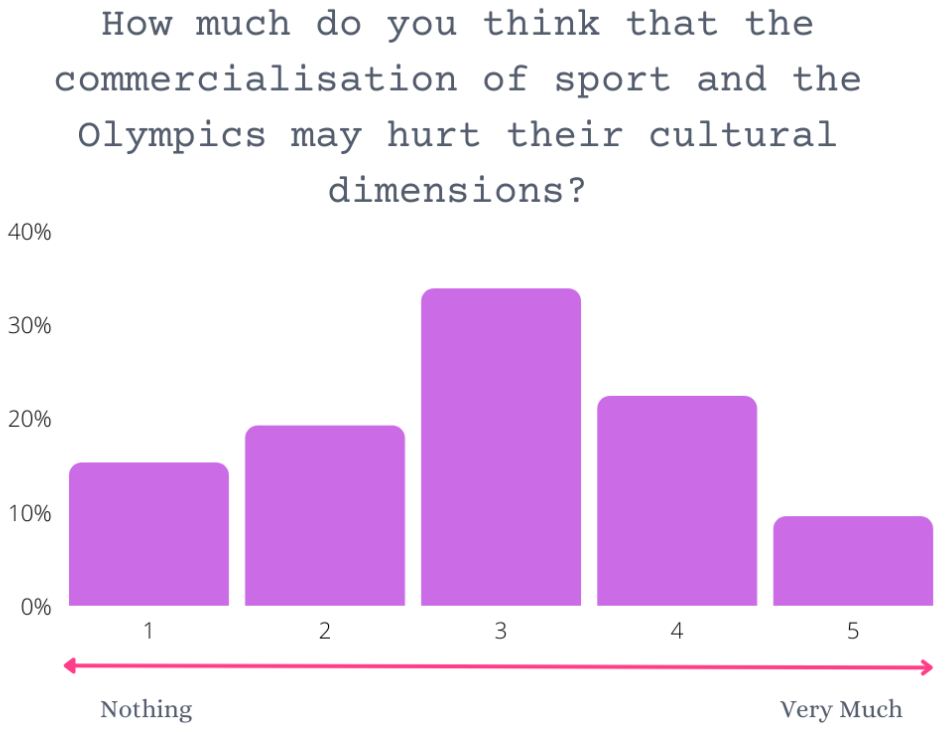


Chart 23: Commercialism and culture

The highest rate of people stayed in the middle: 33,79%. On one side, 34,39% leaned towards "nothing", while 31,82% towards "very much". Practically, each third chose one of the three sides.

It is a rather complex question to answer. Nonetheless, from these numbers, it is possible to observe how commercialisation indeed concerns some people, who think it may hurt sports' cultural side, while most people seem not to care so much about it or not consider a conflict. Therefore, in the last closed question of the survey, the participants were asked a very direct question.

Among all participants, 54,55% believe that there is no ethical, cultural, or moral contradiction between money and sport, while 45,45% think otherwise. Overall, the numbers show that the relationship between sport and money is complex and controversial for people in general as well. How to interpret all of these last three findings? This thesis supports the view that they exclude any radicalisms on this topic.

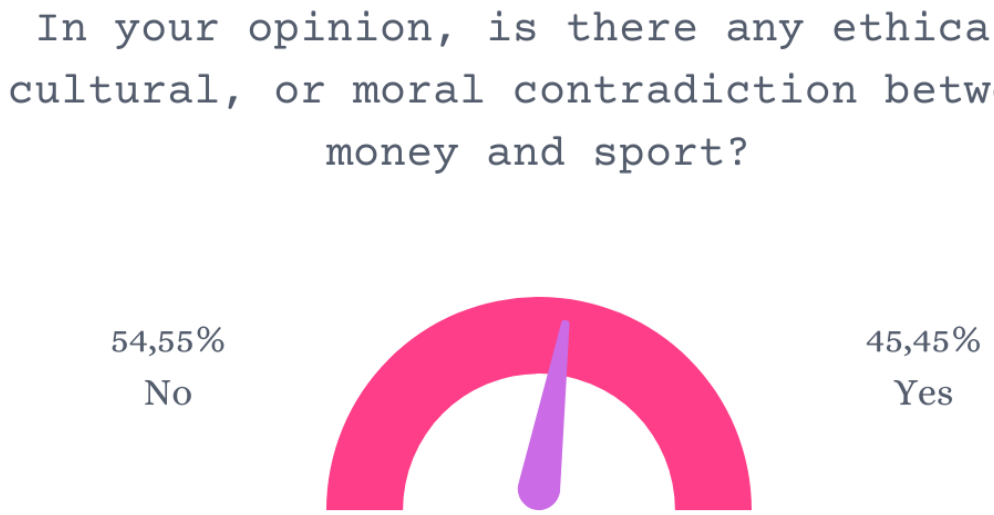


Chart 24: Sport and Money - a possible contradiction

In Portuguese, we use to say: *nem tanto ao mar, nem tanto à terra.* The direct translation does not mean much: not too much to the sea, neither to the earth. It means moderation, equilibrium. The world needs it, doesn't it? It fits very well the conflict that may exist between sport as a cultural institution and money with the commercialisation at the elite level. There is a need to recognize each other's paper.

Interestingly enough, there was a significant deviation among age groups. Youngers were more inclined to believe that there is a paradox than older strata. The highest rate of people considering there is a paradox was among the youth (19 years or

less): 61,36%. On the other hand, people between 50 and 59 years were overwhelmingly against this notion: 68%.

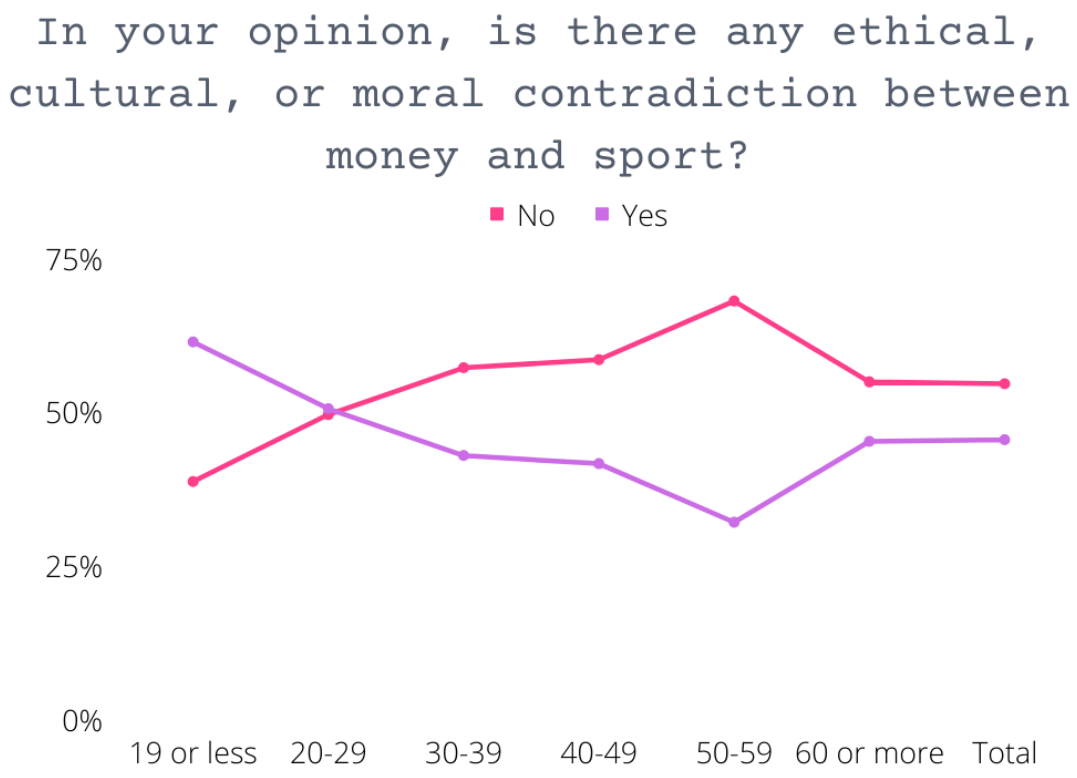


Chart 25: A possible paradox - age groups

It was a quite revealing outcome. Both these groups were also the extremes in the question of if prize money at the Olympics would bother them or not. Although all age categories would not feel this way, among the youth, 88,64% would not be bothered, while this number dropped to 74% in the group 50-59. People who are 19 or less were also more favourable to prize money (70,45%) than the ones of the older stratum (56%).

Therefore, even though the youngest is more welcoming to prize money and eSports as well, they are the ones whose majority think there is a contradiction between sport and money. A further investigation may deepen this research. An open question might help to illuminate even more this issue. After being asked about the possible contradiction between money and sport, participants were asked to justify their point of view. 111 choose to do so, almost 22%.

Among the younger participants, it was cited the dichotomy of athletes' health and the pressures from organisations. That is, in a growing commercialised context, people are expected to devote their bodies entirely to a job that might bring damages to them, which are, often, not carefully taken into consideration. Maybe, the youth is more

empathetic towards athletes, and more conservative towards organisations; recognizing athletes' rights, which may, of course, conflict with SOs' commercial goals.

A lot has been discussed lately about the mental and physical health of athletes. SOs' and other external demands[76] may put them in danger. Recognizing these issues as important is further recognizing athletes as professionals even more. That is how I interpret the youth's take on the issue of sport and money; for example, they are more used to the subject of mental health[77].

Additionally, there were two main topics among the ones who answered yes: inequality[78] and Olympic values. Some people regard sports and money as a contradiction referring to problems caused by the combination: corruption and doping, for instance. However, several participants took on this issue through the problem of inequality, highlighting how people have very different types of access to sport, depending on their financial background and identity. Indeed, this is a major problem in sport and society in general but does not configure a contradiction in itself, but an issue that money might cause (and solve). Nonetheless, the paradox might be in seeing sport as something healthy or for equality and money corrupts that aura. Still, money may also be the solution in the case of financial inequality. In this context, several responses approached the issue of football and major sports and their money concentration, worrying about it.

Inversely, the ones who do not believe in the contradiction wrote, for example, about money being able to improve the quality of sports. Inequality was also an issue here. Some differentiated the Olympics from other competitions. A recurring theme was money as part of life and of the world's system, being possible to conciliate it with physical expressions, regardless.

Therefore, reading books is fundamental and precious. Getting in touch with people's opinions is crucial. Through the responses, it was possible to note how humans regard sports and some pivotal issues of contemporaneity. Patterns were identified and linked with what was studied in Chapter 3; recognizing the ideology of amateurism as a current (limited) force. Most importantly, people acknowledge, each time more, athletes'

[76] Especially from social media when it comes to mental health.

[77] In the gender strata the difference is similar. For men, there is no contradiction (62,04%), and the acceptability of prize money is lower (61,57%). For women, there is contradiction (51,58%), and prize money is even more favoured (72,28%). I apply the same suggestion here. Maybe women are more concerned with athletes' welfare and regard in it a conflict with money.

[78] Analysing the responses to the open question, I believe that this was a rather complex issue and, maybe, the formulation of the interrogation was not clear enough. Nonetheless, even if the responses did not tackle the allegedly contradiction, they provided interesting considerations anyway.

rights and are not so afraid of innovations, after all. Still, it is not only about sport. People's relationship with it is unique. That was clear, but it is about to get extremely bright.

PART 3 – BETWEEN THE OLYMPICS AND THE SUPER LEAGUE: CASE STUDIES

CHAPTER 6 – THE EUROPEAN SUPER LEAGUE

6.1 – Introduction

Not too many times have we witnessed such crude and pathetic disaster as the one we had in 2021. The attempt to create the European Super League did not last long, nonetheless, it attracted all eyes of the world and caused an earthquake in the structures of the most popular modern sport. As explained at the beginning of this thesis, simply discarding it as a failed, jumbled, and messy endeavour seems quite naïve or a missed opportunity to further understand a complex phenomenon. It is sustained in this thesis that the Super League carried a lot of meaning and translated so much of the current challenges and shapes of the sports industry, as well as gave light to how the relationship between money and sport is complex. That is the motive of this case study's importance.

Figure 26: The Super League side of the Sport's coin: money and commercialism

This chapter is broken down into three parts. The first is descriptive and concerns the short history of the Super League. As Norman, a New York Fixer, the League had a moderate rise and a tragic fall. Thus, this section will be structured in a slightly different way from the rest of the thesis, in a more narrative tale-like style centred in the perception of a fictitious character: John, a painfully normal guy who was one of the countless

witnesses of this disastrous attempt to create a new championship. The report will be based on documents, press releases and, mainly, on the press coverage of the event, namely the one made by British media: The Guardian, The Sun, Daily Mail, Financial Times, and BBC. The reasons for focusing on them are language; the representativeness of English teams in the ESL; and the importance of the country to modern sport.

Next, after having all the facts clear, it will be time to summarize the problems of the Super League, describing the tone of the critiques and what bothered people the most. After all, the European Super League is on the other side of our Sport's Coin, in direct opposition to the Olympic Games. In the third and final section of this chapter, I will critically analyse these critiques.

6.2 – Short Summary of a Very Shy Rise, a Train Wreck Fall, and an unknown future

Does everybody feel the same thing at the end of Sundays? There is nothing wrong with them, they are still better than Mondays. However, there is a quite weird feeling that fills up hearts and souls with the tick of the clock; a sort of emptiness. It is like the end of the show. The lights go out. The curtains close. Everyone leaves. It is as if everything that needed to happen, happened, and nothing else will fall upon us. It is time to prepare for Monday, and who likes them?

John was feeling exactly like this during that Sunday night. It was April 18. On Saturday, he visited his parents, something rare during these very troubled times. On the day after, he celebrated his Manchester United victory over Burnley, ending a period of six years without winning over them on home soil. It was a good, regular Sunday… until something pops up on his phone.

Thousands, probably dozens of millions notifications around the world let people know about the latest news that would change the landscape of elite football, at least, that was what it looked like. In fact, it did not last long, but what followed were days of doubts, panic and uneasy high anxiety. Juventus, Internazionale Milano, Milan (Italy), Arsenal, Chelsea, Liverpool, Manchester City, Manchester United, Tottenham Hotspur (England), Atlético de Madrid, Barcelona, and Real Madrid (Spain) all announced they were part of the new Super League.

Twelve of the biggest football clubs in the world. The greatest clubs of three of the most important countries in the sport. Putting French and German clubs aside, this new endeavour represented football *crème de la crème*. John and many people around the world stopped to read, listen or watch what was all of that about, after all, the greatest of their favourite sport were involved. Not a boring Sunday anymore.

They were the Founding Clubs, which governed the League that would further receive three other clubs. It was a brand-new tournament. A competition to the Champions League, the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA)'s championship that became synonymous with the greatest football played on Earth, in the mid-week. Other five clubs would join the 15, according to their prior performance. By August 2021, there would be two groups of ten, with clubs competing for a spot in the quarterfinals. A promise for a women's equivalent competition was also made.

Anyway, once the notification about the League's creation came, John saw on their favourite websites and sports TV shows the widespread negative reaction. At this

moment, he spoke out loud: "Damn! It was born cancelled". Governing bodies, former players, fans, the press, influential people in football, and even politicians. The reaction was strong, massive, and it made clear that the project was doomed. UEFA even suggested it could ban Super League's players from national team competitions.

On the day after, John read on *Financial Times*[79] that JP Morgan Chase, an American investment bank behind the League, had promised to each of the 12 Founding Clubs a bonus that could reach 300 million euros. "It is all about money", thought John shaking his head negatively. The same report revealed that the Super League could make the double in broadcast rights, compared with the Champions League, and that there would be 400 million euros in grants available to other teams and bodies.

Everything seemed to be happening so quickly. Also, on the day after, a new format for UEFA Champions League, the greatest enemy of the Super League, was agreed, with a much bigger group stage (more teams and matches). The announcement did not pass with no controversy[80].

Before the pandemic, attending Old Trafford and watching some games with his friends in their favourite local pub were a very important part of John's life. It was an escape. Something in which he could hold on whenever everything else was falling apart. Watching the news, listening to all the repercussions, he felt that the world he knew and loved, was under threat. He could not watch that passively silent.

John and some of his friends went down to the sacred home ground of their team to protest against the League. Arsenal[81], Chelsea[82], Liverpool[83], Manchester City[84], and Tottenham[85] fans all have done the same. At the end of the day, on the same phone through which he felt threatened on a Sunday night, he was now getting a notification of relief: "It is over!".

Indeed, what for many was a nightmare (pretty much everyone, including supporters) was over in a few days. First, the Blues jumped out of the sinking sporting Titanic, followed by the Citizens. The rest of the gang, the Gunners, Spurs, Reds, and Red Devils also withdrew from the League on the same day. Arsenal even apologised. That

[79] See Ahmed and Massoudi (2021).
[80] See Stone (2021).
[81] See Mayo (2021).
[82] See Taylor (2021).
[83] See BBC's article about it (April 19, 2021).
[84] See Salt (2021).
[85] See Jones (2021b).

was not the end. On the day after, on the mainland, Italia's Inter and Milan joined Spain's Atlético de Madrid followed their English companions.

Defeat did not come without humiliation. Almost three weeks after the announcement, these nine Founding Clubs issued an apology, committing themselves to UEFA. The Club Commitment Declaration, with a very vassal tone, brought many declarations and actions, such as ending their relationships with the ESL, making a millionaire donation to be invested in European youth and grassroots football, receiving less revenue money from UEFA for a season and stipulating fines for future rebellions. They were left to look like children apologizing to their mother.

"What about the others?", thought John with himself… and you may be thinking the same. Barcelona, Juventus, and Real Madrid complained about the pressures and retaliations they were suffering, as well as denouncing the contradiction of the former "partners in crime". For them, UEFA prepared in May an investigation that could lead to their exclusion from the Champions League.

Champions League… that song, that environment… in September of the same year, John was gathering with his friends to watch United's debut on the 2021/22 season against Young Boys. The Red Devils were in Group F. Right before them, on Groups D and F were Real Madrid and Barcelona, while Juventus was to play on Group H. The world did not end. Everything looked particularly the same. What happened there?

Well, the investigation led to disciplinary proceedings. Still in May, UEFA announced that in the context of "potential violation" of its "legal framework"[86]. As far as English clubs are concerned, the Commitment Declaration was not the last step of their redemption crusade. In June, the Big Six clubs further agreed to pay 22 million pounds to the Premier League, which will be used for "the good of the game", whatever that means[87]. Anyway, months later, in August, all of the clubs which abandoned the failed project reintegrated the European Club Association, which they have left on the previous crisis.

Here is the thing; John didn't read juridical news. However, immediately after Super League's debut, the Courts became an important stakeholder. Two days after that April 18, a Spanish Court ruled against any sanctions that UEFA and FIFA might impose on the Founding Clubs[88]. On the next month, the Madrid Commercial Court No 17

[86] UEFA released its decision on May, 25.
[87] See MacInnes (2021b).
[88] See Mcevoy (2021) for more information about it.

referred the Super League issue to the European Court. In July, the same Court ruled against possible disciplinary proceedings towards the three rebels: "The case will be assessed by the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg, which shall review UEFA's monopolistic position over European football", says a statement from the clubs[89].

While the remaining three rebels had already played a match in the 2021/22 Champions League, UEFA decided in September that it would not proceed with any punishments to Barcelona, Juventus, and Real Madrid. The organisation's Appeals Body declared the proceedings opened in May "null and void"[90], with no prejudices whatsoever. This decision came in the context of Madrid Court orders. As *The Guardian*[91] explains, the original lawsuit was established by all members, which remain as shareholders of the League (including the ones who abandoned the project). However, as the *Financial Time* reports, UEFA may place sanctions in the future, and the organisation has sent a memo to national associations, warning: "the persistent pursuit of the ESL project and the resultant court cases comprise an ongoing existential threat to the foundations and future of European football"[92].

What is an end, after all? While John and his friends have all gone back to their normal fan routine, suffering over Solksajer's poor decisions, the Super League does not seem to have ended. As a matter of fact, a legal battle is in place. *The Guardian* reported that UEFA asked for the removal of the Spanish judge responsible for the ESL case for alleged irregularities[93]. The decision of the European Court, which, according to *The Guardian*, is expected only for 2022 at least, may be a game-changer. No one knows what the future holds.

There is a saying often attributed to Pedro Malan[94], Brazilian former Minister of Finance, or sometimes to Gustavo Loyola, former president of the country's Central Bank, that goes like this: "In Brazil, even the past is uncertain". It seems that neither the future nor the past of the Super League and its crisis is clear. The uncertainty that relapses above this case seems only to point to one truth: this is not the final chapter of a new era and even what happened in the past may change.

[89] See Veal (2021).
[90] UEFA released a statement on September 27 about it.
[91] See Conn (2021).
[92] See Ahmed (2021).
[93] See Media (2021).
[94] See Dávila (2019).

ESL'S ALLEGED RISE AND QUESTIONABLE FALL

Backlash

APRIL 18

The beginning of a crisis: announcement of the Super League, with the marvellous 12: Arsenal, Atlético de Madrid, Barcelona, Chelsea, Internazionale Milano, Juventus, Liverpool, Manchester City, Manchester United, Milan, Real Madrid, and Tottenham Hotspurs.

APRIL 20

The first step towards the fall: Arsenal, Chelsea, Liverpool, Man City, Man Utd, and Tottenham withdraw from the League.

APRIL 21

The 9 quitters: Atlético de Madrid, Inter, and Milan join the English clubs.

MAY 7

Clubs that left the League signed the Club Commitment Declaration.

MAY 11

Super League's case in the Spanish Court is referred to the European Court of Justice.

MAY 25

UEFA opens disciplinary proceedings against the clubs that maintain their support to the League: Barcelona, Juventus, and Real Madrid.

SEPTEMBER 27

After Madrid Court's decisions, UEFA backs down, as its appeals body declared the proceedings opened in May “null and void”.

Figure 27: ESL's Timeline

6.3 – Reasons and Motives: from the unpopular defence to the widespread criticism

Since its launch, the Super League has caused an enormous explosion of reactions from several relevant sports stakeholders. Many negative adjectives were thrown towards the new endeavour, as it also raised issues that are controversial in the sports industry, like monopoly and money. To clarify all of the reasons, positions, and stakes at this carnival, this section will describe how interested parts reacted to the League, as well as its own defence. Therefore, this section will be broken down into four parts: the ESL's views, the press coverage, fans reaction, as well as the response from the establishment.

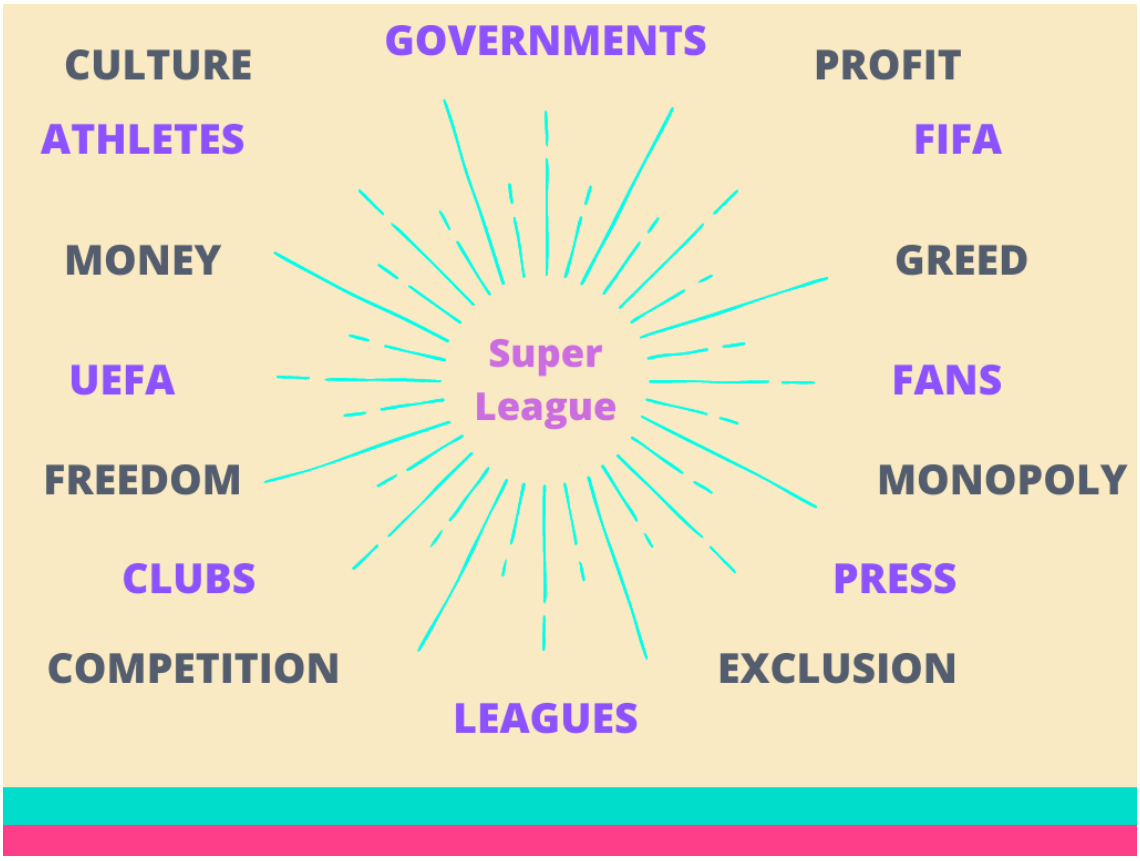


Figure 28: ESL - An explosion of stakeholders and issues

6.3.1 – For they are Sinners? Super League's side of the tsunami

On that fateful April 18, the ESL's press release brought the official reasons for its creation, which can be divided into two categories: financial and technical. The Covid-19 pandemic is cited as an accelerator to an already existing "instability in the existing European football economic model", with a need to enhance the generation of value in the sport. Furthermore, on the technical side, the document also mentions the will of the Clubs to make better competition, with a higher level of quality. The League promised growth for the entire European football, through "a long-term commitment to uncapped solidarity payments", while right from the start, the Founding Clubs would receive 3.5

billion euros "solely to support their infrastructure investment plans and to offset the impact of the COVID pandemic"[95].

So far, only three of the original twelve Founding Clubs continue to support the endeavour: Barcelona, Juventus, and Real Madrid. It is fundamental to understand that the first Chairman of the League is Merengue's President, Florentino Pérez, and the Vice-Chairman is Vecchia Signora's Chairman, Andrea Agnelli. On the initial statement, Pérez suggested that the Super League was an answer to fans' desires, while Agnelli highlighted the sustainability brought by the undertaking.

These three clubs continue to support the Super League. During a shareholders' meeting in October, Agnelli reinforced that he will not give up: "it was the admission from 12 clubs that football is refusing change to maintain a political class that does not risk, does not compete and wants to cash in only"[96]. One month before, in a letter to Juventus' shareholders in September, Agnelli, reflecting on the pandemic impact on the football industry and revenue streams, said that the instability goes beyond the damages caused by Covid-19. For him, there is a need to tackle the challenge brought by a new generation: "football must continue to play a central role in their free time". On the same latter, Agnelli rejects the critics made towards the League's, stating that it commits with solidarity, "a new shared framework to control costs and contribute to ensuring balanced competitiveness within the various competitions", and what he calls a "new meritocratic paradigm"[97].

Another powerful player on the Super League, Florentino Pérez explained that it was created as a saviour to football, in the context of offering a better product. He revealed to be worried about young people lack of interest in football, which is being caused, according to him, due to the number of bad games, as they also can seek entertainment elsewhere. For him, it is a matter of adaptation to a new time: "soccer has to evolve"[98]. During a General Assembly in November, Pérez once again defended the Super League, saying it is about the clubs' freedom. He further complained about the threats made by UEFA and about state-owned football clubs[99]. Real Madrid's current manager, Carlo Ancelotti, also came out in favour of changes in football in an interview to *Corriere dello*

[95] The complete press release is available in the League's website, as referenced in the bibliography.
[96] See Davis (2021).
[97] See Agnelli (2021).
[98] See this interview on BBC's article about it (April 20, 2021).
[99] See Jenson (2021).

Sport: "Football must change quickly. We need fewer games, the quality has worsened, players are exhausted"[100].

On the Catalan side, President Joan Laporta also continues to support the Super League. During an interview to Esport 3 in September, he expressed that the endeavour is going on: "the three clubs who are defending the project are winning all the court cases"[101]. Back in April, Barcelona released a statement defending the need for structural changes in order to "guarantee the financial sustainability and feasibility of world football by improving the product that is offered to fans around the world and by consolidating and even increasing the fan base on which this sport is sustained". The club saw in the Super League a way to improve the product's quality[102].

All said and done, everything boils down to Case C-333/21. In the legal action, the European Super League Company, S. L. seeks in the Court of Justice of the European Union a preliminary ruling against UEFA and FIFA, which would grant the conditions to develop the Super League. The decision to refer was made on May 11, while it was lodged on May 27. The request is based on the interpretation of six articles of The Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (European Union, 2012a):

- Article 45 → Guarantees workers' freedom of movement;
- Article 49 → Guarantees freedom of establishment in Member States, including the right "to set up and manage undertakings" (p. 67);
- Article 56 → Guarantees freedom to provide services;
- Article 63 → Guarantees movement of capital;
- Article 101 → Prohibits actions "which have as their object or effect the prevention, restriction or distortion of competition within the internal market" (p. 88);
- Article 102 → Prohibits "abuse by one or more undertakings of a dominant position within the internal market or in a substantial part of it… in so far as it may affect trade between Member States" (p. 89).

It is important to note that articles 101 and 102 of the TFEU concern rules of competition, specifically in the context of undertakings. Thus, the Super League questions UEFA and FIFA power to demand prior approval, adopt sanctions and, ultimately, the fact that they "have conferred on themselves the exclusive power to organise or give

[100] See Griffee (2021).
[101] See Agencies (2021).
[102] See FC Barcelona (2021a)

permission for international club competitions in Europe" (Court of Justice of the European Union, Case C-333/21, 2021, p. 2). Therefore, the applicant inquires if the organisations' attempt to stop the ESL would not disrespect Article 101, "eliminating potential competition on the market and limiting consumer choice" (p. 3).

The Super League also takes on FIFA Statues, more specifically Articles 67 and 68, which deals with Rights in competitions and events and Authorisation to distribute. Furthermore, the applicant inquires as well if the need to have prior approval from FIFA and UEFA would not hurt fundamental freedoms. The Commercial Court No 17 from Madrid "identified evidence that FIFA and UEFA have a monopoly with regard to the organisation and authorisation of international competitions" (p. 10). Moreover, the referring court also stated that "the disciplinary measures announced by FIFA and UEFA could lead to an infringement of EU freedoms" (p. 13).

What rises from Case C-333/21 remains to be seen, but its outcome could change the conversation about sports and monopoly, transforming the football (and not only) landscape.

6.3.2 – For they are Saints? The Establishment's side of the tsunami

What followed from that April 18 was very remarkable. The reaction was widespread and relentless. The sports organisations who run the show of international football and sports were quick to bury any attempt to create a parallel and competitive universe. FIFA and UEFA are the main players here, but not only. National leagues and even the IOC joined the cavalry. Governments and politicians would not be left out of this parade.

The start of the backlash began early, before the official announcement. In January, a joint statement from FIFA and its Confederations, including UEFA, already threatened the possible new tournament with sanctions: "any club or player involved in such a competition would as a consequence not be allowed to participate in any competition organised by FIFA or their respective confederation". In the same document, the organisations defend the principles of merit and solidarity, as well as the system of promotion and relegation[103].

Afterwards, right before the announcement, one other joint statement was released against the endeavour. This time, UEFA, as well as the federations and professional

[103] The statement was released in January 21, see FIFA (2021).

leagues from the countries with shareholder clubs on the Super League[104], were behind the document. They call the project "cynical" and "founded on the self-interest of a few clubs", all of this "at a time when society needs solidarity more than ever". Furthermore, they also suggest sanctions and judicial measures, denouncing the League's close system and placing it as opposite of sporting merit. In the end, they make a request: "we call on all lovers of football, supporters and politicians, to join us in fighting against such a project".

Two days after, the UEFA Congress reiterated their stance completely against the new tournament. In this statement, they place the League contrary to the very idea of a unified and open Europe. The document calls the shareholders "conspirator clubs" and states that they achieved their status because of the exact model they are trying to change. Finally, they place this discussion on moral grounds: "we know morally, what is at stake and will protect football from a selfish clan who care nothing for the game"[105].

During the same Congress, IOC's President, Thomas Bach, also voiced his opinion against the Super League: "if everything is looked at from a business perspective, then the social mission of sport is lost"[106]. Moreover, he expressed his concern about the European sports model, which for him was under threat by "a purely profit-driven approach that ignores the social values of sports and real needs in the post-coronavirus world".

In November, the European Parliament approved a report on EU sports policy, which deals, among several things, with the European model of sports, which should protect "the principles of solidarity, sustainability, inclusiveness for all, open competition, sporting merit and fairness" (Frankowski, 2021, p. 7). In this context, it opposes any breakaway competitions that hurt these principles. UEFA further celebrated this approval[107].

The impact on domestic issues was also a concern. During the FT Business of Football summit in February, Premier League chief executive, Richard Masters pointed out that, without the promotion and relegation traditional system, the issue of access through the domestic leagues would be hurt, delivering a blow on them[108].

[104] Namely: the English Football Association, the Premier League, the Royal Spanish Football Federation, La Liga, the Italian Football Federation and Lega Serie A. See UEFA (2021a).
[105] See UEFA (2021b)
[106] See Morgan (2021).
[107] See UEFA (2021e).
[108] See Ingle (2021).

The closeness of the Super League was also targeted by the ones who run the show on the field. Pep Guardiola, Manchester City's (one of the Founding Clubs) manager, said that "it is not a sport where the relation between the effort and the success, the effort and the reward, does not exist"[109]. Important players, like Kevin De Bruyne and Luke Shaw (both players of Founding Clubs), also expressed their opposition on Twitter taking into consideration this aspect. On the other side, some of the most famous footballers, like Cristiano Ronaldo and Lionel Messi, were much more discreet[110].

French President, Emmanuel Macron[111], as well as Italian Prime Minister, Mario Draghi, and the Spanish government[112] were all against the ESL, with the two latter citing the role and spirit of sport and the Italian leader raising the issue of moral values. However, in the political scene, maybe the loudest voice heard throughout the crisis was from British Prime Minister, Boris Johnson. Right after the announcement of the Super League, Johnson opposed the project and worked for stopping its development: "How can it be right when you have a situation where you create a kind of cartel that stops clubs competing against each other?"[113] Even legislative responses were suggested[114].

Whether it was governments and the politicians, sports organisations and administrators, athletes and managers, the negative reaction towards the European Super League was solid, crude, and relentless. The backlash, as seen above, was determinant for its pathetic end (so far). The traditional football establishment was practically unanimous, yet two other stakeholders seem even more important to the ESL's fall.

6.3.3 – After All, they are the Bosses: football fans and the league with no fans

Shall we go back to our friend John from the beginning of this section? At the end of the day, he, his friends, and uncountable supporters (real ones) like them were the major power force behind the Super League's downfall. As explained in the introduction of the present thesis, it was exactly one protest against the League that inspired me, among other things, to talk about money, sport, and everything that goes in between.

Since the spotlight here is being put over the Land of the Queen, it is important to attempt to quantify the negative reaction from British fans. In this context, YouGov's poll, a firm that works with research data and analytics, is very helpful. Right on the day

[109] See Jackson (2021).
[110] See Lane (2021).
[111] See Reuters (2021).
[112] See Black (2021).
[113] See Walker and Elgot (2021).
[114] See Walker et al. (2021).

after, they asked a sample of 1.730 football fans what they thought about the Super League. The response was staggeringly negative.

Even among the Founding Clubs' fans, the rejection was very solid. The loud majority (64%) strongly opposed the project, with yet another 12% somewhat rejecting it. Only 20% were in favour of the League's creation (7% strongly and 13% somewhat).

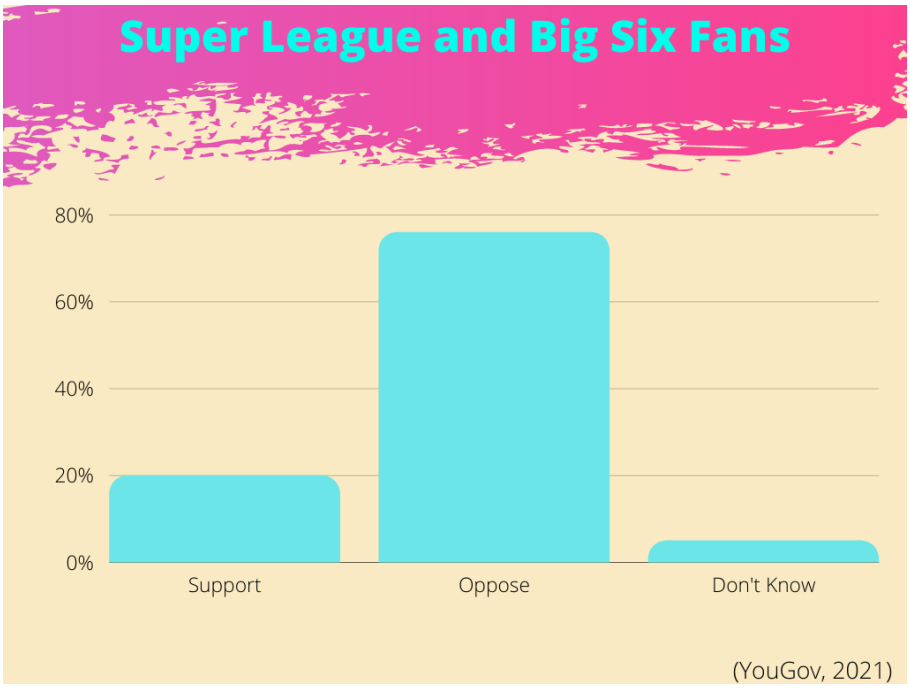


Chart 26: Big Six Fans' reactions to the ESL

The negative appreciation would explode even more among other Premier League's clubs' fans.

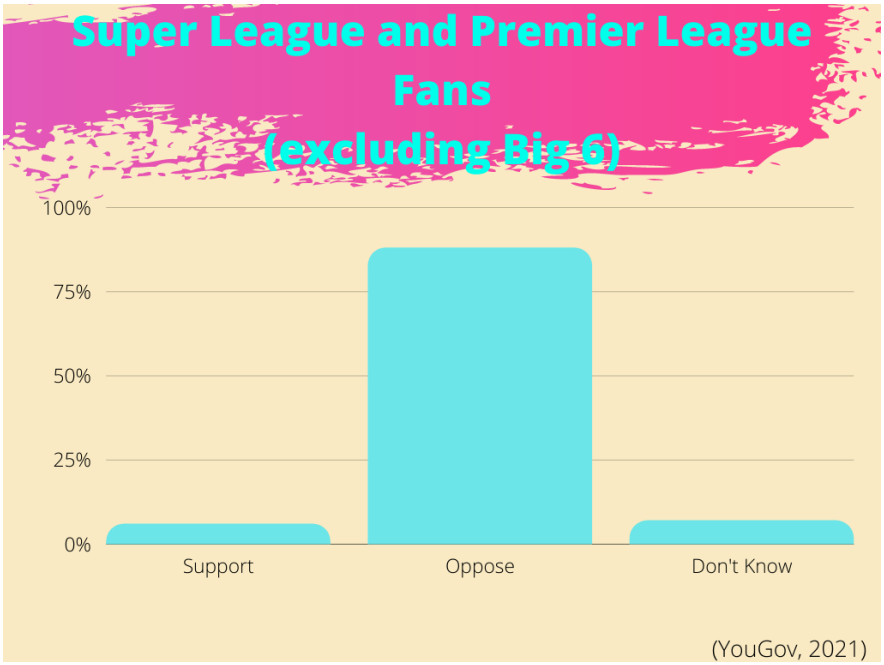


Chart 27: Premier League Fans' reactions to the ESL

In this scenario, the strong rejection was encapsulated by an impressive 79% of the respondents, with another 9% somewhat opposing the League. Only 6% supported it, 3% strongly and somewhat each. Furthermore, the pool asked fans about their interest in watching possible ESL matches. The rejection was smaller. Among Big 6 fans, half was interested (13%, 18%, and 19% very, somewhat, and not very, respectively); while 46% were not interested at all. Obviously, this number jumped among other Premier League's clubs' fans, with 70% saying they were not interested at all. Among all fans (Big 6, Premier League and other clubs), 56% said they were not interested at all, with 8% very interested, 14% somewhat interested and 19% not very interested.

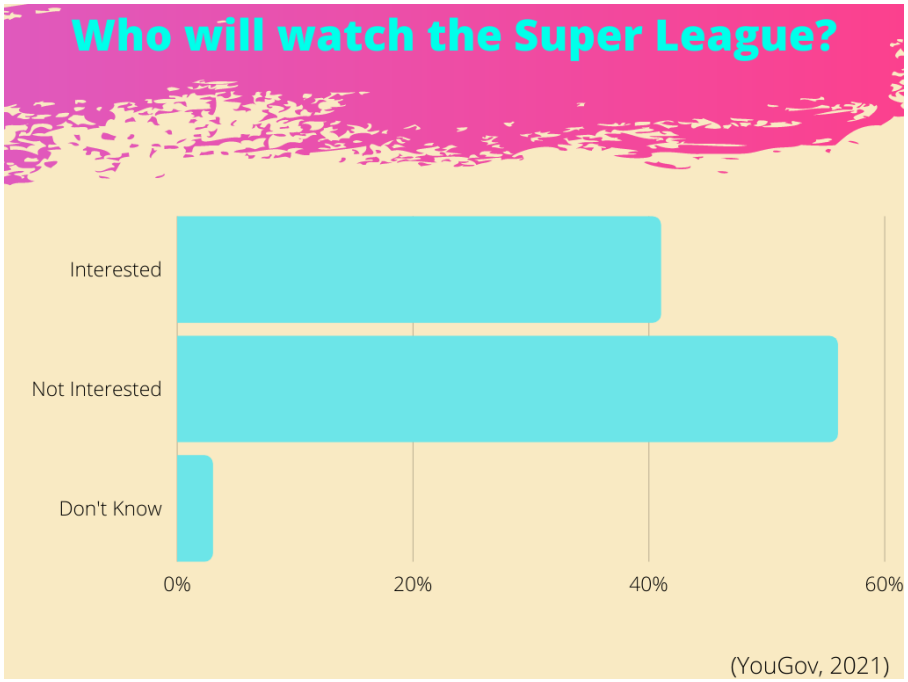


Chart 28: Interest in watching ESL matches

When it comes to the motor behind the creation of the Super League, YouGov also asked fans whether they thought it was created more because of the fans' desire or more because of financial gain by the Founding Clubs. There wasn't much doubt here.

Beyond the on-site physical protests, which make quite an impression, the online repercussions are just as relevant nowadays. YouGov, through YouGov Signal[115], also measured the reaction on social media, analysing the sentiments towards the Big Six clubs, the main English teams that are also shareholders of the League. The firm collected data from Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, and Twitter across approximately 100 hundred posts in the UK between April 10 and 19. They compared positive, negative, and neutral sentiments towards the six clubs before and after the official announcement.

[115] See Prince (2021).

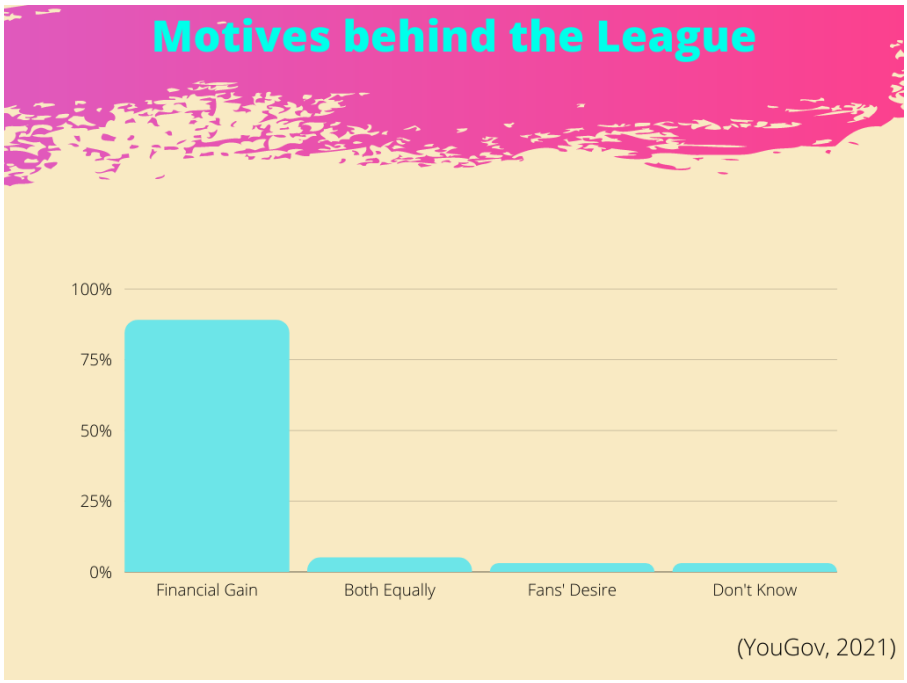


Chart 29: Possible motives for creating the League - money or fans

Each one of the Big Six saw the same pattern: the rise of negative sentiment and a decrease in positive and neutral sentiment. For example, Liverpool had only 27% of negative sentiment, however, after the ESL's launch, this number jumped to 66%. The positive sentiment went down from 49% to 19%.

It is important to remind that these numbers are a photography of a moment. They measure what happened in the eye of the hurricane. How these perceptions and opinions are today and, most importantly, how they would evolve in case the League went forward, are important limitations and points for reflection.

6.3.4 – After all, they are the Bosses: football media and the League with no (positive) media

Media is the environment. Whether influencing fans or even other stakeholders, the press possess a great power to impact the public sphere, dictate the conversations' directions. Even though this capacity is not the same as it once was, the media remains a fundamental player in societies. This power may be used for very positive reasons. Yet, it is important to capture how the press' coverages might impact some events. Therefore, for the framing analysis, three very relevant newspapers were selected, with different political views[116]: Financial Times, The Guardian, and The Telegraph. The analysis deals with opinion articles and editorials throughout the week after the ESL's announcement.

[116] During the British 2019 General Elections, the Guardian supported the Labour party, while the Telegraph went with the Conservatives. Financial Times was neutral.

News Framing - Opinion

Financial Times, The Guardian, and The Telegraph

Publication	Author	Framing	Arguments and Themes
The Guardian	The Guardian (April 19)		• Champions League ethos and the integrity of the game in danger; • Lack of jeopardy; • People behind it as unscrupulous; • Mentions the German model.
The Guardian	The Guardian (April 22)		• Asks for radical reform, government intervention, and regulation; • The commodification leading to an act of self-destruction; • Need to care for the uncertainty of outcome and community ties.
The Guardian	David Baddiel (April 19)		• Lack of jeopardy: a proliferation of exhibition games; • Impact on national leagues and exclusion of clubs with much history.
The Guardian	Adrian Chiles (April 21)		• Celebrated the fail, but alerted for the risk of future endeavours; • Worries with the figure of casual fans.
The Guardian	Larry Elliot (April 22)		• The Issue of guaranteed places: diminishing principles of competition and entry; it Increases inequality; • Damaged brand and the issue of no risk.
The Guardian	David Goldblatt (April 20)		• Assurance of privileged position and the Increase of imbalance; • Cultural desecration and the Idea of European Football; • It hurts football's core: level playing fields and sporting chances.
The Guardian	Owen Jones (April 23)		• Capitalism corrupted football; • Examples of possible changes in other sectors.
The Guardian	Jonathan Liew (April 18)		• Attempt to destroy football from grassroots to the World Cup; • Issue of closed competition and lack of jeopard; • Tackles Founding Clubs' bad financial state.
The Guardian	Jonathan Liew (April 21)		• Asks for revenge and punishment; • Alerts for the future: more organised and with better PR attempts; • Suggests a two-year ban from European tournaments.
Financial Times	Financial Times (April 19)		• Tackles the issue of football as a business or not and the discussion about the European model versus the American; • Suggests a Champions League transformed, even with some Super League's features; • Rejects the idea of government intervention.
Financial Times	Janan Ganesh (April 23)		• Analysis of the Super League's mistakes, like the bad PR; • Recognizes how the biggest clubs play each other rarely and highlights the benefits of Americanisation.
Financial Times	Simon Kuper (April 19)		• League as a money-driven project, which would destroy competition and tradition; • Football clubs more like museums than companies.
Financial Times	Philip Stephens (April 22)		• Super League hurts competition and community aspects; • Denounces what he calls anything-goes globalisation.
The Telegraph	Oliver Brown (April 19)		• A cynical project created by resentful clubs.
The Telegraph	Jamie Carragher (April 19)		• Competitive ideals in danger; • Denounces the other traditional sports organisations as well for their relationship with money.
The Telegraph	Thom Gibbs (April 19)		• Recognizes the great appeal of a possible Super League, which is an affront to tradition; • With the Super League, he suggests a scenario of the domestic league with stronger non-Big 6 clubs.

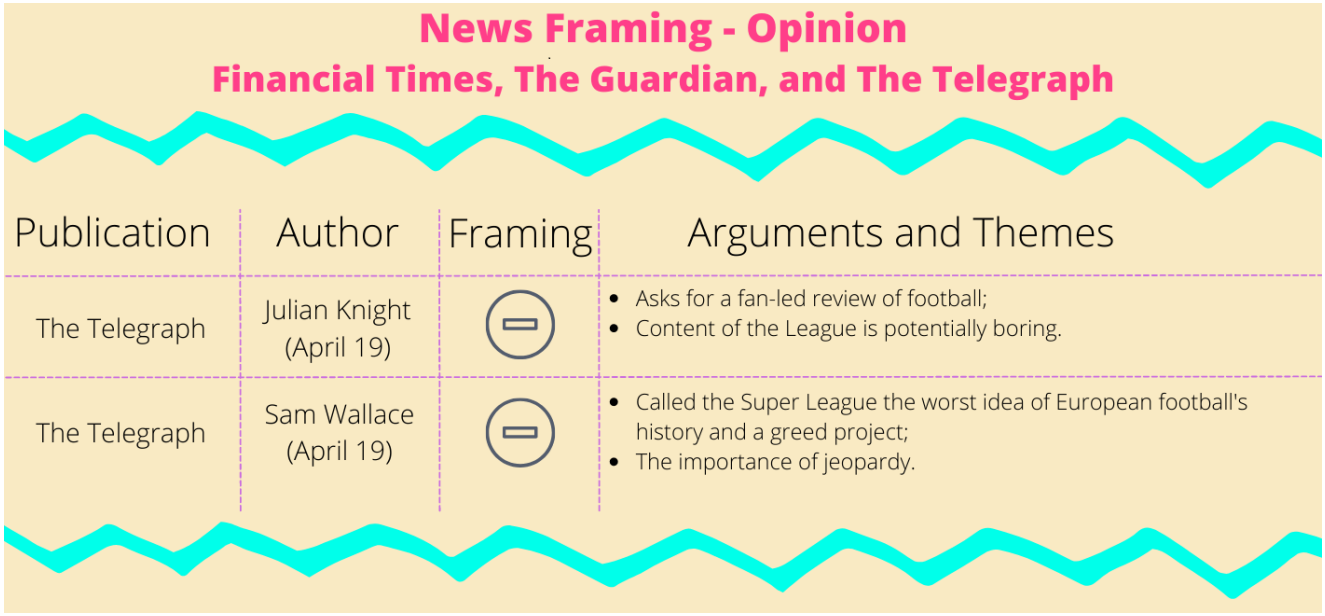


Figure 29: Framing analysis of the ESL coverage

The opinion articles and editorials published by these three newspapers in the aftermath of the events (between April 18 and 23) expressed a massive rejection of the Super League.

18 articles that had the ESL and its evaluation as a central topic of the article (excluding the peripheral takes) were analysed, with 16 of them having a negative tone/framing concerning the new endeavour. The other two, both published by Financial Times, were the only ones to have a more balanced view, not supporting the League whatsoever, but presenting a less sentimental approach.

Some of the articles criticising the League even had a more radical tone, using very intense adjectives and, sometimes, presenting an apocalyptic view of football's future. These heated texts, full of emotion, raised many issues, some of them common to several articles. To have a systematic approach to the opinion texts' framing, this thesis shall divide the issues into practical/organisational and ethical/cultural.

Among the constant themes that approached problems related to the organisation, functioning, and delivery of the European Super League are lack of jeopardy; absence or diminishing of competitiveness; impact on domestic leagues; inequality between clubs. On the other hand, recurring topics on the articles concerned ethical, moral and cultural takes on the subject, such as the League as a greed project, which harm fans; heavy impact on community ties and cultural dimensions of football; undermining the idea of European football; it hurts football integrity. An analysis of these arguments is made in the next section.

6.3.5 – Inside the Tsunami: analysis of a multiple discourses' crisis

So much power, so many interests. It is hard to fully comprehend and explain what was behind everything. Was the ESL the beginning of an apocalypse, destroying the sport? Or was it just another tournament? What about the backlash, was it a spontaneous response to something bad? Or only a corporatist reaction to protect the establishment? These are only the extremes. A lot of nuances and shades are in between. The challenge here is to organise the multiple discourses that pervaded the debate to analyse what the tsunami was all about.

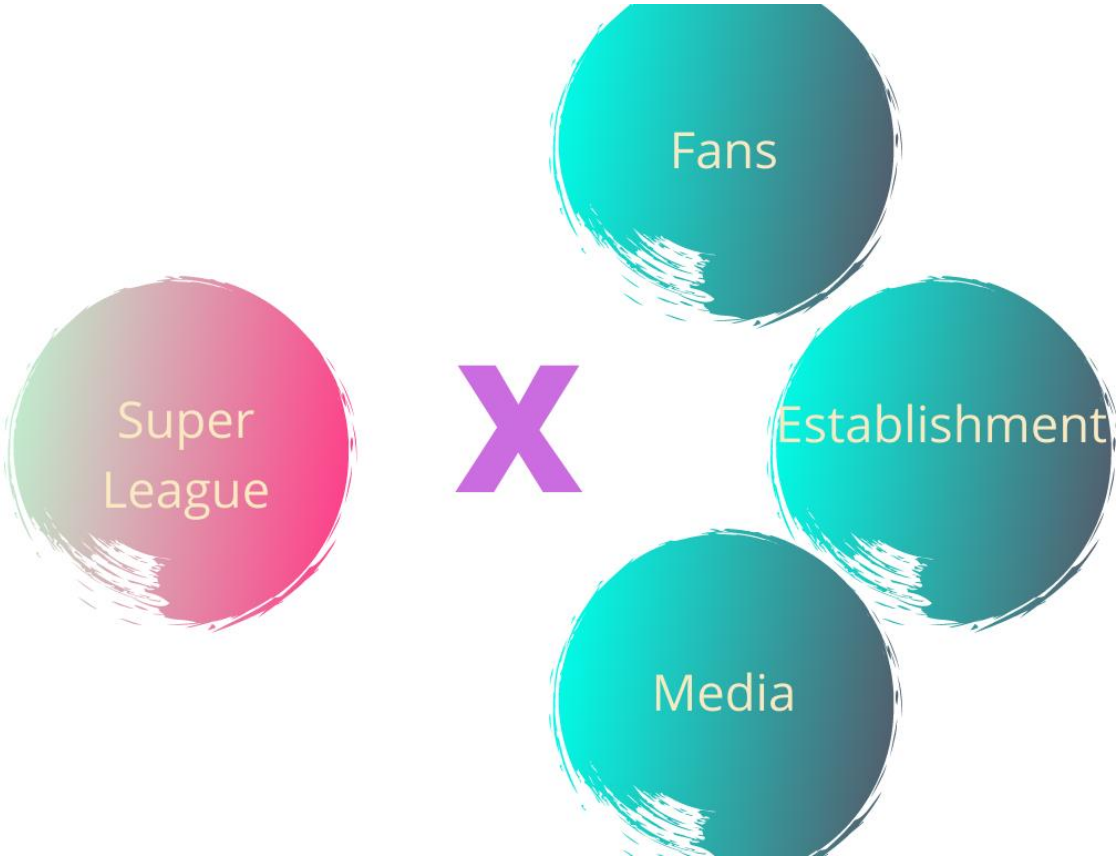


Figure 30: ESL crisis - a battle between multiple and powerful stakeholders

There are four main actors in the tale of the tales that was the European Super League launch and dismount. Obviously, the big villain (or not) of the story was the ESL with its 12 Founding Clubs, especially the three left standing. On the other side of the story, the most important good guys (or not) of the story were the media, the fans and the whole establishment of traditional sports (people involved in football, organisations, and even governments).

Especially on the week that the ESL was launched, several opinions, points of view, and doomsday predictions flooded the public debate, as seen above. In substance, two were the main features that were the sources of controversy, from which several

topics emerged: closeness and separation, both providing practical/organisational and ethical/cultural takes.

The Super League was to have 15 clubs (the 12 + 3) as permanent participants, while the other five teams would be qualified "annually based on achievements in the prior season"[117]. Competing in two groups of ten, only the first five of each group would move on to knockout stages. From which countries would these five additional clubs and through which championship they would be qualified were not explained in the announcement. This is one of many examples that make the Super League sometimes seems like an act of improvisation from an amateur organisation.

The fact those three-quarters of the participants had their presence secured in the other editions of the tournament contributed hugely to the backlash. This is absolutely against the tradition spread not only in Europe but also in South America (two continents dangerously in love with football): promotion, relegation and qualification based on performance, in which no one is secured in the next year's edition, with a need to perform accordingly.

It is a clash of models. What is crazy on Europe and other continents is the rule on some of the biggest leagues in the world: the North American. Szymanski and Ross (2000) describe that the issue of openness versus closeness is the biggest distinction in the American structure compared to the rest of the world when it comes to team sports. For the authors, the system of promotion and relegation may bring benefits to consumers, as it raises inner competition, with teams craving for staying in the top league (more money), which would translate into more investment in players.

In capitalist terms, something that should be dear to the Super League, it is all about efficiency: "promotion and relegation is in fact an ideal structure for surgical intervention to promote entry, since it involves replacing the least efficient (in terms of wins) incumbent with the most efficient entrant" (Szymanski & Ross, 2000, p. 6). For Gammelsæter (2021), closed leagues may indeed have higher levels of uncertainty of outcome and, further, be considered industry, differently from its European counterpart.

What happened this year was certainly not out of nowhere. Back at the beginning of the century, Walsh and Giulianotti (2001) tackled the hyper-commodification of football, with features of corporatisation, globalisation and cartelisation, through which clubs are transformed into big transnational corporations, with different kinds of fans

[117] The ESL press release (on bibliography) contains the competition formula.

(from the traditional local ones to the new distant foreign supporters). The authors, in the context of the biggest European clubs, describe that "cartelization involves the replacement of traditionally meritocratic competitive frameworks with new arrangements that guarantee the competitive status Europe's richest clubs" (p. 56-57). They further predict a breakaway tournament made up by the clubs with more money.

The critics against casual fans were yet another recurring theme in the articles about the ESL. The clash between tradition and novelty is far from being exclusive to football. It happens everywhere in life. It is normal. However, they do not seem incompatible. A club may have more traditional fans, rooted, community fans and more distant, detached, and even cold (or not) supporters. Both may bring revenue to the club and are important to the sport. Everyone should be welcomed. One has to be careful when criticising this type of fan, especially when it comes to overseas club activities, for one may appear as a little bit xenophobe or, to use a softer term, protectionist. The fact that a club has fans around the globe is good for its finance as well as is great for societies in general, as this sort of cosmopolitism is an extremely positive feature of sports.

Changing the subject a little, maybe one of the most used words when it comes to the whole ESL crisis was competition. This word was, honestly, very abused by the different stakeholders. On one side, the critics talked about the lack of competition brought by the closed tournament, which is true. However, some failed to talk about the lack of competition brought by FIFA and UEFA trying to stop a breakaway league. On the other side, the ESL would defend its rights to make a tournament that would compete with the Champions League, which is right. However, they also failed to take this word seriously in its format. No one seemed interested in fully protecting competition.

From the closeness of the Super League derives many problems raised by its critics: lack of competitiveness and jeopardy; the view of a greed bunch, producing inequality; and the heavy impact on domestic leagues, since a great part of its competition is the fight for the qualification spots to continental tournaments.

Insurance may be great for clubs, providing them with financial predictability and stability. Meanwhile, it is quite bad for entertainment. If the Super League intends to be Super, the greatest tournament, providing the best entertainment should be the main aim. Jeopardy is a relevant football's commodity. As Larry Elliot (2021) points out, "fans can accept the despair of defeat if they can occasionally hope for the thrill of victory, but the ESL was essentially a way for an elite to insulate itself against the risk of failure"; this would further damage the brand itself.

The Guardian's editorial (2021a) highlights that the exclusion of jeopardy would turn "elite football into a soulless series of repeat episodes". In this sense, the assurance would mean that if a club has no more chances to advance to further stages, there is nothing more at stake. That is, you cannot go up, but there is no way going down, which may produce an aura of boredom. This goes beyond what is unfair or not. The system does not pass the entertainment quality test.

For some, the format would not be smart because the big games between the greatest teams, which are rather rare, would become too much repetitive, losing their appeal. As, Jonathan Liew (2021a), arguments, "missed Liverpool vs Real Madrid? Never mind, they're playing again tomorrow night". However, the author himself admits that this is something appealing to several people. In this context, casual fans are once again a target of critics from some who opposed the Super League.

It is like having a piece of cake. If you eat one per year, it is going to taste much more special than if you ate it every day. Nonetheless, maybe not every single day, but eating a piece of cake every week sounds great. That is, even though, the recurrence of big games would make them drop some value, it is hard to believe that they would become disposable. Chances are they would be every week's great football moment in the world.

Furthermore, the critics pointed out that the closeness of the League would go against a core principle of football: the weaker power. It does not matter who got the best players, at the end of the day, anyone may win. In Simon Kuper (2021)'s opinion, "football's essential promise — that any club can triumph — would be broken". Yet, this is only partially true. The romantic canon that is so dear to football, that anyone, even the weaker team, can win, and anything may happen, is not completely true nowadays.

Although football is indeed a sport where performance and the final outcome oftentimes do not have a rational causal relation, and the technical differences may be diminished by greater tactical preparation, probably the stronger teams will win at the end. Some romantic football fans might not like to admit it, but recent history has shown how triumph is, almost always, secured to the richest and strongest, especially in longer competitions.

Let us take on the last ten completed seasons of European football in the Champions League and the national leagues from the three countries participating in the Super League. From seasons 2011-12 to 2020-21, among the winners of the Champions League, only Bayern Munich (a worldwide superpower and two times champion in the period) was not an ESL's Founding Club. In the Premier League (England), Serie A

(Italy), and La Liga (Spain), in the last ten years, among the 30 champions, only Leicester City in 2015-16 is not a participant. Anyone can win?

Moreover, critics would also point the lack of uncertainty of outcome, which has been related as an important feature of the sports industry, as weaknesses of the League. The importance of this uncertainty to revenues is quite debatable (see Fort, 2019). While many have spoken about the example that the German club ownership model is, almost nobody (Ganesh, 2021, being an exception) mentioned that Bayern Munich has been taking the title for the last 9 years. In the Italian league, Juventus was the champion for nine years in a row (between 2011-12 and 2019-20), while in the Spanish league, Barcelona, Real Madrid, and Atlético Madrid have been splitting the titles for the last 17 seasons (from 2004-05 to 2020-21). The outcomes are not so uncertain after all.

Another source of widespread backlash was, of course, the fact that the Super League was a breakaway competition that would disrupt the traditional structures of football. The idea of European football would indeed be hurt by the new competition, insofar as fewer countries would be represented on it, in a scenario of imbalance between them. Furthermore, the existing structure of the sport would be heavily hit. However, whose problem is that?

Moreover, cultural and traditions arguments were raised. The new competition would indeed break with a whole culture and damage a very traditional competition. Football is part of society's culture and this matters to its relevance. To what measure can this be a barrier to its evolution/transformation? Anyway, not considering this (at least not in appearances) may be the Super League's greatest mistake.

The bad publicity was yet another recurring topic on the articles about the ESL, for example, in Ganesh (2021). It is remarkable how the League had no positive media, no planning whatsoever to address the very obvious critics that would fall upon it. They failed to make their tournament have a sense of belonging in football's culture. That was fatal.

Having recognised the explicit and severe mistakes perpetrated by the Super League, it is necessary to also recognize the level of exaggerated and absurd level of backlash, very dear to the current cancel-culture that ravages modernity, received by the new endeavour. What is more impressive is how the old football establishment was practically sanctified by the media, which defended it ferociously.

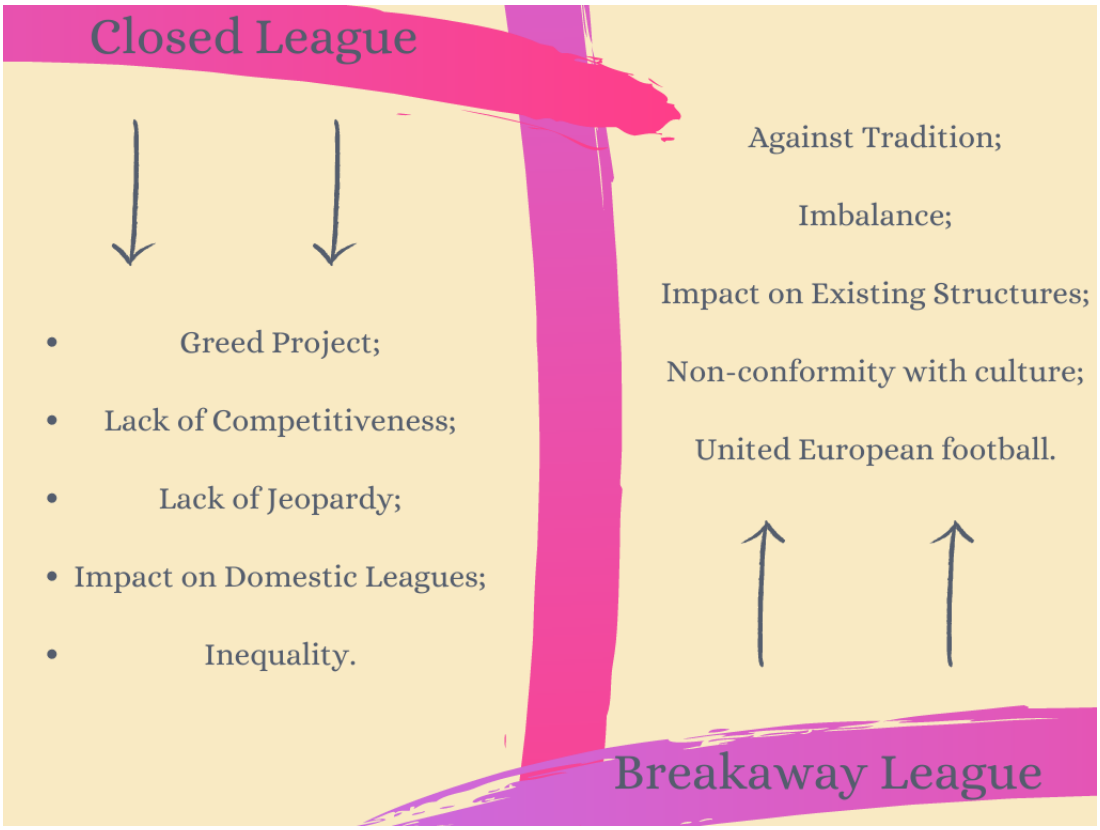


Figure 31: Summarising the tsunami - two main features of concern

Except for Carragher (2021) and Shrimsley (2021), it was very hard to find in the analysed media, a critic of the hypocrisy of UEFA and other heavily commercialised organisations. Their rhetoric during the crisis as paladins of morality, owners of the sport, protectors against commercial interests, and fans' super-heroes, possessing all the best qualities, was quite opportunistic. Plain and simple, at the end of the day, they were protecting their own (commercial) interests. That is okay. If the Super League were to happen, it would be a major threat to UEFA's financial sustainability, so they should fight against it. Nevertheless, using such a good altar boy disguise should not pass unnoticed by the critics.

"We are European football. They are not", said UEFA in its congress[118]. This thesis, therefore, supports that the ESL crisis backlash that hit the sports world in April was much more an ego fight, a clash for every stakeholder to secure their own interests, a resistance from the sports establishment to remain untouched, protected, and free from threats. It was much more about corporatism than culture or tradition.

What about the fans? If anything, this crisis showed once more how they are the centre of the show, a crucial stakeholder, and have the power in their hands to dictate the

[118] See UEFA (2021b).

future of sports. Many have asked for the implementation of the German club ownership model, which gives fans more control. Although this is a more complex issue[119], it is undeniable that, regardless of the model, fans, when united, truly own their clubs.

Anyway, it would be very interested to get to know people's opinions about the ESL months after the endeavour, with a rebranded face. Further studies could also tackle to what extent fans were influenced by the mediatic negative reaction and the establishment backlash. It is impossible not to suggest that, to some extent, there might have existed a herd behaviour or how much the spiral of silence (as theorised by Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann) played a role in the whole aftermath.

In sum, the European Super League launch and the major backlash that followed was a complex phenomenon that should be analysed as such, not simply dismissed as a failed coup. It was an example of how the debate that opposes money and culture continues to exist and has a relevant role in sport. Concealing societies' traditions and commercial interests is not easy, as both have their problems and virtues. Furthermore, the case showed, once and for all, how fans truly run the show.

The plethora of discourses, arguments, and rhetoric surrounding the launch of the League translated an abundance of different interests. The football (and sports) traditional establishment seemed to fear, as in other occasions, the monopolistic character of the industry to be in danger. While the ESL had its own cartel-like structure. No good guys, no monsters. Just organisations trying to secure their interests. For what concerns elite sports, the crucial is to develop the best show possible to as many fans as may exist. Whether it is the Champions League or the Super League, fans should get the best tournament. For what concerns sports organisations, they should work towards delivering that. No one should be protected from competition. Still, this is an unfinished story, as Case C-333/21 is yet to be resolved.

I am sorry UEFA! Neither you nor the ESL, are European football. FIFA is not world football. Football, just like any other sport, belongs to the people who love it… fans, athletes, coaches, and so on… no organisation truly possess the game.

[119] See Hesse (2021).

PART 4 – DISCUSSION

CHAPTER 7 – ORGANISATIONS, ATHLETES AND PROFESSIONALISM

7.1 – Introduction

The previous chapters brought many different topics to better understand the relationship between sport and money nowadays, through the examples of opposite endeavours, both with their problems that needed to be carefully analysed. Of course, a lot of the discussion has already been carried out on Part 2 and, especially, 3. However, Part 4 is about relating the Olympics and the Super League, creating connections among the topics previously raised and broadening the conversation to further enrich and organise the discussion.

This part is split into two chapters. The first one concerns sports organisations and athletes, while the second one is about SOs and fans. Therefore, the current chapter illuminates the upper part of the thesis' framework, that is, both the practical and intangible sides of the relationship between sports and money in the level of analysis of athletes.

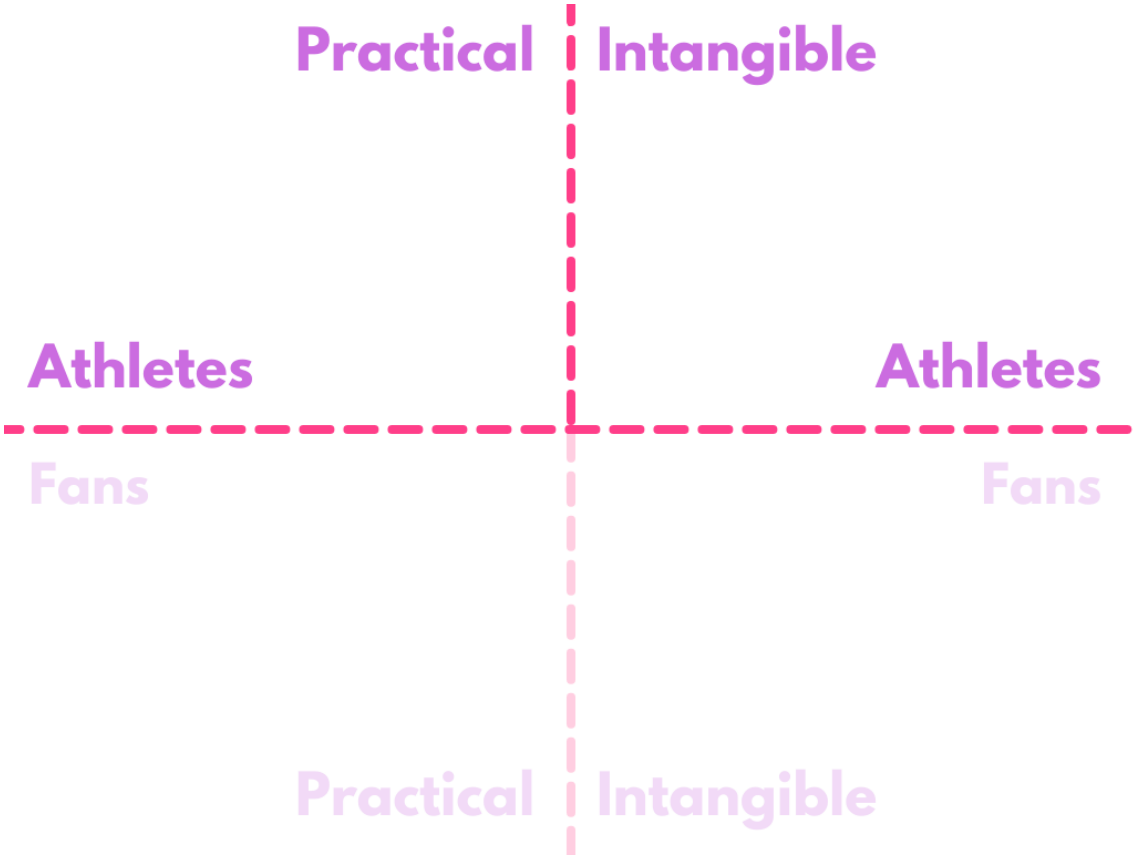


Figure 32: Framework of the thesis - Chapter 7 discussion

7.2 – Amateurism's Scorched Earth: a quest for athletes' rights

The philosophy/ideology of amateurism have caused (and still does) a big impact on the development and conception of modern sports. For far too long, athletes were not perceived as professionals. Receiving money for their performance was a sin in the eyes of the sports establishment. Throughout the 20th century, especially during the second half, the development of a commercialised sports industry was companied by the growing professionalisation of athletes. Playing like a pro, something that existed since Ancient Greece, slowly became the norm. Yet, the damage was done. An elitist and moralist perception of sports still resonates nowadays.

Llewellyn and Gleaves (2016) note that the idea of amateurism still survives to this day, citing the public's view towards doping and the idealisation of sport; for them, the ideology has impacted the perceptions of the societies when it comes to sport. I could not agree more. Look everywhere to find examples. It is not only about prize money.

If they are not professionals, why should they have a seat at the table? The movement for athletes' rights is a late player in the sports world. Chappelet (2021) highlights the small level of influence that athletes used to have in the Olympics. He dates the change only to the 2010s, with not only the spread of their commissions in the establishment's organisations but also with the creation of athletes' own associations. They now make their voices heard much more.

An important idea I briefly approached in Chapter 5 needs to be further addressed. It is essential to differentiate support from prize money/recompense/salaries. Both are imperative, yet very contrasting. Investing and contributing with programmes, training and infrastructure are fundamental. That already used to happen in the times of amateurism. When one talks about professionalism, we are dealing with a different kind of investment.

Sport is an athlete's job and, as such, is their source of money to make a living. Honour and glory are transcendental but do not buy food. Training and structure are essential for an elite athlete but do not pay for bills. When money comes directly into athletes' pockets, they are free to use it as they wish.

The IOC has great programmes and initiatives. The Athlete365 Career+ helps athletes with their professional pathway, assisting them with the difficult post-retirement transition. Whereas, the Olympic Solidarity's budget for the quadrennium 2021-2024 is 590 million dollars, among which 160 million are designated to athletes' support.

Moreover, the International Athletes' Forum that took place in 2019 highlighted some important points, such as representation on commissions, funding to NOCs and IFs, funding to the athletes' commission in NOCs, and helping with career transition. Nothing about prize money. The trouble with athletes' forums of discussion inside organisations, even though necessary, is that they are inside the structures of the ones who earn money from their work. That is, SOs are interested players in athletes' work, insofar as they produce the content they sell. Therefore, there is, to some extent, a conflict of interest.

In this context, the professionalisation of sport allowed athletes to be treated as workers and, as such, be able to demand rights and build their own groups and organisations (autonomous from big SOs) to a number of different ends. There are many examples. Global Athlete aims[120] to "address the balance of power between athletes and administrators", having as one of the goals "ensuring athletes receive Olympic revenues". Very important issues as shown in the previous chapters.

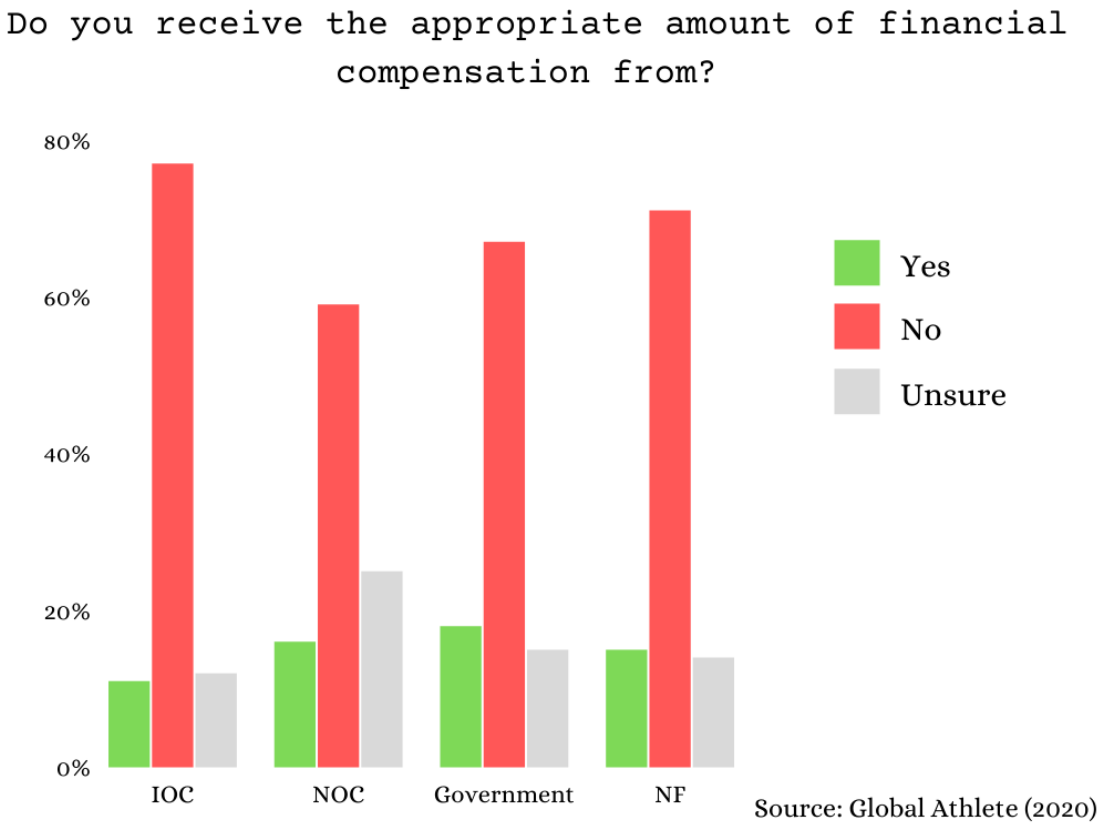


Chart 30: Athletes' perceptions on SOs' compensations

By the way, in 2020, Global Athlete released the findings of a survey that revealed a sad yet expected reality. Among 491 athletes from 48 nations, only 11% of athletes

[120] Statements available on the organisation's official website.

believe they receive the appropriate amount of financial compensation from the IOC. On the other hand, 77% said no to this question. The negative perceptions were much higher than positive also regarding NOCs, governments, and their respective country's national federations (NFs)[121].

It is hard to argue with such overwhelming numbers. Athletes are unhappy with the quantity of monetary compensation received (if any) by SOs. This supports the distinction made earlier between Solidarity support and direct payments. But it is not only the IOC, yet governments and NOCs figures look better. As demonstrated in Chapter 5, several of them pay prize money[122]. Well, among the survey respondents, only 42% consider themselves financially stable, while 58% do not.

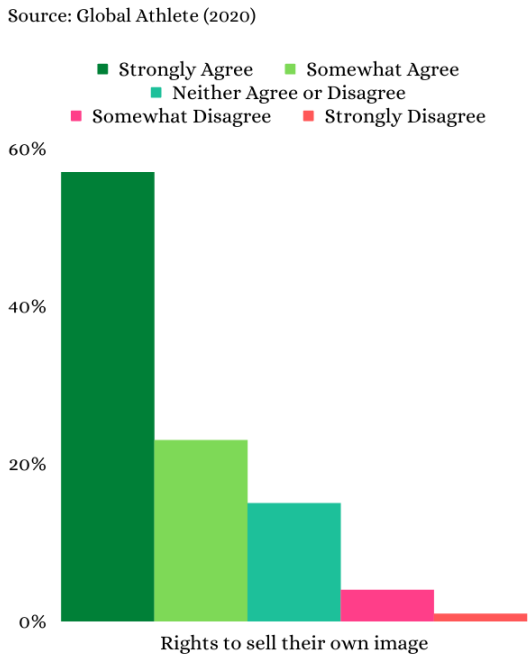


Chart 31: Athletes' perceptions on Rules 40 and 50

Athletes are not happy with the previously described Rules 40 and 50 either. 80% of them believe that they should have the right to sell their image during the Olympics. Only 5% disagree. The majority (82%) also think they should have the right to sell their brand at the Olympic level and promote their sponsors during the Games (81%).

Even though Global Athlete's survey does not tackle the specific issue of prize money, it also asked athletes if the IOC should pay athletes to attend the event (as defended in this thesis, having prize money to all participants): 57% are in favour while 26% are not.

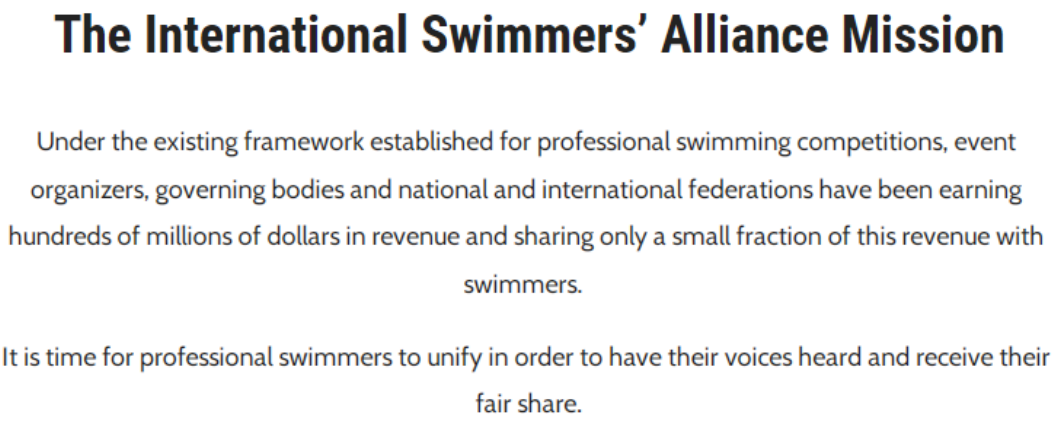
Moreover, a little more than half (53%) of the athletes believe they are very often or always respected by the IOC. 22% answered sometimes, while 25% said they are not/never respect, or only rarely. In the case of IFs, the numbers are somewhat similar: 53%, 30%, and 17% respectively. It is interesting to note how there is a bigger negative

[121] Beyond Summer Olympic sports' athletes, the survey approached winter sports' athletes as well. Besides, Paralympic athletes also took part in the study, answering questions regarding the Paralympic Committees.
[122] Only thinking about the Olympics. Many governments pay other types of compensations.

perception of the IOC than about the IFs. Among the athletes, only 9% said they receive appropriate care when it comes to financial planning, while 70% answered no.

Furthermore, the research also approached the issue of representation, which shows that the majority of athletes are not satisfied with that either. One question is important to bring to our discussion. When asked about if the athlete commissions should be independent of federations, three quarters agreed, while only 5% disagreed. We have seen a lot of the IOC's actions when it comes to athletes. Still, they all happen inside of an establishment. Traditional structures exercise their power over athletes. For the sake of independence, autonomy, and freedom, it is important for athletes themselves to build their own groups outside this hierarchical and, often, imperial SOs' behaviour.

Global Athlete is just one example of how athletes are coming together to demand their deserved rights. Other organisations may be specific to a sport. The Athletics Association unites track and field athletes, while the International Swimmers' Alliance defends the interest of swimmers; its mission? Well, the Alliance is as direct as it could.



Picture 6: ISA's mission (Source: International Swimmers' Alliance website)

This mission translates very well what is being sustained in the present thesis. As the main producers of SOs' content, athletes are often neglected from their fair share of revenue streams. It is not only at the Olympics, as seen above. Even new organisations that seem to have athletes' interests as a central tenet fails to treat them right. The International Swimming League (ISL) was threatened with a boycott by athletes because of lack of payment[123].

Moreover, anyone who is familiarised with Brazilian national football teams knows all two tell that delay in salaries and image's rights is not only frequent but a very common practice. Wages are the main point of distinction between an amateur and a

[123] See Lutton (2021).

professional. The heritage of amateurism makes the lack of payments towards athletes something almost acceptable by many. Although is not the same, a similar defect is behind the non-existence of prize money in so many competitions. If they are not professionals, why should we bother to pay them? We already let them participate for free (sometimes)! Well, if it were not for the professional athletes, all of these SOs would not even exist. Athletes are starting to realize that. The power is in their hands.

7.3 – The Multiple Faces of Amateurism: modern objectification of athletes

…We should not serve as an example to anyone

However, we can serve as a lesson

(Mário de Andrade apud Ventura, 1988, p. 7; translated from Portuguese)

In some jobs, fame is one of the consequences of success. Working with television, politics, arts, and sports may eventually lead to notoriety. People will get to know your efforts, consume your content and you start to become subjugated to several different perceptions about yourself. It is part of the job.

However, especially in sport, people are put through a magnifying glass that analyses, often in a moralist way, their conducts, actions, and opinions. The role modelling justification is frequently raised by organisers, managers, the media, and even athletes themselves, who might indeed like this dimension, insofar as it might create a feeling of more importance. This view is particularly defunded among those who believe that sport is a mirror to society.

Sarah Teetzel (2012) is absolutely right when she comments that "the Olympics are not free of unethical behaviours and do not automatically bring out the goodness of sport and athletes" (p. 328). Furthermore, Helen Lenskyj (2012) also opposes the view of great sportspeople being "necessarily worthy of emulation as moral human beings" (p. 272); she notes how critical thinking is absent in Olympic education, as Olympism "is a concept that has generated an excess of pseudo-religious rhetoric" (p. 266).

Sports have many distinct possible applications, from being a component of physical education in school to being an elite-level competition sold as entertainment to broadcasters; in between, there are sports for all, helping to make societies healthier, sports as leisure and other usages. As Renson (2009) also points out, there is a need to differentiate them. The educational features ought to be present in the schools. Elite-level competitions, beyond the inspiration of effort, talent, and great performances, have very little to contribute to it. It is much more inspirational than educative, if you wish.

Being a good example, in any profession, is great. However, the main question when organisations and the media demand athletes to act a certain way is: who's moral is going to be applied? Each person, country, culture have different takes on what is morally desirable. Let us look at one of the greatest Olympians of all time, Michael Phelps, to exemplify this.

When a photo of the North-American swimmer apparently using a marijuana pipe was published, he was suspended for three months from competition. Doping? No. The

USA Swimming released a statement[124] at the time, 2009, explaining the punishment: "we decided to send a strong message to Michael because he disappointed so many people, particularly the hundreds of thousands of USA Swimming member kids who look up to him as a role model and a hero".

People are flawed, commit mistakes, there are no heroes. Besides, what is a mistake or not depends on individual judgements based on people's ideologies, points of view, and conceptions of the world. Phelps' act was external to competitions, yet he was judged and punished for not behaving the way an organisation expected him to. The statement does not treat Phelps as a professional; rather it makes him an object of an ideology with a moral code behind it.

Beyond the practical dimension of the effects of the complex relationship between sport and money, the intangible level of analysis shows how, as a heritage of amateurism, athletes are, before professionals with their careers (and responsibilities related to them), objects of external wishes and demands. In Part 3, we saw how sports went through a process of sanitisation. Regarded as something negative, often violent, it has begun to be associated with moral values, education, and, with amateurism as a powerful ideology, an elite gentleman activity. Moralism and social prejudice were all over this process. It might have served a purpose back then. Nowadays is just a bad heritage.

As societies change and, hopefully, evolve, some things do not pass so unnoticed or normalised anymore. In 2021, Sha'Carri Richardson was suspended for doping after testing positive for marijuana[125], missing the Olympics. Afterwards, many athletes, and not only, came out in her support[126]. It was a clear injustice for many, including myself. For others, it was not. It was beyond sport. It was about each other's personal moral code and ethical perception of what is right or not. Still, she was the object of external moral views and her job was severely affected by it. In the same year, WADA itself said that it would review the ban on marijuana in 2022[127]. One might say that this makes her a professional with their responsibilities, yet the question here is to what extent organisations extrapolates the limits of a healthy and professional relationship between partners in business (when there is monetary compensation involved), involving

[124] See Staff and agencies (2009).
[125] See Fuente (2021).
[126] See Martinelli (2021), for example.
[127] See Schad (2021).

themselves in athletes' personal lives, freedom, and behaviour that does not directly impact competition.

Personally, I am against doping, but what is written in WADA's code is quite absurd. Article 4.3 deals with the criteria for deciding if a substance is prohibited or not. WADA considers that a substance may be prohibited if meets at least two out of three criteria:

Article 4.3.1.1 → Enhancing performance.

Article 4.3.1.2 → Damage to athlete's own health.

Article 4.3.1.3 → "Violates the spirit of sport" (p. 34).

The first criterion is straightforward and indeed a problem. The second one is debatable, as this may be considered the athlete's problem and responsibility of his decision[128]. Nonetheless, health is also a collective responsibility in many cases. It depends a lot on the situation. However, the third criterion, honestly, does not belong to a scientific organisation. On the same code, WADA "defines" the spirit of sport. It is not exactly a definition, being rather vague, which, again, cannot be the case with an institution that prohibits athletes from competing.

The spirit of sport is "the ethical pursuit of human excellence through the dedicated perfection of each Athlete's natural talents" (p. 13). As performance-enhancement is already a previous criterion, it is hard to distinguish what is the issue here. Maybe that is the goal. The vagueness opens the door for any substance/method to be prohibited, as what hurts or not the spirit of sport is as open to judgment as of the horizon in the beach. Furthermore, they tie this concept to several other values, among which there are: courage, fun, character, and dedication. I would like to know, scientifically, what is the connection between the lack of fun and doping?

The heritage of amateurism can produce some delirium-like statements. Doping is such a complex issue and its links to amateurism are also tackled by Llewellyn and Gleaves (2016) in their seminal work. A topic that has been on the IOC's sight since the 1930s, which became of more interest to the organisation, as the authors describe, because of government investments in doping and also their threat to the moral dimension of sport (amateur). Anti-doping regulation integrated Rule 26 (the same responsible for amateurism) from 1946 to 1975.

[128] Considering it is his own personal responsibility, not forced by other people, like coaches, which changes the conversation.

Gleaves and Llewellyn (2014) had already approached this issue before. They note how at the same time that the Olympics were opening to professionals, which came to substitute amateurs, the IOC gave much more light to the issue of doping and its combat: "though no longer seeking to enforce amateurism's code, the IOC still helps ensure athletes to still follow amateurism's moral tenets by enforcing anti-doping rules in sports" (p. 850).

Therefore, in this context, it is hard to sustain that we went from the age of amateurs to the age of professionals. Yes, they are professionals. Nonetheless, perceptions that fall upon them and treatment, actions, and guidelines inflicted by SOs create an aura too much impacted by amateurism ideology. It is more appropriate to say that from the age of amateurs we are now in the age of the modern objectification of professional athletes. Even though they are oftentimes not paid for their work, they are still demanded to act, behave, and talk in a certain manner.

It is not only about the lack of prize money, Rules 40 and 50, or even social media guidelines. It is everywhere. Athletes' Rights and Responsibilities Declaration, which was developed by athletes within the sphere of the Olympic Movement, only barely speaks of the right to make a living:

> 5. Leverage opportunities to generate income in relation to their sporting career, name and likeness, while recognising the intellectual property or other rights, rules of the event and of sports organisations as well as the Olympic Charter. (Athlete365, 2018)

Even so, this right does not talk about monetary compensation. It is the athletes' responsibility to generate their own income, limited by a number of restrictions, which some are reasonable, while others seem exaggerated. On the other hand, it places as a responsibility to "act as a role model".

While, on one hand, it is expected of athletes to act in a moral way (whatever this really means), on the other their right to receive money is not explicit. The heritage of amateurism makes athletes object to this ideology, not fully regarded as professionals, yet demanded to practice a code that has nothing to do with sports performance.

As a journalist, I have been long troubled by the objectification promoted by the media as well. There is a need also to humanize the treatment toward athletes. Amateurism heritage dehumanizes athletes insofar as their wishes and needs as professionals are sometimes not respected.

Back in July 2021, Sha'Carri Richardson posted on Twitter: "I am human". This is more important than any declaration. Humanisation should be taken very seriously by all stakeholders, especially major SOs, like the IOC, IFs, WADA, and the media. They are humans!

7.4 – Do the Right Thing! Fully professionalism on the horizon

I am here, talking about money for so long, that I failed to acknowledge how the history of the Olympic Games is so rich. Bringing so many people from the whole world together, side by side, to compete peacefully across many events is magical. People do not come alone. They are accompanied by their dreams, their stories, their varied background, from the poorest, unequal places of the world, to the ones that concentrate a lot of the world's wealth. The IOC, as they should, knows how to use these marvellous stories to promote its event.

Remember Eric the Eel? A swimmer from Equatorial Guinea who competed at Sydney 2000 as a wildcard. Eric Moussambini had only learned to swim eight months before the Games. His performance was his first time on a 50-meters pool. Using a very humble swim gear, he was naturally the slowest but gained fame for his story, effort, and persistence. What to say about Abebe Bikila? The great Ethiopian runner who won the marathon at Rome 1960 barefoot. On the Olympics' YouTube channel, videos are telling their stories. They are the essence of Olympism. Two fascinating Olympic tales.

Stories like theirs are often used to sell and translate Olympic values. Both athletes cited above are from poor countries. They are a portrait of the inequality of the world. Their effort should be celebrated, yet as part of a bigger reflection: should not athletes like them deserve quality training, equipment, and also earn their fair share? As we have seen, Africa is the continent with the lowest prize money given by governments/NOCs.

The objectification of their stories, that is, the usage of what they have done, is at the service of Olympic rhetoric. Through this, there is a process of fetishisation of poor bodies. That is, the stories of poor athletes are great for selling sports/Olympic values as something positive, yet they come back to their homes with no prize money for their participation. Sure, the marketing of athletes that became famous may cover part of it. What about the others?

In order to treat athletes most professionally, it is essential to fairly compensate them for their work. Put in their pockets the fair share. Even though the study demonstrated in this thesis is about the medallists, for the reasons explained in Chapter 5, this work supports the payment of prize money to all participants of the Olympic Games. This thesis, during its study about prize money to medallists, found that it would be necessary 52 million dollars to cover the expenses, less than 1% of IOC's revenue. As demonstrated by Ted Rogers School of Management in partnership with Global Athlete (2019), mentioned in Chapter 3, players of the major professional sports leagues earn

much more of the revenues: 60% on Premier League. Imagine what the IOC could do in the future!

Beyond the reasons explained throughout the thesis, the issue of prize money has also acceptance among the people, whether they are sports' fans or not, as demonstrated by the survey's finding. Although some people expressed their concerns, often linked to the tenets of amateurism, the majority demonstrated favourability to the idea of the Olympics paying prize money.

Nonetheless, it is extremely interesting how the ideology's precepts are still repeated to this day as dogma. Since the Victorian era, tenets of amateurism have been exhaustively imposed and disseminated by important people and organisations of the world of sport. As time went by, it did not belong only to the British' culture, it was exported to the world and became part of an imaginary ingrained in people's minds. Disguised behind positive expressions and values, it continues to contribute to athletes' objectification.

The payment of prize money is just one step towards full professionalisation, an extremely important one, though. SOs should look at athletes as their partners, not objects, or instruments to achieve overall success, as explained in Chapter 5 through the NOCs that do not pay prize money. The ESL, in this context, should have had athletes as partners, involved in the decision-making processes.

Athletes have to be considered in the process of revenue distribution, not only through programmes and help with training, but foremost as direct payments for them to exercise their freedom. It is a step towards more autonomy for athletes, from both governments (especially authoritarians) and organisations. This change will much probably not come by the free will of SOs who are comfortable in their positions with no payment of rewards. Athletes, as has been happening lately, should group to demand their rights, not only about financial earnings.

The transformation is already in place, with athletes gaining more rights and being more recognised as professionals. One of the last refugees of traditional amateurism, the NCAA suffered a severe hit in 2021. The North-American Supreme Court unanimously decided that student-athletes may receive payments (education-related)[129].

[129] Justice Brett Kavanaugh wrote in his decision: "nowhere else in America can businesses get away with agreeing not to pay their workers a fair market rate on the theory that their product is defined by not paying their workers a fair market rate" (see Vogue & Duster, 2021).

Figure 33: From amateurism to Full Professionalism

Amateurism heritage should be carefully looked at in current practices in order to be fixed. It is great that SOs and media, through athletes, may convey positive messages. Nonetheless, it is up to athletes whether they want it or not; an athlete who desires to do

his/her job and not be a role model should be respected. He/she is a professional, not an object of others' desire.

It is a long history from the restrictions once athletes faced. With popularisations and further commercialisation of sport, the forces of professionals were unavoidable and the ideological tenets behind amateurism started to be dropped, but the legacy lives on. The relationship between athletes and the external world is complicated because the relationship between sport and money, commercialisation, values, and the plethora of discourses surrounding it are very complex and diverse.

Coming to terms with all of these different aspects is essential. Moving from the age of objectified professionals to full professionals is about the rights of athletes to be treated as professionals of their jobs throughout. Earning what they deserve. After all, they are the essential part of a millionaire content sold around the world. They are the main products of SOs, but they are not objects. Only humans can use the movement of their bodies to attract universal attention.

PART 4 – DISCUSSION

CHAPTER 8 – ORGANISATIONS, FANS AND CONTENT

8.1 – Introduction

Now, from the main actors and actresses of the sports organisations' shows, we turn to their consumers, the ones who finance and enjoy the different contents: the fans. This concern the lower part of the thesis' framework.

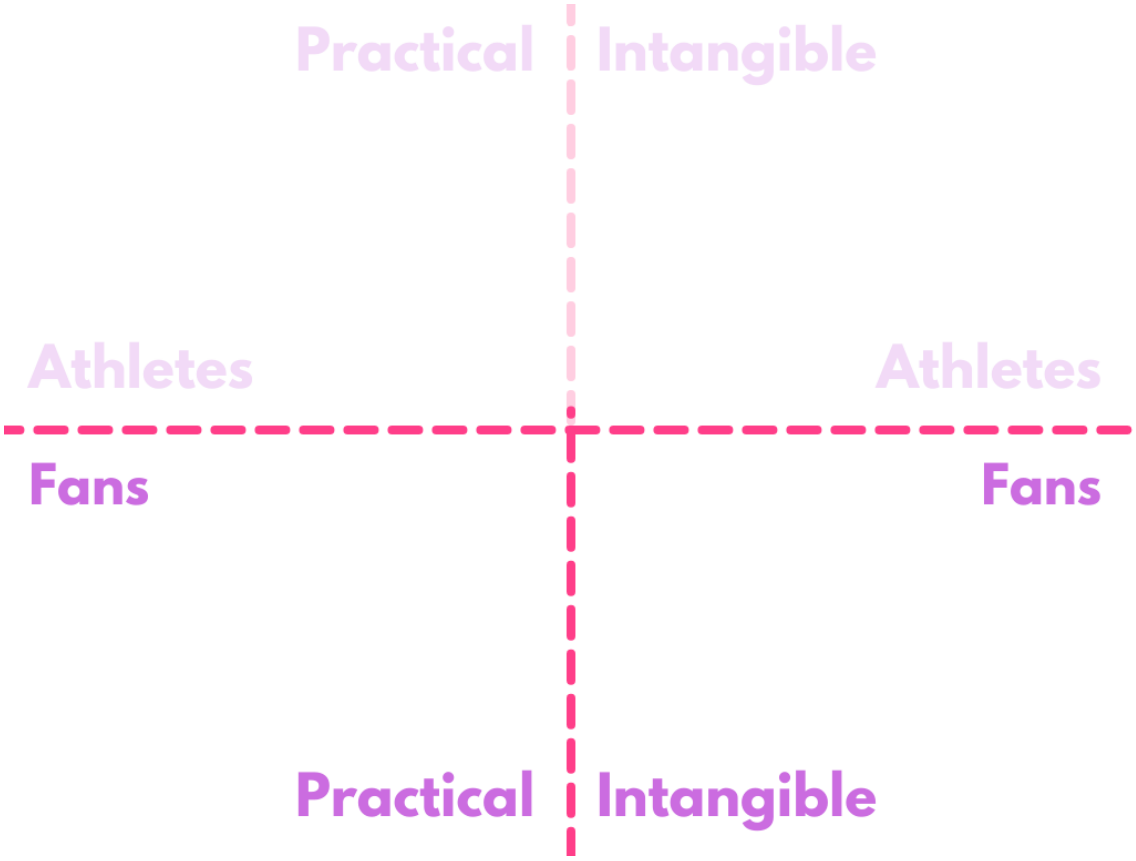


Figure 34: Framework of the thesis - Chapter 8 discussion

If it is all about the fans, and basically it is, it is essential to think over how to improve the decision-making process inside organisations to better please them, not only maintaining but also gaining new consumers, which further brings more revenue, that may, in turn, be reinvested in several projects and come back to athletes themselves. In this context, it is time to look back into the Super League to discuss why it failed and what could have been done to improve the project. Afterwards, let us turn to the Olympics to note how they can work with eSports to embrace more fans. Finally, all comes down to the relationship between the ESL and the Games in the context of sport and money.

8.2 – Between Money and Organisations: the Super League as an extreme specimen

In Chapter 6, I have extensively discussed the side of the ones behind the European Super League, as well as the massive negative repercussion, beyond explaining the main factors that inspired the criticism. In this present section, it is important to summarise the discussion around the endeavour, as well as explain how it is an extreme example of a heavily commercialised league, that drives a high quantity of money and has many financial interests. Extreme, yet valuable example to note how SOs are attempting to change, adequate themselves to a new world and seek other forms to connect with the fans. In a fast-paced changing world, getting left behind is not hard.

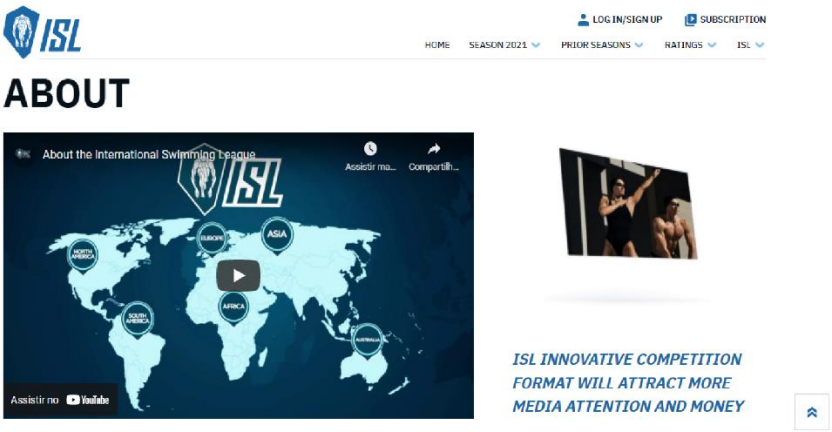
In sum, the ESL was an attempt to create a breakaway league, conflicting with the UEFA monopoly. However, the impact it would have on the traditional foundations of football and the adoption of a stable (no promotion and relegation) model led to a tsunami of criticism. For the League, it was about financial sustainability and creating a better product.

Accepting the sports sector (even with its unique features) as part of the entertainment industry[130], it is important to have in mind all of the changing landscape brought mainly by technological advances. We have seen in Chapter 3, how television was pivotal for the phenomenon of modern sports as we love nowadays. Nonetheless, we are not in the 60s anymore; television is not the only powerful player. In the past decade, there was a heavy impact of new platforms and options of entertainment that compete with TV for people's attention: Netflix, HBO Max, Prime Video, Instagram, TikTok, and who knows what is coming next. In this context, sports are also part of the attention economy, in which attention is seen as something scarce, and its allocation is relevant (Hendricks & Vestergaard, 2019). Maybe, we are witnessing the birth of post-modern sports, of which ESL might have been just an initial sample.

Shall we look beyond football? In swimming, the ISL, also tackled in the previous chapter, already had three seasons. What is stated at the league's official website is so clear and translates so well the context concerned here that I had to bring the image below. Media Attention and Money. The two are intrinsically related when it comes to sport, as exhaustively pointed out throughout this thesis. The ISL also describes its philosophy, putting sport as something cultural, which is related to positive features, like ethics. They

[130] The reasons for regarding the sports as part of the entertainment industry are described on Chapter 3.

seek more money, but also have a rhetoric to lean on, highlighting the good attributed of swimming to health.



Picture 7: ISL's official website

"We aim to create new groundbreaking projects, new in both form and content, which would explore the full potential of competitive swimming and secure sustainable commercial growth in the sport", ISL describes its mission. New content, exploring the potential of sport, and seeking commercial growth. Any similarity with the ESL is no mere coincidence.

The league, in which athletes compete for one of ten multinational teams (not their country), unites the best swimmers in the world. The broadcasting is technological. The environment is completely different from other events, with the rosters on the side of the poll cheering and supporting their teammates. The ISL even has a draft, its own dynamic scoring system and a non-traditional competition: the 50 meters skins race.

According to Konstantin Grigorishin, ISL's founder, the system changes the sport and the League "takes swimming competition far beyond a sporting event to extend it into the realm of entertainment and strategic gaming to finally re-enchant the sport". Even though the ISL has its problems, as explained in the previous chapter, what is important is to understand this as yet one more example of a changing era.

As the Super League, the ISL had in the traditional sports establishment an important hurdle. Just like UEFA, FINA was against the creation of the new competition. The governing body of aquatics sports threatened the athletes who would join the ISL with suspension, which in turn received lawsuits from not only the ISL but also

swimmers[131]. Afterwards, it allowed them to compete, but declined to recognize possible records, eventually backing down[132].

The changes are not present only in breakaway leagues. UCI announced in 2021 the creation of its own Champions League, which was called "innovative", "optimised for mainstream TV viewers" and "fan-focused" by the organisation itself[133]. It is the result of a partnership between the governing body of cycling and Discovery, a major media company and owner of Eurosport. Once again, innovation, media, trying to create a product to attract more fans. The trend goes on. JP Morgan Chase with the ESL, a very wealthy man[134] with the ISL, and Discovery with the UCI. Private, corporate capital making new endeavours possible in sport.

In 2021, it was revealed that CVC Capital Partners would be the major investor of a possible merger in the tennis field: between the Association of Tennis Professionals (ATP) and the Women's Tennis Associations (WTA). According to Sky News[135], in this new endeavour called One Tennis, the private investment company would have a minority interest. The article also reveals that this move is connected, among other things, with helping the organisations recover from the pandemic and improving broadcast.

This type of capital is not exactly new to sports, but it is interesting to note how these big attempts to create change in the industry are backed by it. It is hard to sustain that there really is (or should exist) a paradox between sport with its diversified dimensions with money, even corporate and private ones.

Tennis itself has been changing lately. Back in 2018, an on-court clock counting the seconds for players to serve was introduced on tour, making matches shorter. Several changes have been tested in the last years, attempting to produce quicker games, for example, reducing medical timeouts and warm-up time[136].

Now, let us come back to football. The Super League had some problems. First, the horrible launch plan, lacking cultural rhetoric to ease sports' fans and any damage control actions for an obvious massive negative repercussion. Public relations were completely neglected. Second, it is hard to sell the closed league system in the traditional world of football. Some sort of danger mechanism would have to be introduced.

[131] See Purvis (2019).
[132] Still in 2019, FINA said it would recognize records from some meetings (Keith, 2019b).
[133] Descriptions available on the competition's website.
[134] According to a 2015 profile made by Forbes, Grigorishin is Energy Standard Group's top shareholder.
[135] See Kleinman (2021).
[136] See BBC's article about it (November 15, 2021), in which is described how tennis organisations are seeking changes in an attempt to attract younger fans.

Nevertheless, breaking from the traditional structures of football is far from being a real problem. Actually, what followed was a fight for power, money, dominance, control, and why not, ego. The clubs that joined the ESL, as well as JP Morgan, had all right to build up the new endeavour. As explained in Chapter 6, football does not belong to one or another organisation. Eventually, if fans prefer to watch a new League, there will be nothing to be done.

However, with several very traditional fans around the world, football is surrounded by conservatism and inertia. Still, changes may be in the way. In 2021, a youth tournament called Future of Football Cup served as a laboratory for FIFA to test some new rules, including the shortening of the halves to 30 minutes (stopping the watch during interruptions) and the exclusion of the limit of substitutions[137]. Quality and time seem two important features whenever thinking about changes. The necessity to create better products is pivotal, but not enough. In an era of so many distractions, times are disputed by entertainment, work, and social media: sports have to adapt.

A lot of has been discussed in this section concerns the attempt to have more fans and a broader audience, which would lead to more revenue, since all of the fans are potential consumers. Much of this conversation is about the new consumers in the show: the younger generation. Generation Z or whatever, call it as you want it, but they seem to be the most disputed people in the room… sports' Helen of Troy. Well, the Olympics has much to contribute to this conversation.

[137] See Marca (July 18, 2021) article about it.

8.3 – Innovation, New Fans and the Olympic Games

The worries about the future are clearly on the mind of the IOC. Tokyo 2020 is a great example: the addition of skateboarding, sports climbing, and surfing may have paved the way for new (and hopefully) younger audiences. Especially in the case of skating, in which the medallists themselves were very young. For Paris 2024, breaking will make its debut. All of this is in pace with Agenda 2020's goals, as Youth is one of its pillars.

Is that enough to engage with a new generation? The numbers presented in Chapter 5 about the potential eSports community are quite impressive. Are eSports and sports fans the same? Will new generations be satisfied with the new sports? As revealed during the study of the Super League, there was a concern with young people failing to engage with football, which required the development of a better product. This needs to be addressed.

YPulse, which is specialised in research towards the youth, measured that among people between 13 and 39 years, 94% play video games. This does not mean much to eSports. Nonetheless, it was also found that 46% watch others playing, which is very meaningful. YPulse also notes the growing number of women engaging in eSports. Furthermore, according to the same company, 1 in 5 in this age range already watch eSports, but the most revealing figure is yet to come. 32% prefers watching an eSports competition rather than traditional sports. "The majority of young people are sports fans, but clearly esports is mounting competition for their attention", concluded YPulse[138].

Moreover, a poll made by UMass Lowell-Washington Post in the USA found that 38% of people aged between 14 and 21 are eSports fans, while one of the most beloved sports in the country, football, reached a slightly bigger number: 40%. On the other side of the world, in China, a report from the Shanghai University of Sport found that a career in eSports is the favourite choice among people born between 2000 and 2010[139].

For Morning Consult, Generation Z follows a different path than Millennials when it comes to sport. A poll conducted in 2020 in the USA revealed that this generation (13-23) is less likely to be a sports fan, both avid or casual, and much more likely to identify as "not a fan" than the rest of society. Among men the difference is striking: 42% of Gen Z are not a fan of sport, while this figure is 25% among all adults above 18. This is a problem. Better content needs to be produced. Yet it is, maybe, an opportunity as well.

[138] See YPulse's article (October 27, 2021).
[139] See Qi (2020).

From what has been presented here and throughout the thesis, the IOC should face this challenge once and for all for two reasons: to keep in touch with a new generation (I am sceptical that skateboarding and the Virtual Series are enough), and, especially, as a valuable investment that may produce new and important revenue to be used with traditional sports and other relevant programmes. It is part of innovation, it is part of what SOs have to face in a changing world, whether we like it or not.

Trying to force this new business to adapt to the traditional structures of sports does not seem realistic. As previously shown, eSports governance is different, with distinct stakeholders and characteristics. This one size fits all system based on IFs does not make much sense in a scenario where the publishers are the real owners of the games. There has to be a different approach.

IFs have several responsibilities and roles in the making of the Games, like the qualification of athletes to the Games. For Tokyo 2020, following AIBA's suspension, the IOC itself had to create a group to replace the IF and ensure the place of boxing in the Olympics. The Boxing Task Force (BTF) was responsible for the qualification events as well as for the boxing competition at Tokyo 2020. In the end, the boxing event was successfully delivered.

The BTF showed how through innovation (even for no good reasons) it is possible to create new and efficient ways to build a solid performance. In the case of eSports, the IOC could potentially work directly with publishers (something similar to the OVS) to deliver the event. In this context, as extra revenue, one publisher could even join the TOP programme as a sponsor. There are major companies in the field, such as Sony and Tencent, or why not Microsoft[140]? Of course, always considering the exclusivity of categories.

Notwithstanding, eSports events have a profit problem. Yet another opportunity. In 2021, the Washington Post revealed[141] that LoL eSports has not brought to its publisher, Riot Games (owned by Tencent), profit. The company's Head of eSports, John Needham described that, at first, these events worked inside a marketing strategy and that only more recently they are trying to make it a business of its own. He highlights the need

[140] The recent acquisition of Activision Blizzard by the North-American company in January 2022 shows the importance of gaming. A 68 billion deal show how much money is surrounding the industry (see Korn & Duffy, 2022).
[141] See Amenabar (2021).

to “make esports a great business for teams and our sponsors”. One of the issues is costs, related to the staging of the event.

There is where an opportunity lies. By partnering with a publisher, for example, the IOC with all its expertise can use Olympic venues for producing an eOlympic Games, which would further bring new revenue, not only with sponsorship but also with broadcast rights, especially for online platforms. It is reasonable to expect that the level of attention of the world to this new event would be marvellous.

In this context, eSports do not necessarily have to be in the Olympics during the Games. As a kind of test event, eSports competitions could serve as a warm-up or opening act to the big spectacle. The survey presented in this thesis brought great news in this context. The acceptance of eSports as a side event either before or after the Olympic Games is high, much bigger than if it were part of the Olympics, during the weeks of sports (the traditional ones).

Above all, maybe the most important matter when it comes to the proposed eOlympics is the content of the games. The addition of sports games is a no-brainer that would not cause any problem or potential conflict with Olympic values. Nonetheless, as demonstrated in Chapter 5, the biggest moneymakers in gaming, which bring the most interest of fans, are action games.

Acknowledging the fact that some of these games have indeed violent and, often, explicit content, starting only with sports games, such as football ones, may be a softer and easier beginning. I support Miah (2021)’s take on games with war connotations However, I refuse the thesis that action games are not in pace with Olympic values, insofar as there is no real blood, no real killing, no real and palpable violence. Countries involved in wars (real ones, with real deaths) are much less compatible with values of peace and respect. Furthermore, not paying prize money also hurts the Olympic values. Maybe hosting the Olympics in dictatorships and serving as a platform for authoritarianism to better their images contrasts much more with the universal values of Olympism as well. Games are virtual, pretend narratives. Once you turn off the device, no one has perpetrated any crime.

8.4 – Sports and Money: an ideal balance and an introduction to post-modern sports

They have been with us for so long now. The Minoans already knew athletics millennia ago[142]. Money, trade, coins… the history of humankind is also the history of how it relates with commerce, it is part of everyday life. Evolution. Shapes change, colours get brighter, yet sometimes darker. Sizes fit all but often seem to fit no one. What was once true, is not anymore. Even faces can be transformed in a way that mirrors do not recognize what was once common. Time. Powerful as can be, nothing can resist its effects. Modification, mutation, development, progress, setbacks. Whatever the name, it is unavoidable.

Even if all of that is true, some things remain. From ancient times, so much has lived to see the current days. I am not talking about only material products. Tradition, heritage, memories. Now and then, we are called to face this conflict: transformation versus tradition. In the case of sports, the cultural heritage is passed between generations, from fathers to sons, mothers to daughters. Yet, things change.

Reading Caspar Whitney's Sporting Pilgrimage is quite fascinating. He describes the current scene of different sports and relates how the usage of the head was becoming an important skill in football, a sport he dates back to the early 14th century. Sports have been changing throughout history, yet cultural heritage was still built and transmitted. Many of the most structural transformations in sports had to do with its commercialisation, making them more suitable to fans' interests, more appropriate to television, and now more sharable in social media.

Leaving sports intact to preserve its traditions is not realistic. It does not contribute to its survival, not taking to account the new demands of contemporary contexts. Letting sports be dictated only and foremost by external commercial rules is not prudent. It does not respect an integral dimension of sports; their cultural artefacts and symbolisms are much of what makes them so precious.

As we need both air and water, sports need both money and culture. This is not a paradox, a contradiction, or an incompatible equation. The Olympics carry an astonishing aura of cultural value, educational motives and ethical behaviour. Yet without commercialism and money, it would not be able to fund its programmes, reach so many people and disseminate its messages. There can exist too much money or too much commercialisation? Or is it just a matter of usage?

[142] See Kyle (1983).

On the other hand, the European Super League could not survive because, if sports need both money and culture for they are their water and air, it was born without being able to breathe. Like a football Godzilla, it started to walk around Europe destroying everything that was so valued by people. I do not agree that the ESL was only a greed project that would annihilate football and life on Earth (that was the tone of the critics). Yet, it was insensible, completely devoid of the essential capacity to understand and assimilate feelings.

In this scenario, in which changes are natural, the balance between sports as a cultural practice and money is the one that recognizes the mutual dependence between each other. It is crucial to understand this, as a new era seems to approach on the horizon.

Back in Chapter 3, I have discussed the phenomenon of modern sports. Allen Guttmann has provided key features that differentiate them from the previous forms. This thesis supports the idea that modern sports are in a process of mutating to a different kind of practice. As with the previous transformations, many things remain. However, some transformative characteristics may distinguish it from the current form of sports.

We are not in the era of post-modern sports just yet. Nonetheless, many signs point in this direction. Our contemporary context of the 21st century, and even more specifically the 2020-decade, is behind this embryonic formation:

- Environmental concerns → Post-modern sports will have to face the critical conditions needed to face climate change and contribute towards the confrontation of that crisis. Some sports have more impact than others, while the future is not hopeful for modalities with environmental problems.
- Limitations caused by health demands → Post-modern sports might have to face several new limitations caused by the Covid-19 pandemic. Hopefully, this context will fade away and not have further implications. Nonetheless, as the future is naturally uncertain, there are conditions that might impact the way spectators' sports function.
- New forms of communication → Post-modern sports will be, first and foremost, the result of a faster, more dynamic and ephemeral virtual communication. Social media and the new ways of consuming content, as happened with TV in the previous century, will condition reshaped formats of sports.

- Social demands and progress → Post-modern sports will have to be in pace with the rising social demands of contemporaneity. They range from identity politics issues to a possible scenario of less governmental investments in sports, responding to people's demand to focus state money on basic services, to maintain a welfare state. Demands come also from athletes and their possible clamour for more rights, participation, and care for their health.
- Technological developments → Post-modern sports will have to work well with the most advanced technologies. This is the primary evidence nowadays, as many sports have been adding technological components to their functioning. However, this process will continue and may take different shapes with new advances in this area.

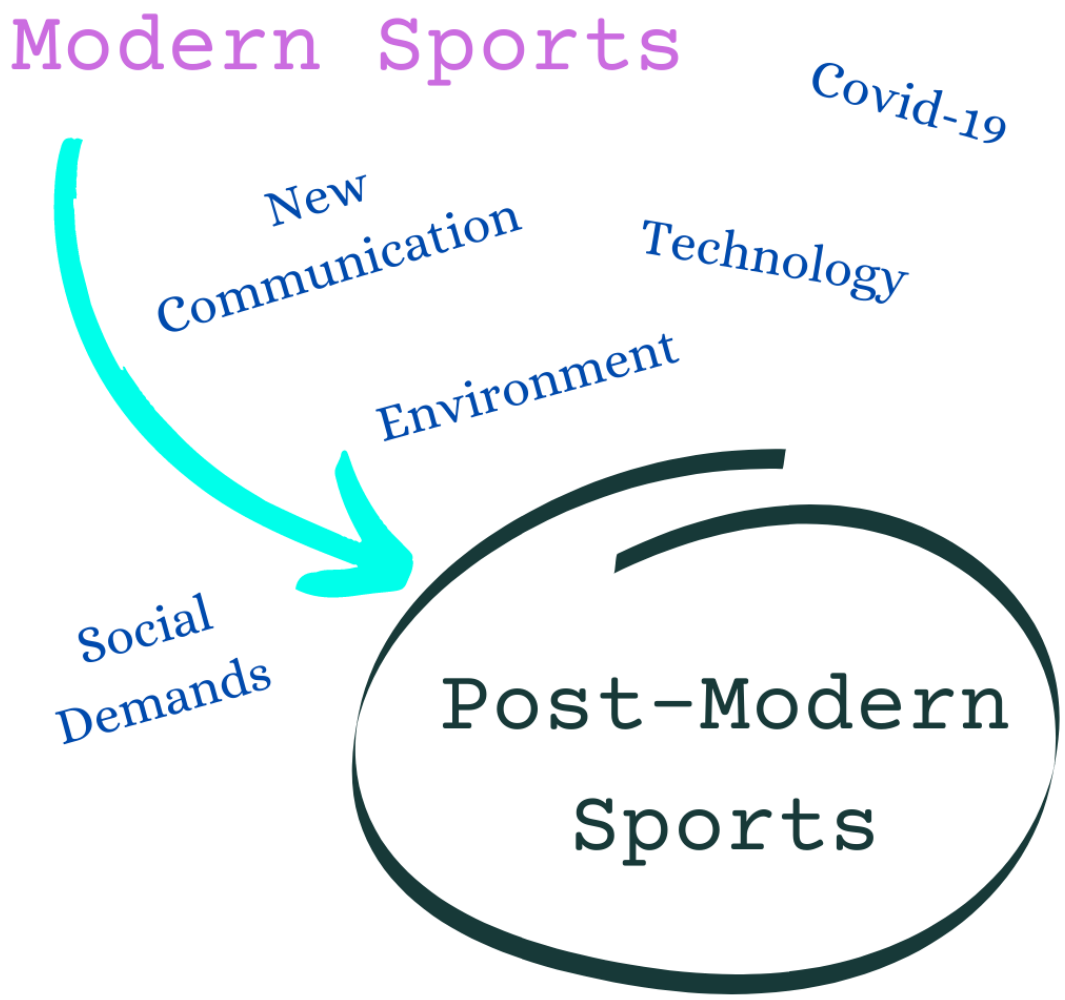


Figure 35: From modern to Post-Modern sports

As Guttmann's theorisation of modern sports, these aspects are broader features of our contemporary society. The addition of video referees or challenges in multiple sports is already an incipient feature of post-modern sports. Nonetheless, some new characteristics of what post-modern sports might be can be spotted on the horizon:

- The athletes' rights movement may change the conversation in many ways:
  - More reasonable calendar;
  - Better recompenses and prize money;
  - More protection to health, which might impact rules.
- Growth of eSports and virtual sports;
- In a world of a range of possibilities, to get people's attention, better content will be privileged, with more matches/games/bouts/events with only the best athletes/teams;
- Fewer government funds, with more private investments, bringing a culture that might question sports' monopolies;
- Rule changes to make some sports:
  - More dynamic;
  - Faster;
  - More sharable on social media.

As some may conflict, effort would be needed for these features to work in harmony. This is not a closed theory. On contrary, it is a proposal of what sports might look like in the future. A future in which sport, money, and cultural heritage will have to come to terms. Money will be needed to maintain proper funding. With that, a new generation has to be carefully cared for and analysed. Meanwhile, cultural traditions are part of sports' values and will continue to be important to fans. Balancing sports commercial and cultural roles is a challenge for sports managers and multiple stakeholders. How to produce sporting content for a new generation in a new world?

The future of sports and money is dynamic. No one knows exactly what is going to happen. Sensibility to external factors is key, whereas adaptability will be crucial.

PART 5 – CONCLUSION

CHAPTER 9 – RESEARCH QUESTIONS

9.1 – Introduction

History and cases were described and analysed. Studies were demonstrated and their findings were presented. Discussions were carried out and proposals were made. Now, in order to conclude everything, it is time to finally directly answer the stated research questions. To do that, they are going to be split into three groups: the European Super League; the Olympic Games; and the apparent paradox between sport and money. It is time to look to the future.

9.2 – The Super League of the Future

With no prejudices whatsoever, was there any real problem with the Super League? If so, what were them and how could it be improved?

As explained in Chapter 6, this story has not ended. For now, after studying the case, it is possible to draw some conclusions. Behind all the negative reactions, there were two main power sources: being both a close and a breakaway league.

Fracturing the monopoly of the traditional football establishment, the European Super League provoked a major negative reaction. Oftentimes, it looked much more an ego fight than a real defence of the values of football. It was, actually, about organisations defending their own interests, with the fans standing in the middle. The product of football can and should be improved. Having more attractive matches between the bests will not only please casual fans (an important source of income) but also more loyal ones after an initial resistance. Yet there are ways of doing so.

ESL' ultimate mistake was the lack of rhetoric, especially a cultural one. The organisers had to acknowledge that breaking a tradition would have an uncomfortable impact. Allied with flawed (or inexistent) launch, mediatic, public relations plan, the endeavour failed to remember that football, beyond being entertainment, is part of people's identities and societies' culture. As such, any change seems unreliable. The Super League forgot that football matches are not only a commercial product but also a cultural one.

The European Court has still to decide on the themes of Case C-333/21. The outcome might produce several impacts not only in the football industry but also in the rest of the sports world, threatening the most traditional structures of its establishment. In a free market, the ESL had all right to attempt to launch its competition. Yet, it failed. Not only because of the lack of rhetoric or the fight put up by other organisations and the media. Fans (even those impacted by the press' widely negative coverage of events) were not into it.

The closeness of the League was a problem. It works in the USA. However, in a very different context and being already culturally consecrated. On the contrary, in Europe, there is already a system established. Breaking with both the football establishment (which is somewhat positive) and the traditional system at the same time was a major problem.

The next years might hold many surprises. The judicial decision is yet to come. Regardless of that, as a conclusion to improve the ESL and make it more palatable to

people, it has not only to create a cultural rhetoric but also change its system. The League might start with the founding clubs, but there has to be some kind of danger (with relegation), which is important both to entertainment and the quality of games.

Case C-333/21 is much about competition rules: it is time to take this word seriously, in its full meaning. With domestic leagues serving as access to the competition, the ESL would have fewer ferocious enemies. The creation of a second-tier League might help to address this concern, also making the European Super League truly European.

Therefore, in conclusion, the ESL had many issues that need to be fixed; however, it had the right to exist. The tsunami of negative reactions was not a defence of football's values and cultural heritage. Not only. It was much more an interests' defence made by organisations that commercialise the game, with fans used as justifications. After all, what do fans want? They are not a unified, unidimensional, and simple group. Many are the desires, many are the attempts to influence them, the real owners of the game.

The Super League of the future, whatever the system or name, is the one that takes care of fans with the importance they deserve.

9.3 – The Olympics of the Future

9.3.1 – Prize Money

Should the Olympic Games pay prize money to their medallists? Are there any sustainable reasons for not doing so?

Simply put: yes and no! When the IOC in the 1990s decided to finally accept professionals and change the doomed Rule 26, it was a survival movement, through which it finally adapted to a new world (not so new, actually). While it has since enjoyed a fantastic rise in broadcast and sponsorship revenues, athletes are still not paid. They are turned into objects of money generation, without earning monetary compensations in return.

Amateurism, with both its social exclusion and moralistic tenets, as part of cultural construction, has left evident trace elements, even though officially abandoned by the Olympics more than three decades ago. Oftentimes, amateurs were not replaced by full professionals (treated as such), but rather by objectified professionals in the context of a highly commercialised modern sports environment.

That is, despite dedicating their lives, several hours every day, to training, being the essential reason for which sports organisations make money, they are frequently left out of direct revenue distribution, or receive a small amount of it. Therefore, to change this reality and regard athletes as full professionals several changes have to take place in the sports industry.

In the case of the Olympics, the payment of prize money is the essential place to start. As demonstrated in Chapter 5, I propose the values of 60, 35, and 25 thousand dollars for gold, silver, and bronze individual medallists; 48, 28, and 20 thousand dollars for each member of a double; 15, 9, and 6 thousand dollars for each member of a team. With that, in the Tokyo 2020 Games, the total expenditure needed to cover the prizes would be 52 million dollars, less than 1% of the IOC's revenue in the 2013-2016 Olympiad. A very small share especially compared to professional leagues. All of that regardless of other prizes paid by NOCs/governments.

Values are possible to change. That is just one proposal. Everyone earning the same value despite the sport, an important message of equality. My ideal scenario and suggestion are to have prize money distributed to all participants of the Games, from the ones in last place to the gold medallists, adapting the amount to their positions. This requires further expenditure study.

As of today, according to the Olympic Solidarity 2021-2024 Plan, the IOC dedicates 70.5 million dollars to subsidies for NOC's Participation in both Olympics and Youth Olympics, something crucial to the staging of the Games. Yet, it is fundamental to distinguish here support from direct payment since the latter is the fundamental feature of full professionalism. The importance of direct compensation goes beyond the fact that it is the right thing to do, it is much about autonomy as well, helping athletes to be more independent from organisations and governments (being able to refuse prize money, for instance), who have their own private interests on athletes' work and image. It is about respect for one's work and equality for all athletes.

Maybe for some Olympic athletes, 60k is not much, but I am sure that it is for most. If tennis or football superstars wish not to receive the prize money, they would be more than welcome to (secretly and discretely to not cause any embarrassments) donate to a fund: the Athletes' Solidarity Fund, which may be administrated by the Athletes' Commission to be redistributed to athletes in the most difficult financial situation. In this sense, it would be really meaningful to pay prize money to all participants of the Games, since the money would then reach athletes who barely have conditions of training and living, who are not able to put up a competitive performance but still are the real strength of the Olympics.

Therefore, these are my suggestions, yet I have one more proposal to make, which is a little bolder and more controversial. In order to generate more revenue to use with direct payments to athletes, the IOC could turn the prize money into an activation for sponsors. Specifically, its long-term partner VISA (a TOP sponsor since 1986) could use the awarding of prize money as an activation for the payment services. As a more extreme proposal, this could be done on the podium, handling a card with the payment (in a proposal I shall call the *Coubertin will haunt me forever suggestion*). Otherwise, it could be done more discretely in the Village or on social media.

Ultimately, the money exists, it has to be reverted to direct payment towards athletes. To pay all participants, more revenue may be generated by sponsors if necessary, for example. By the way, there is one other opportunity to increase revenue...

9.3.2 – eSports

Should the Olympic Games, somehow, include eSports? Under what conditions?

Yes, and it depends! Some years ago, my answer would definitely be different. I still do not consider eSports as sports. However, SOs cannot turn a blind eye to them. The youngest generation was born in a new era, in which eSports are very common. Chances

are the next generation will also come with this new characteristic. They are the fans of the future; the consumers of tomorrow. As SOs have to make better products to attract them, they have also to be approached by the Olympic Movement, and I do not think that skate and breaking will be enough.

With a diffused and complicated governance, multiple stakeholders, the crucial role of game publishers (big private companies), the eSports world is very different from the sports one. As a still new and not very unexplored environment, the IOC has the opportunity to take advantage of this and orientate the conversation. That is, include the values approach and health concerns on the new industry.

At the same time, partnering with publishers (maybe even as a sponsor), the IOC may organise eSports competitions, which may generate money with broadcast rights, especially for streaming. The presence of eSports in the Olympics still meets a lot of resistance. Nonetheless, as a side event, it would be much more palatable and less controversial. I propose that the IOC should organise and put in place the eOlympics before the Olympic Games, in the same venue, as a preparatory event and a warm-up party to the big festival. The revenue generated by the new endeavour could help fund Olympics' participants' prize money.

What about the games? Action titles are much more important in the eSports scene than sports ones. Meanwhile, the IOC has obvious reservations about them, to say the least, as they would be incompatible with Olympic values. As a first time experience, the eOlympics might bring only sports titles.

At the same time, probably the attraction of more fans and revenue generation would be somewhat limited. With that, in the future, the eOlympics may embrace action titles (excluding the ones with a political war theme), as the violent content in them is only virtual, not being necessarily against the values of Olympism (this proposal I shall *Coubertin will haunt me forever: the sequel*).

It is not much about wishes, romantic memories, or even concepts; it is about reality. A reality of the new world that stands in front of the sports industry. Dealing with this actuality is important for SOs to diversify their fan bases, not losing money and potentially earning new sources of revenue in the future. They will not, hopefully, substitute sports, but might be welcomed as one more option of content to fans.

9.4 – The future of sports organisations: balance between sport and money

9.4.1 – Athletes and Fans

Since competitions and sports organisations need money to survive, what is their future to sustainably maintain their products (athletes) and consumers (fans)?

I started the thesis highlighting the fundamental sports' equation, from the production of content to its respective selling. On the extreme spots of this relationship stand both athletes and fans, the pillars of the sports industry, without whom it would fall apart. In a free world and constantly more aware of social rights, athletes are not owned by SOs, instead, they may demand their rights and impact the decision-making of the organisations for which they produce content. Likewise, in a highly technological landscape that offers an unlimited amount of options, fans are free to choose (and change) at any time the content they prefer to pay to watch. Nothing is guaranteed here.

Hence, organisations must be conscious of the transformations of a persistently and quickly mutating context. Societies are changing, impacted by advanced technologies, environmental changes, social demands, extremely fast communication devices, and the uncertainty of the future regarding viruses. Sports do not happen in a vacuum, therefore, are affected by this context.

The development of post-modern sports should be considered by SOs. Formats, including rules, may be revised by them to make events more dynamic and interesting, ultimately producing better content. Diversification of products may contemplate eSports. SOs must also be aware of their funding and revenue streams, working with private companies to secure their sustainability, always minding the necessity of better governance and transparent internal processes. Moreover, organisations have to be prepared to sell their content through new channels, which might even impact the format of their events to make them more adapted to social media and other platforms. Finally, the inner process and decisions of SOs must be very aware of athletes' welfare.

Consequently, in the future, the path is paved by fully professional athletes, moving from their objectification influenced by the ideology and moorings of amateurism. This involves not only prize money and better (or some, where there is none) monetary compensation, financial stability, but also protection to their physical and mental health, and their freedom of expression and association.

The previous topics of prize money and eSports illuminate a little of what the future of sports (as post-modern) might look like. A future that may possess a new Olympic Games and endeavours like the Super League. Still, many of the issues presented

here are debated and received by some people, SOs, the media, and the academy in the context of an alleged paradox between sport and money…

9.4.2 – A Paradox or Not

Is there a paradox between money and the ethical and cultural side of sports?

This question I will not answer in such a straightforward manner. The history of sport and money is a complex one. In the beginning, I introduced the idea of the Sport's Coin, through which the paradox can be explained, since each side possess opposite features: the negatives related to the financial dimension of sport, while the positive concern the cultural, ethical, sometimes moral, and educational components of sport. In this context, the case studies of the thesis: the Super League and the Olympics would represent each of these sides.

The business of sport is not a contemporary invention; we have seen how in Ancient Greece, professionalism already existed. The appearance and growth of modern sports through the centuries 18th and 19th were later contextualised by the ideology of amateurism. The same changes that made possible the development of modern sports especially as a mass phenomenon also made possible the birth of an ideology of both social exclusion and moralistic rhetoric.

Previously regarded as a vulgar activity, associated with violence and other negative characteristics (something like eSports nowadays), sport was "cleaned" by amateurism. Professionals would embody the negative associations, often linked to the participation of lower classes, while amateurs were responsible for playing like a gentleman. The association of sport with positive values (also as an upper-class activity) was important to further sell it. Although professional sports kept evolving on the sidelines, the Olympic Games summarised and encapsulated amateurism, not only in a practical sense (eligibility) but also its moral tenets.

Sports changed a lot throughout the 20th century. Its growing commercialisation, heavily impacted by the transformation in communications, especially with the emergence and spread of televisions, advanced professionalisation even further, making the maintenance of amateurism impossible. Officially dissolved by the IOC in the 90s, amateurism's tenets are still alive, leaving the heritage of not only morality but also social exclusiveness. To this day, many competitions (including the Olympics) and sports do not pay prize money to their athletes. Of course, this creates a heavier burden on the poorest people.

The impact does not concern only athletes. SOs and events have been developed around a non-commercial aura and tenets ruled by the same principles of amateurism that associated money with negative features. Nonetheless, with the explosion of modern sports and their widespread commercialisation, we left the age of amateurism to reach the era of moral commercialism: SOs have major revenues, produce commercial deals, are protected from competition, yet invoke moral tenets of amateurism.

The commercialisation of sport has met resistance from fans especially because of its impact on identities and cultural ties. In this sense, decisions based on commercial interests may conflict with people's wishes, especially local fans who relate with some SOs as relatives.

It was the hardest research question to answer, yet the most interesting to research. It all comes down to the different usages of money in the context of sport and to the distinct applications of sport, which can be purely educational or exclusively for entertainment. The commercialisation or commodification of sport in essence, by nature, does not produce a paradox. Yet, if not carefully carried out, it might conflict with cultural dimensions. Whereas, the ethical practice of sport (beyond the formulation of the rules) is not a natural or essential feature of it.

Therefore, there is no paradox between sport as a cultural or ethical practice and money, even though conflicts may appear. It is important for people involved in SOs and other sports stakeholders to have the complexity of this relationship in mind in their decision-making practice: using money to boost reach, quality, producing better content, distributing more earnings to athletes, while respecting the cultural dimensions of sport, caring for the nature of fans' relationship and identity. If only the ESL had cared about it…

9.4.3 – ESL vs Olympics

What is the future for sports events when it comes to athletes and organisations: do the Olympics need to find their "inner Super League" and also the contrary in order to maintain athletes and fans?

Above, I have tackled the future of sports organisations in their relationships with athletes and fans, as well as the possible paradox between sport and money. Now it is time to answer the question that might have seemed absurd at first, but hopefully, it proved to all to be worthy of consideration. What can the Olympics learn from a disaster league that is, if not dead for now, imprisoned six feet under? If the ESL was a glimpse of what the future may hold for sports, it is important to pay attention to it.

"When the wicked are multiplied, crimes shall be multiplied: but the just shall see their downfall"

(Book of Proverbs, Chapter 29, Verse 16)

Whether the motivation behind the Super League was purely commercial or not, it does not matter. It was, as well, a response to new challenges of the sports industry: the need to produce better content and attract new fans is pivotal. I would define the ESL as an organisation that has absolutely no shame to be commercially-driven, and not much time to worry about cultural rhetoric. Obviously, it did not work. Yet, if it could inspire a little bit the IOC in something would be to be less closeted to its commercial interests. As much as the Olympics might insist on the values-driven rhetoric, we all know that elite sport is, first and foremost, commercially-driven.

Therefore, the IOC should realise that its non-commercial rhetoric is behind an unfair, unequal, and socially asymmetrical system when it does not make direct payments to participants. Furthermore, it has to be conscious that, in a new generation, maintaining rhetoric dated to two centuries ago (in a very conservative context) may not be the best decision. Adaptation is key in life, both for people and organisations. It does not have to be as aggressive as the ESL (this is not desirable, neither smart), but it is time to change its posture when it comes to money.

On the other hand, if the European Super League wants to work (have fans) in the future, and the same goes for other likewise endeavours, it has to find its inner Olympics. It is not about changing extremes, obviously, but it is crucial to acknowledge the cultural dimensions of sport and address them. I said it once, and I say it again: football and no other sport belong to organisations. SOs are essential to produce events, develop sports, organise their functioning, and so on. Nonetheless, at the end of the day, sports belong to both their participants and fans. They are the ultimate bosses. They are the ones who point to which way the wind is blowing. They are the ones behind both the hurricanes and the softest summer's breeze.

The ESL's crisis in 2021 revealed a protected traditional establishment fighting for its privileges and commercial interests while trying to hide all of this behind a values, cultural, and often moralistic rhetoric. Treating the different as sinners, the downfall is certain to them. That is not the way to go, neither when it comes to organisations, tournaments, fans, nor athletes. Once the other is doomed to a downfall, sometimes, the wind blows the other way, and the wave comes back.

Drink, Psyche, and become immortal. Never will Cupid runaway from this union, as your nuptials will be eternal

(Apuleius, 2010, p. 122; translated from Portuguese)

At the beginning of the thesis, I talked about apotheosis. Sports have been affected by religious-like rhetoric: athletes are turned into deities and heroes, their accomplishments are romanticised, the field of play is almost treated as a heavenly temple. If, for some, destiny is the downfall, for others, apotheosis with its immortality awaits on the horizon.

As some are treated like angels, idealised as superior beings or organisations, necessarily the ones who fail to be up to these utopian standards are cursed with the downfall. It is time to move on from this approach. The idealisation of athletes does not combine with their full professionalisation. The fantasy and romantic approach of sport as a non-commercial and inherently moral practice do not fit its business and professional practices as an entertainment industry.

During the introduction, I urged: Apotheosis or downfall, make your choice! Now I say: do not! It is time to move from the extremes and meet each other harmoniously in a more realistic and humanised place, where there is freedom, equality, and respect all the way.

PART 5 – CONCLUSION

CHAPTER 10 – LIMITATIONS, BENEFITS AND THE FUTURE

10.1 – Limitations of the Thesis

Even though this thesis did not save on words and pages, there is only so much one can write in a short amount of time, which is why it has some limitations. In Part 2, it was decided to focus on the moments in history in which sport had a lot of meaning: Ancient Greece and in Contemporaneity. Nonetheless, sports were present in other parts of history. The relationship it had with money during those times is not covered here.

The case study of the Olympic Games in its section about eSports dealt with one example of a broadcaster. Other Olympic partners, be these RHBs or sponsors, may also be analysed. Furthermore, on the section of prize money, it was tackled only the case of Olympic Summer sports and within the context of Tokyo 2020. Here, the possibilities are almost limitless, Winter and Paralympic sports may have a different reality or not, for example.

The survey on perceptions about money, sport, and the Olympic Games had some obvious limitations. Despite several challenges, having more than 500 respondents was quite rewarding. However, because of time, there was not the possibility of studying more specific populations and having more participants. The goal was to have a broad and international survey. Nevertheless, distributing a survey online (because of the pandemic) worldwide has many hurdles.

Besides, howsoever different leagues and organisations were mentioned throughout the thesis, the focus was on the European Super League and the Olympic Games. In this context, the thesis is more limited to these competitions and their cultural contexts. Furthermore, other sports and SOs in different contexts may be analysed through their relationship with money and commercialism.

10.2 – Benefits

I sure would like to think that this thesis has many more benefits than limitations. As the topic of sport and money, as well as my approach to it, are very broad, I often had a doubt and a question in my mind: what is it all about?

Money brings economics. There is even math in the thesis. The financials of SOs and athletes are also approached here. Yet the thesis is not only about the economy. Sport as a cultural practice brings sociology to the table. The way sports operates within different societies, making part of people's identity and culture, is a recurring topic during the thesis. Amateurism as a moralistic ideology playing in the sporting scene, with the ethical, educational, often, moral rhetoric in the sports and Olympic context, is a major theme. Yet, the thesis is not about only philosophy or sociology. There are many considerations towards the value and behaviour of fans, their desires and what this means to SOs, their present and future in the context of financial stability. Yet, the thesis is not only about marketing.

At the end of the day, this thesis is about economy and sociology, but it is first and foremost about sport and decisions within the sports industry; it is about sports management. The major benefit of the present thesis is to help in the decision-making processes inside sports organisations: maintaining and gaining more fans; treating athletes with whom they operate as partners and in a fair manner; looking at the future of sports beyond what may be left behind when imprisoned by the false paradox between sport and money. The concept of dehumanisation of athletes may help stakeholders to consider the need to humanize their approaches.

The introduction of the ideas of post-modern sports and full professionalism may help organisers: considering them in the internal processes; to make better decision-making in the future; concealing the need to diversify the fan base; valorising athletes. Beyond producing better, more dynamic, and innovative content, a more competitive product in a world where attention is so disputed.

Not only people who work inside SOs. The thesis may benefit those who act in other fields of the sports industry, especially the media, and fans themselves in taking a more humanised approach toward athletes, contributing to the process of full professionalisation. As a journalist, when it comes to the press and media in general, I would like that the thesis could help to deepen the conversation of sport, money, and commercialisation, as well to encourage the humanisation of athletes and exclusion of their objectification by the media. The Super League case showed as well how the media,

to some extent, still lacks the capacity (and maybe knowledge) to question everything, unfortunately, at times failing to look at the whole picture with the utmost intellectual independence necessary in journalism.

10.3 – Potential Research

Having a very broad topic and a diversified approach, the present thesis raises several questions that may be analysed by further research, beyond the already mentioned limitations, which might be solved by other studies.

Here the spotlight was put mainly on elite-level competitions of summer sports, especially through the two case studies of Part 3. Nonetheless, there are many considerations about sport, money, and commercialism that concern other types of sports, like winter and grassroots tournaments. Meanwhile, I believe that a very interesting approach, which might produce diverse findings, would be to take into consideration the Paralympic world. How does amateurism play a role in the Paralympics? Are the Paralympic athletes objectified as well? What are the differences between the two worlds that impact the way sport and money interact in sports for people with disabilities?

Still on the topic of the Olympics, further research may take on prize money. More studies are needed to analyse other possibilities, especially the proposal of paying them to all participants of the Games. The relationship between athletes and NFs in the context of professionalism and money may also be deeper analysed in all countries, as well as the usage of prize money by authoritarian regimes.

In the Super League' case study context, it would be very interesting to further investigate fans' reactions, especially regarding the media coverage of the event. It would be important to find out to what extent their reactions were natural and spontaneous, or heavily impacted by the treatment that the press gave to the whole case.

With all the findings this thesis produced, two main frameworks with new concepts were created. The first concerns athletes. From the modern objectification of athletes (often through their amateurisation, a proposed new word), there is a tendency to reach the status of a fully professional environment. These concepts deserve further research.

The other framework, which I believe is rather controversial and, maybe, a little incipient, justifies a lot of attention. Post-modern sports might be the future, as I believe they are. Further research may be done to better understand the current challenges suffocating the sports industry and the opportunities that are being presented. All of that to understand how these transformations are impacted by the external factors of mutating societies in a chaotic world, full of chances and problems, full of technology and social issues.

In summary, writing the last words of the thesis, it is impressive to note how the history of sports and money has a lot to do with freedom: for athletes to be professionals; for behaving as they prefer; for fans to engage with other activities; for everyone to demand their own rights; for organisations to produce new endeavours. It seems that, currently, the universe of sport is very much hierarchical and controlled with harshness by some.

A new world emerges on the horizon, and I wonder what is the relationship between sport and freedom. Is freedom an Olympic Value? Is there a paradox here? Unfortunately (for me and I hope for you), I have nothing else to write. For now!

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فا صـ یل تـ آت فائـ زیـ ن مـ کاف ة الـ یدالـ مـ بـ یة بـ مـ بـ یر کـ بـ یراتـ وراتـ مدی یاة حـ الـ.” ..أولـ مـ بـ یة بـ مـ بـ لغ“ (2021, July 23). *Masrawy*. https://www.masrawy.com/sports/sports_news/details/2021/7/23/2060728/-%D8%AA%D9%81%D8%A7%D8%B5%D9%8A%D9%84-%D9%85%D9%83%D8%A7%D9%81%D8%A2%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%81%D8%A7%D8%A6%D8%B2%D9%8A%D9%86-%D8%A8%D9%85%D9%8A%D8%AF%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D8%A3%D9%88%D9%84%D9%85%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D9%85%D8%A8%D9%84%D8%BA-%D9%83%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%B1-%D9%88%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%AA%D8%A8-%D9%85%D8%AF%D9%89-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AD%D9%8A%D8%A7%D8%A9-

طوكـ یو أولـ مـ بـ یاد فـ ي الـ مـ توجـ ین لـ لأبـ طال تـ وذ سـ تـ دفـ ع كـ م 2020؟. (2021, July 27). *WinWin*. https://www.winwin.com/%D9%83%D8%B1%D8%A9-%D9%82%D8%AF%D9%85/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D8%AE%D8%A8%D8%A7%D8%B1/%D9%83%D9%85-%D8%AA%D8%AF%D9%81%D8%B9-%D8%AA%D9%88%D9%86%D8%B3-%D9%84%D9%84%D8%A3%D8%A8%D8%B7%D8%A7%D9%84-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%AA%D9%88%D8%AC%D9%8A%D9%86-

%D9%81%D9%8A-%D8%A3%D9%88%D9%84%D9%85%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%A7%D8%AF-%D8%B7%D9%88%D9%83%D9%8A%D9%88-2020%D8%9F

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Appendix I

Tokyo 2020 – Medallists

NOC	MEDALS			INDIVIDUAL			DOUBLES			TEAM/3			TEAM/4			TEAM/5			TEAM/6		
	G	S	B	G	S	B	G	S	B	G	S	B	G	S	B	G	S	B	G	S	B
ARGENTINA	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ARMENIA	0	2	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
AUSTRALIA	17	7	22	11	4	13	2	1	1	0	1	0	2	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	2
AUSTRIA	1	1	5	1	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
AZERBAIJAN	0	3	4	0	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BAHAMAS	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BAHRAIN	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BELARUS	1	3	3	1	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BELGIUM	3	1	3	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BERMUDA	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BOTSWANA	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
BRAZIL	7	6	8	5	5	7	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BULGARIA	3	1	2	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
BURKINA FASO	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CANADA	7	6	11	5	4	6	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
CHINESE TAIPEI	2	4	6	1	3	5	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
COLOMBIA	0	4	1	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CROATIA	3	3	2	1	2	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CUBA	7	3	5	6	3	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CZECH REP.	4	4	3	3	4	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CÔTE D'IVOIRE	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
DENMARK	3	4	4	2	1	3	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
DOMINIC. REP.	0	3	2	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
ECUADOR	2	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
EGYPT	1	1	4	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ESTONIA	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ETHIOPIA	1	1	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
FIJI	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
FINLAND	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
FRANCE	10	12	11	4	7	5	1	1	2	0	0	2	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
GEORGIA	2	5	1	2	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GERMANY	10	11	16	7	5	9	0	4	5	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
GHANA	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GREAT BRITAIN	22	21	22	14	14	17	4	2	0	1	1	1	0	2	2	2	2	0	0	0	0
GREECE	2	1	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GRENADA	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
H. KONG, CHINA	1	2	3	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
HUNGARY	6	7	7	5	7	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
INDIA	1	2	4	1	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

INDONESIA	1	1	3	0	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
IRELAND	2	0	2	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
IS. REP. OF IRAN	3	2	2	3	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ISRAEL	2	0	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ITALY	10	10	20	6	8	14	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	3	0	1	2	1	0	0
JAMAICA	4	1	4	3	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
JAPAN	27	14	17	23	10	14	1	0	1	0	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
JORDAN	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KAZAKHSTAN	0	0	8	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KENYA	4	4	2	4	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KOSOVO	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KUWAIT	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KYRGYZSTAN	0	2	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
LATVIA	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
LITHUANIA	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
MALAYSIA	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
MEXICO	0	0	4	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
MONGOLIA	0	1	3	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
MOROCCO	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
NAMIBIA	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
NETHERLANDS	10	12	14	7	8	11	0	2	3	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
NEW ZEALAND	7	6	7	3	2	6	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
NIGERIA	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
N. MACEDONIA	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
NORWAY	4	2	2	3	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PR OF CHINA	38	32	18	26	23	14	8	7	1	2	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0
PHILIPPINES	1	2	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
POLAND	4	5	5	3	1	4	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
PORTUGAL	1	1	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PUERTO RICO	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
QATAR	2	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ROC	20	28	23	13	15	19	2	4	4	1	1	0	3	4	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
REP. KOREA	6	4	10	2	3	7	1	0	1	2	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
REP. MOLDOVA	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ROMANIA	1	3	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SAN MARINO	0	1	2	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SAUDI ARABIA	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SERBIA	3	1	5	2	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
SLOVAKIA	1	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
SLOVENIA	3	1	1	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SOUTH AFRICA	1	2	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SPAIN	3	8	6	2	5	4	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SWEDEN	3	6	0	2	4	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SWITZERLAND	3	4	6	3	3	5	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SYRIAN A. REP.	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

THAILAND	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TUNISIA	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TURKEY	2	2	9	2	2	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TURKMENISTAN	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
UGANDA	2	1	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
UKRAINE	1	6	12	1	5	9	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
USA	39	41	33	29	29	27	1	3	1	0	2	0	1	1	0	1	0	2	0	2	0
UZBEKISTAN	3	0	2	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
VENEZUELA	1	3	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
OVERALL	340	338	402	244	242	305	36	36	36	8	8	8	17	18	17	5	5	6	4	7	4

NOC	TEAM/7			TEAM/8			TEAM/9			TEAM/10			TEAM/11			TEAM/12			TEAM/13			TEAM/14		
	G	S	B	G	S	B	G	S	B	G	S	B	G	S	B	G	S	B	G	S	B	G	S	B
ARGENTINA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
ARMENIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
AUSTRALIA	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
AUSTRIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
AZERBAIJAN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BAHAMAS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BAHRAIN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BELARUS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BELGIUM	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BERMUDA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BOTSWANA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BRAZIL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BULGARIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BURKINA FASO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CANADA	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CHINESE TAIPEI	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
COLOMBIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CROATIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CUBA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CZECH REP.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CÔTE D'IVOIRE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
DENMARK	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
DOMINIC. REP.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ECUADOR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
EGYPT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ESTONIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ETHIOPIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
FIJI	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
FINLAND	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
FRANCE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
GEORGIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

GERMANY	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
GHANA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GREAT BRITAIN	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GREECE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
GRENADA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
H. KONG, CHINA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
HUNGARY	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
INDIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
INDONESIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
IRELAND	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
IS. REP. OF IRAN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ISRAEL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ITALY	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
JAMAICA	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
JAPAN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
JORDAN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KAZAKHSTAN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KENYA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KOSOVO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KUWAIT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KYRGYZSTAN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
LATVIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
LITHUANIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
MALAYSIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
MEXICO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
MONGOLIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
MOROCCO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
NAMIBIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
NETHERLANDS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
NEW ZEALAND	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
NIGERIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
N. MACEDONIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
NORWAY	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PR OF CHINA	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PHILIPPINES	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
POLAND	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PORTUGAL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PUERTO RICO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
QATAR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ROC	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
REP. KOREA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
REP. MOLDOVA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ROMANIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SAN MARINO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SAUDI ARABIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

SERBIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
SLOVAKIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SLOVENIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SOUTH AFRICA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SPAIN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
SWEDEN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SWITZERLAND	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SYRIAN A. REP.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
THAILAND	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TUNISIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TURKEY	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TURKMENISTAN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
UGANDA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
UKRAINE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
USA	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
UZBEKISTAN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
VENEZUELA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
OVERALL	2	0	2	2	2	2	4	2	3	0	0	1	2	0	1	4	6	5	4	3	4	0	1	0

NOC	TEAM/15			TEAM/16			TEAM/18			TEAM/22			TEAM/23			TEAM/24		
	G	S	B	G	S	B	G	S	B	G	S	B	G	S	B	G	S	B
ARGENTINA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ARMENIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
AUSTRALIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
AUSTRIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
AZERBAIJAN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BAHAMAS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BAHRAIN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BELARUS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BELGIUM	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BERMUDA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BOTSWANA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BRAZIL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BULGARIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BURKINA FASO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CANADA	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CHINESE TAIPEI	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
COLOMBIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CROATIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CUBA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CZECH REP.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CÔTE D'IVOIRE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
DENMARK	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
DOMINIC. REP.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

ECUADOR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
EGYPT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ESTONIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ETHIOPIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
FIJI	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
FINLAND	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
FRANCE	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GEORGIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GERMANY	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GHANA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GREAT BRITAIN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GREECE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GRENADA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
H. KONG, CHINA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
HUNGARY	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
INDIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
INDONESIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
IRELAND	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
IS. REP. OF IRAN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ISRAEL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ITALY	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
JAMAICA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
JAPAN	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
JORDAN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KAZAKHSTAN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KENYA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KOSOVO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KUWAIT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KYRGYZSTAN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
LATVIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
LITHUANIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
MALAYSIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
MEXICO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
MONGOLIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
MOROCCO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
NAMIBIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
NETHERLANDS	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
NEW ZEALAND	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
NIGERIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
N. MACEDONIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
NORWAY	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PR OF CHINA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PHILIPPINES	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
POLAND	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PORTUGAL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

PUERTO RICO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
QATAR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ROC	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
REP. KOREA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
REP. MOLDOVA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ROMANIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SAN MARINO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SAUDI ARABIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SERBIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SLOVAKIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SLOVENIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SOUTH AFRICA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SPAIN	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SWEDEN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SWITZERLAND	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SYRIAN A. REP.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
THAILAND	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TUNISIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TURKEY	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TURKMENISTAN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
UGANDA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
UKRAINE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
USA	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
UZBEKISTAN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
VENEZUELA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
OVERALL	1	3	2	2	0	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	0	0	1	1	1

NOC	NUMBER OF MEDALISTS			
	GOLD	SILVER	BRONZE	TOTAL
ARGENTINA	0	18	25	43
ARMENIA	0	2	2	4
AUSTRALIA	35	27	67	129
AUSTRIA	1	1	5	7
AZERBAIJAN	0	3	4	7
BAHAMAS	2	0	0	2
BAHRAIN	0	1	0	1
BELARUS	1	6	3	10
BELGIUM	20	1	5	26
BERMUDA	1	0	0	1
BOTSWANA	0	0	6	6
BRAZIL	29	17	9	55
BULGARIA	7	1	2	10
BURKINA FASO	0	0	1	1
CANADA	36	11	35	82

CHINESE TAIPEI	3	6	7	16
COLOMBIA	0	4	1	5
CROATIA	5	4	2	11
CUBA	8	3	5	16
CZECH REP.	5	4	4	13
CÔTE D'IVOIRE	0	0	1	1
DENMARK	4	24	5	33
DOMINIC. REP.	0	8	25	33
ECUADOR	2	1	0	3
EGYPT	1	1	4	6
ESTONIA	4	0	1	5
ETHIOPIA	1	1	2	4
FIJI	13	0	13	26
FINLAND	0	0	2	2
FRANCE	65	41	32	138
GEORGIA	2	5	1	8
GERMANY	20	25	34	79
GHANA	0	0	1	1
GREAT BRITAIN	43	39	55	137
GREECE	2	13	1	16
GRENADA	0	0	1	1
H. KONG, CHINA	1	2	5	8
HUNGARY	9	7	35	51
INDIA	1	2	21	24
INDONESIA	2	1	3	6
IRELAND	3	0	5	8
IS. REP. OF IRAN	3	2	2	7
ISRAEL	2	0	12	14
ITALY	20	17	38	75
JAMAICA	9	1	11	21
JAPAN	68	41	22	131
JORDAN	0	1	1	2
KAZAKHSTAN	0	0	8	8
KENYA	4	4	2	10
KOSOVO	2	0	0	2
KUWAIT	0	0	1	1
KYRGYZSTAN	0	2	1	3
LATVIA	4	0	1	5
LITHUANIA	0	1	0	1
MALAYSIA	0	1	2	3
MEXICO	0	0	27	27
MONGOLIA	0	1	3	4
MOROCCO	1	0	0	1
NAMIBIA	0	1	0	1
NETHERLANDS	33	22	17	72

NEW ZEALAND	29	28	8	65
NIGERIA	0	1	1	2
N. MACEDONIA	0	1	0	1
NORWAY	5	2	16	23
PR OF CHINA	58	49	33	140
PHILIPPINES	1	2	1	4
POLAND	14	15	8	37
PORTUGAL	1	1	2	4
PUERTO RICO	1	0	0	1
QATAR	2	0	2	4
ROC	41	80	27	148
REP. KOREA	14	7	17	38
REP. MOLDOVA	0	0	1	1
ROMANIA	2	7	0	9
SAN MARINO	0	2	2	4
SAUDI ARABIA	0	1	0	1
SERBIA	15	1	19	35
SLOVAKIA	1	2	4	7
SLOVENIA	3	1	1	5
SOUTH AFRICA	1	2	0	3
SPAIN	4	44	22	70
SWEDEN	5	28	0	33
SWITZERLAND	3	5	7	15
SYRIAN A. REP.	0	0	1	1
THAILAND	1	0	1	2
TUNISIA	1	1	0	2
TURKEY	2	2	9	13
TURKMENISTAN	0	1	0	1
UGANDA	2	1	1	4
UKRAINE	1	7	22	30
USA	113	118	78	309
UZBEKISTAN	3	0	2	5
VENEZUELA	1	3	0	4
OVERALL	796	785	863	2444

Appendix II

Survey

Perceptions on Sport, Money and the Olympic Games

Welcome!

Hello!

Thank you very much for taking part in this survey and contributing to the making of my master's thesis. This research is part of the International Olympic Academy master's program on Olympic Studies. The answers are confidential and will only be used in this thesis. This is a short survey, which will only take around 5 minutes to be completed. Feel free to share it with your friends.

Best regards!

Tomás Conte
tomas.conte18@gmail.com
LinkedIn

Let me get to know you a little bit! 😊

Age *

- ◯ 19 or less
- ◯ 20-29
- ◯ 30-39
- ◯ 40-49
- ◯ 50-59
- ◯ 60 or more

Gender *

- ◯ Female
- ◯ Male
- ◯ Other

What is your country of residence? *

Please choose one of the options.

Please choose...

Are you a sports' fan? *

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

Do you practice sports? *

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

Do you work in the sports industry? *

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

What is your occupation in the sports industry? *

You can select multiple options.

- [ ] Athlete
- [ ] Coach
- [ ] Communication professional
- [ ] Education professional
- [ ] Healthcare professional
- [ ] Manager
- [ ] Other

Now we are going to talk about prize money!

Are you aware that the Olympic Games do not award medalists with money?

◯ Yes	◯ No

How fair/unfair is the International Olympic Committee not award medallists with money? *

Completely unfair				Completely fair
1	2	3	4	5

Do you think that the Olympic Games should distribute prize money to medalists? *

◯ Yes	◯ No

Would the payment of prize money at the Olympics bother you in any way? *

◯ Yes	◯ No

If you like, please, express why the payment of prize money would bother you or not...

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Now, a little bit about eSports!

How acceptable would the presence of eSports on the Olympic Games be? *

Completely unacceptable				Completely acceptable
1	2	3	4	5

Now, what if eSports were part of a side event before/after the Olympic Games? *

Completely unacceptable				Completely acceptable
1	2	3	4	5

Hold on! You are almost there!

How do you feel about the level of commercialization of the Olympic Games? *

- ◯ They are over-commercialized
- ◯ They are commercialized at a proper level
- ◯ They are under-commercialized
- ◯ I do not mind the level of commercialization

How much do you think that the commercialization of sport and the Olympics may hurt their cultural dimensions? *

Nothing				Very Much
1	2	3	4	5

In your opinion, is there any ethical, cultural, or moral contradiction between money and sport? *

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

If you like, feel free to justify your point of view...

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