



How the media structure in Russia contributes to the state sport monopoly and concentrates the market of symbolical violence

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Aims of the paper

- Main objective of the paper is to show how the power elite in Russia makes organizational restrictions which allow to the State to use the sport as a part of propagandistic and ideological apparatus.
- From this point of view the sport and the media in contemporary Russia are linked between them because are considered as a part of the same ideological machine and are organized at the same way. From this point of view the State maintains the monopoly on sport activities at the same manner than on media.
- As a result the sport is not considered as a business (as well as media) but as an apparatus of symbolical violence which implies the propagation of national glory and patriotism which, as a consequence, became a form of the nationalism.
- Some connections:

Some people from the sport became members of the parliament and sometimes convert this into participation in media projects



After the Sochi Games a lot of state managers who became unnecessary has been injected into the media industry (Chernyshenko)



Theoretical review



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- Adorno and Horkheimer – any cultural practice in modern capitalism is not escapist. On the contrary – it's so closely linked with consumerism and market driven economy that such cultural practice contributes to reproduction of the capitalist social relations.
- Althusser: sport is considered as a part of “ideological apparatus” and is related with such ideologies as “individual competition, chauvinism, racism and sexism”.
- Sport practices are strongly linked with a class and personal habitus of different class members (Bourdieu). From this point of view sport trains a docile workforce, enhances work discipline, and replicates all the features of advanced monopoly capitalism, such as specialization, standardization, bureaucracy, quantification, and therefore alienation.
- British cultural studies and capitalism research: against commodification, study of the control (Williams, Murdock, Garnham)



Implications: we could analyze the industry of sport as a part of ideological industry and to compare it with media

Russian model of media concentration

- Media widely supported the idea of market economy and liberal market approach of reforms but was the first to demand economic preferences which was granted.
- Media became tools controlled by big oligarchic groups in order to earn “ideological plus-value”
- State owned media (controlled directly or indirectly by the state) are main commercial media (concentrate a bigger share of the ad market)

Media are able to exist at the great extent with granted money (not earned money)

Media in mid 1990s became an instrument of political games

Interchange between state owned/private owned media

Politico-oligarchic logics



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- Closed privatization (in the television field and in field of political press there was no open model of privatization: foreign capital was quasi inexistent).
- Drastically changed media ownership landscape in early 2000 was caused by the change of political elite groups.
- Less personalized ownership



State financing is growing (2014)



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534,6 millions \$

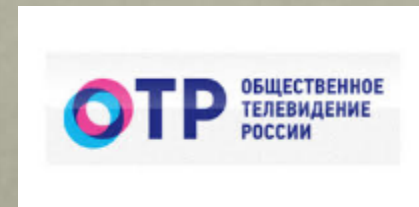
РОССИЯ СЕГОДНЯ



505,7 millions \$



52,7 millions \$



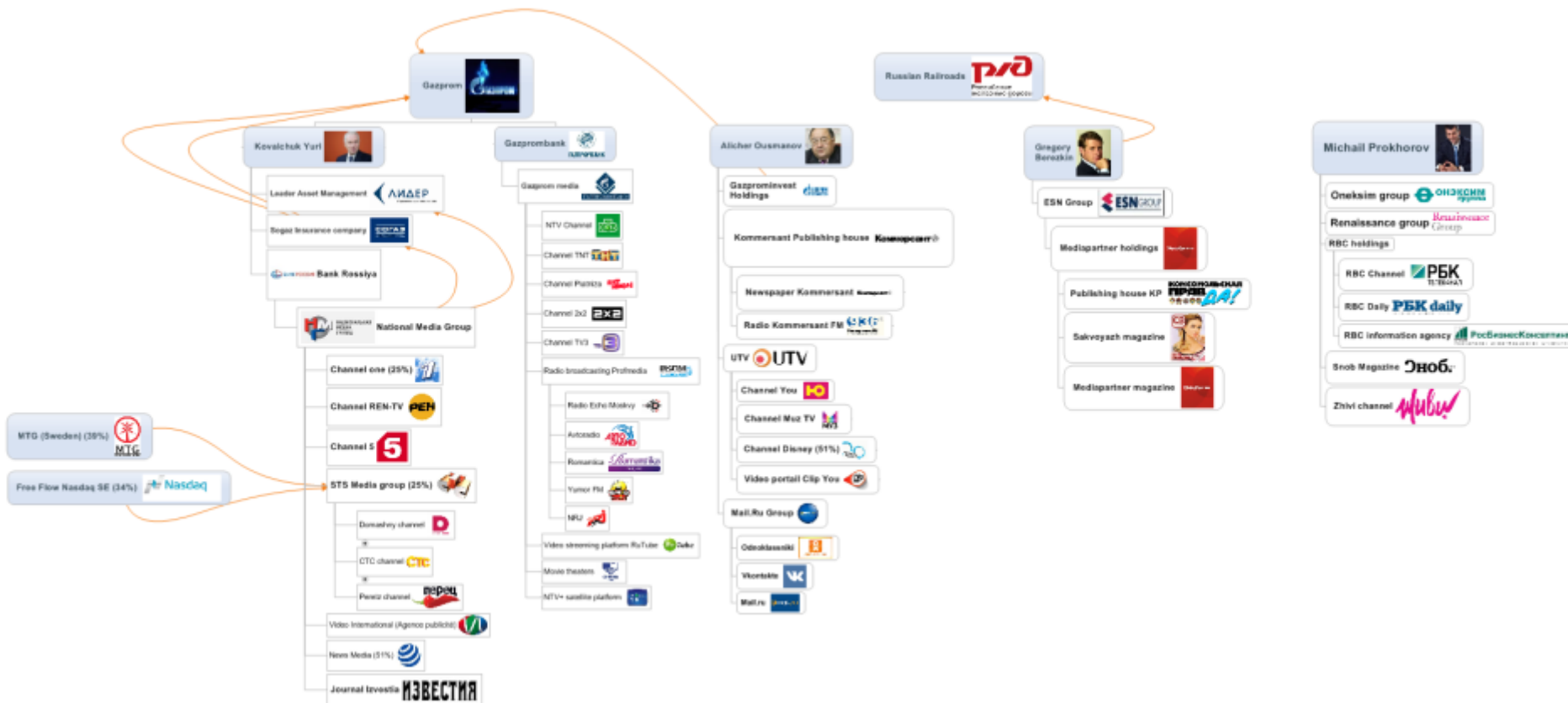
34,6 millions \$



93,8 millions \$

Financial bakers

- Owner ≠ Financial baker
- State+Gazprom = 20 national television channels



Main ownership in field of sport



- The model of ownership is quite similar:
 - Some soccer clubs are under control of local authorities (at least 5 clubs of Russian premier league)
 - Some clubs are controlled by big state-owned corporations (at least 4 clubs are under control of Russian Railways, Gazprom, Taif and VTB)
 - Remaining clubs are under control of private loyal oligarchs

Connections soccer-media-telecom



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Financial pole	Media	Telecom	Soccer club	Another sport activities
Government of Mordovia 				
Government of Samara region 				
Government of Rostov region 				
Government of Krasnodar region 				
Oleg Mkrтчan 				

Connections soccer-media-telecom



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Financial pole	Media	Telecom	Soccer club	Another sport activities
<p>Government of Chechen Republic</p> 				
<p>Government of Sverdlovsk reg.</p> 				
<p>ОАО Mineralnye Udobrenia</p> 				 
<p>Government of Tatarstan Republic</p> 				
<p>Taif oil company</p> 				

Connections soccer-media-telecom



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Financial pole	Media	Telecom	Soccer club	Another sport activities
<p>Gazprom</p> 			 	  
<p>Russian railways</p> 				  
<p>VTB Group</p> 				  
<p>Renova</p> 				
<p>Sogaz insurance</p> 				

Connections soccer-media-telecom



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Financial pole	Media	Telecom	Soccer club	Another sport activities
Lukoil (Leonid Fedun)  				
Nafta Moskva (Suleiman Kerimov)  				
Gazprominvest (Alisher Usmanov)  	 			
Magnit (Serguei Galitski)  				
Oneksim (Michail Prokhorov)  	 			

Connections soccer-media-telecom



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Financial pole

Media

Telecom

Soccer club

Another sport
activities

Yevgeni Giner



Ministry of
defence



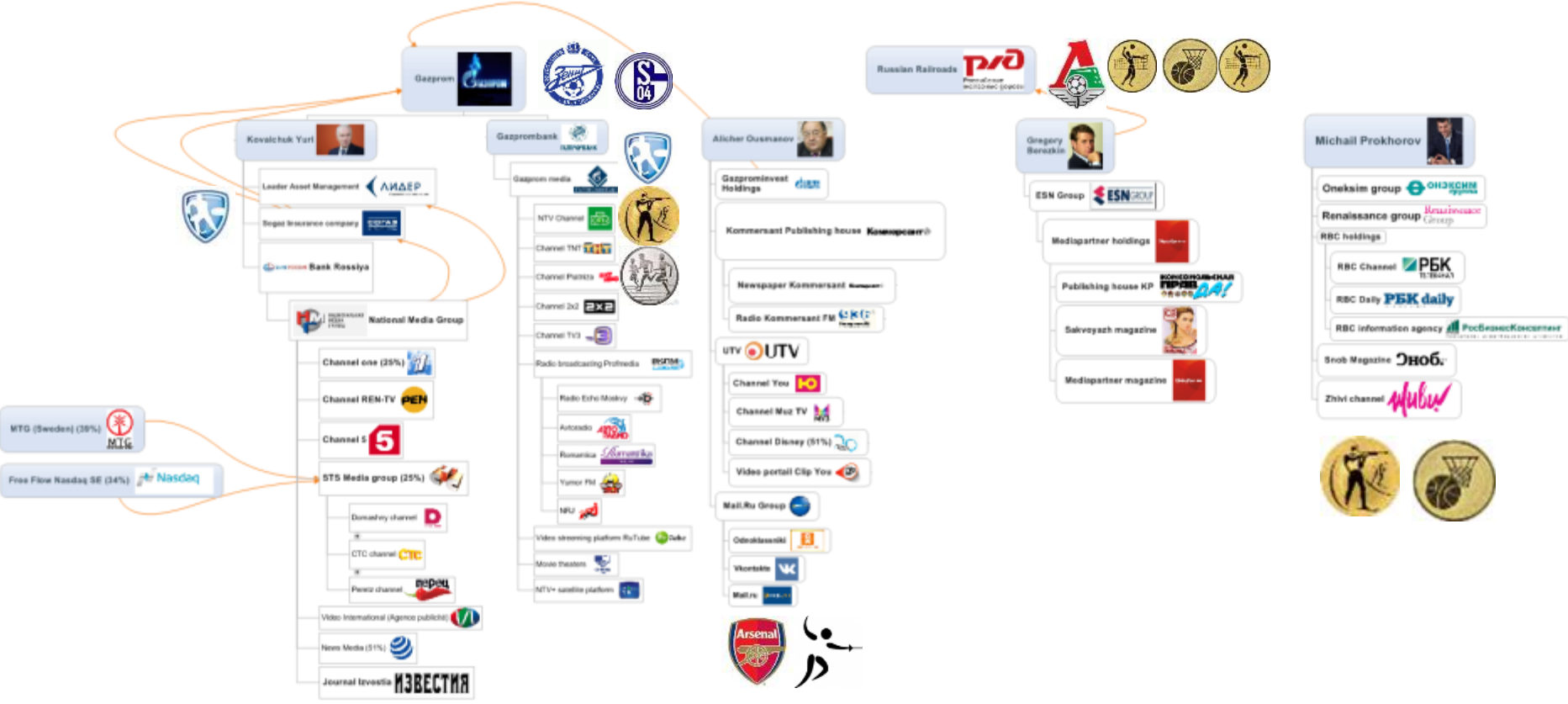
Interros
(Vladimir
Potanin)



On the map



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Main results



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- Lot of state-owned sport companies: state is a biggest sport owner in Russia.
- Mixed capital of clubs: partially owned by administrations of regions, partially controlled by big industrial companies
- Telecommunication assets are considered as a part of both production chain in media and in sport that's why they are much more present within sport owners

Building arenas



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	Building objects in Sochi 2014	Building objects to WC 2018
Rostov region administration		V
Krasnodar region administration	V	V
Samara region administration		V
Mordovia republic government		V
Sverdlovsk region administration		V
Alisher Usmanov	V	
Gazprom	V	V
Taif		V
VTB		V
Lukoil (Fedun)		V
Magnit (Galitski)		V
RZD	V	
Renova	V	V
Interros (Potanin)	V	

Interests in field of construction of sport infrastructure



- Majority of regions-owners of big soccer clubs obtained the right to organize matches in WC 2018. As a result – obtained state funding for construction of stadiums.
- Most universal investors in field both of sport and infrastructure construction are state-owned monopolies: VTB, RZD, Gazprom are concentrating a wider range of sport activities than privately owned companies.

(For) conclusion



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- In a world media concentration history the period of active connections between major sport clubs and media companies ended 10 years ago (sport and media conglomerates splited-out). Actually professional soccer clubs are owned mainly by focused on sport investors (such as Qatar sport investments)
- Seemingly in Russia non-commercial interests in this field and high ideological value didn't incited the industry to move forward to this model.