

**SPORTS, BODIES, IDENTITIES
AND ORGANIZATIONS:
CONCEPTIONS AND PROBLEMS**

SPORTS, BODIES, IDENTITIES AND ORGANIZATIONS: CONCEPTIONS AND PROBLEMS

**WOJCIECH J. CYNARSKI, KAZIMIERZ OBODYŃSKI,
NICOLA PORRO [EDS.]**

eass



**WYDAWNICTWO
UNIwersYTETU RZESZOWSKIEGO
RZESZÓW 2011**

Scientific review by
Prof. Dr. HANNU ITKONEN (Finland)
Prof. Dr. MOJCA DOUPONA-TOPIČ (Slovenia)
Prof. dr hab. MARIAN MALIKOWSKI (Poland)

Proofreader
JANINA KORDEK

Publisher – Faculty of Physical Education, University of Rzeszów, under auspices
of the European Association for Sociology of Sport (eass)

© Copyright by
Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego
Rzeszów 2011

© Copyright by Wojciech J. Cynarski
Rzeszów (Poland) 2011

ISBN 978-83-7338-657-0

679

WYDAWNICTWO UNIwersYTETU RZESZOWSKIEGO
35-959 Rzeszów, ul. prof. S. Pigonia 6, tel. 17 872 13 69, tel./fax 17 872 14 26
e-mail: wydaw@univ.rzeszow.pl; <http://wydawnictwo.univ.rzeszow.pl>
wydanie I; format B5; ark. wyd. 19,5+wklejka; ark. druk. 25; zlec. red. 32/2011

Druk i oprawa: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego

CONTENTS OF THE BOOK

Preface – Georg Anders, President of eass	7
Editorial	9

Part 1 SPORTS AND BODIES

1.1. Roberto Cipriani – Sports, bodies, identities	15
1.2. Wojciech J. Cynarski, Kazimierz Obodyński – Self-identification through bodily awareness in the contemporary mass culture	27
1.3. Jakub Mosz – The body in sport from the view point of evolutionary strategies of Nature	40
1.4. Jannick Niort, Javier Hernández Vázquez, Ana Bofill Ródenas – Dance and intellectual disability: a different dance, a different life	49
1.5. Antonio Borgogni, Stefania Manzo, Simone Digennaro – Perception of Lifestyles. A comparison between sports practising and non-practising of young people	58
1.6. Marc Theeboom, Jikkemien Vertonghen – ‘It is like a finger pointing away to the moon’. Teaching martial arts to children	68
1.7. Davide Sterchele – Youth in the urban space: bodily practices between homology and creativity	80
1.8. Olga Pereira, Inês Monteiro, Adília Silva, Ana Luísa Pereira – Portuguese Media portrayal of Paralympics Athletes	92

Part 2 SPORTS AND IDENTITIES

2.1. Alessandra Carraro, Davide Sterchele – Sport, mental health problems and social integration: the need of sociological approach	115
2.2. Ramón Llopis-Goig – Gender Identities in Sport. Learning, representing and avoiding hegemonic masculinity through football in Spanish society	121
2.3. Nikolaos Patsantaras, Irene Kamberidou – Is Olympic communication-activity a means for the construction of cosmopolitan identities?	132

2.4. Silke Vagt-Keßler – Feelings of Salsa dancers in Germany. An empirical analysis of gender and intercultural aspects	142
2.5. Stefania Manzo, Lavinia Falese – PARKOUR. From the no-intentional didactics to the spectacularization	151
2.6. Oktay Aktan – The Role of <i>Hocas</i> in the Social Integration of Football Players of Turkish origin in Berlin	157
2.7. Giulio Bizzaglia – The measure of the result. An educational issue	170

Part 3

SPORTS AND ORGANIZATIONS

3.1. Charlotte Van Tuyckom – Six sporting worlds. A cluster analysis of sports participation in the EU-25	179
3.2. Ana Luísa Pereira – The relationship between a sportsman and media: the case of the climber João Garcia	199
3.3. Lucio Meglio – Sport, work and leisure time. The contribution of the Italian Company Recreation Circles	214
3.4. Stefano Martelli – Great sporting events and Italian TV audiences. A sociological research about the public of Olympics, Paralympics, and Football European Cups at Italian television (2000–2008)	220
3.5. Aleš Sekot – Sport and physical activities in the Czech Republic	234
3.6. Irena Slepíčková, Pavel Slepíčka – Sport promotion in microregions	249
3.7. Simone Digennaro – Sport and policy: mapping the Italian sports system via the Advocacy Coalition Framework	256
3.8. Bente Ovedie Skogvang – Football in Norway – The Influence of "Drillo" on Grass Root Level Football	265
3.9. Hanna Vehmas – Searching for the core reasons of sport and leisure participation – hermeneutics as a theoretical and methodological framework for understanding active leisure	271
3.10. Marco Pasini – CVN Casalbernocchi – Qualitative analysis and Visual methodology for a community study	282

Part 4

Kazimierz Obodyński, Wojciech J. Cynarski – Conferences of Eass – Photographic Records and Comments	295
--	-----

PREFACE



Georg Anders, President of eass

The 6th eass conference in Rome, 27–31 May 2009, brought into focus „Sports, Bodies and Identities“. Questions such as „Who am I?“ or „Where do I belong to?“ or „What will I be?“ or „What should I be?“ are probably eternal questions of mankind.

Our bodies are sources of concern. The body is an object of appearance management and self-improvement. We are judged on the basis of bodily appearances and performances. Body exercising offers a solution to health problems.

Sport means one of the most important, expressive and socially relevant representations of body. Sport as a cultural field is a complex web of sites, products and practices, producers and consumers, focused on the exercising body.

It is used as an instrument and as a strategy for producing both individual and collective identities, sense and belonging. Processes of building personality at the top sport level are connected with success, public attention, appreciation, prestige, flow experience.

But there exists the risk of loss of identity and psychic break down as well if the sport loses its function as a producer of identity, for example, when top athletes resign. We know about the problems of transition and biographical disruptions at the end of a career.

Not only individuals are concerned in the question „Who am I?“ and „Who will I be?“ but nations as well. Nations make use of Football World Champion-

ships to demonstrate and to communicate the image of what they would be, that is: self-confident nations but combined with openness, tolerance, brightness, and hospitality.

Collective identities give the individual a sense of belonging, of orientation, of integration. On the other side, the individual embodies the orientations of the community in its feeling, thinking and acting, thus stabilizing and perpetuating the collective identity. Exactly this kind of collective identity and identity building was reflected in the behaviour and the symbols of the fans of the clubs which took part in the final of the Champions League in Rome that coincided with the start of the conference. The respective codes of collective identity define the persons' inclusion or exclusion. The participants of the conference had insofar the chance to realize the relevance and significance of the conference theme. And perhaps some of those present at the conference were themselves adherents of the code of one of the clubs involved.

Since the eighties of the last century we have discussed the „revival of the body“ and the „revaluation of the body“ in society. This „body-turn“ evoked multi-faceted theoretical and empirical research in the field of the sociology of the body. And the sociology of sport discovered the body as a central category, too.

The conference brought together approaches from historical, cultural, social, socio-psychological and political studies as well as from economic and media studies. It offered an excellent opportunity to be informed about latest scientific results and developments on an international level. The 6th conference in the „Eternal City“ continued the series of successful eass conferences and attracted participants from 28 countries.

On behalf of the eass I thank Prof. Dr. Wojciech J. Cynarski, Prof. Dr. Kazimierz Obodynski and Prof. Dr. Nicola Porro for publishing a selection of papers presented in Rome. The papers mirror a great variety of topics. Composing the book was a huge work. I am sure it was worth while. The publication will contribute to exchange research results and to promote fruitful discussions.

Prof. Dr. Georg Anders
President of the European Association
for Sociology of Sport

EDITORIAL

We are going to celebrate 10th anniversary of the European Association for Sociology of Sport (eass) which was founded in November 2001. There were organized successful scientific conferences of this Association – in Vienna (2002), Rzeszów and Łańcut (2004), Jyväskylä (2006), Münster (2007), Bled (2008), Rome (2009) and Porto (2010). A factography of the events is shown in the Part 4th, the eass history in photos – from Vienna to Rome.

Under the auspices of eass there were published some valuable books. This is the next of the series. A part of papers presented in Rome (25 selected works) constitutes the content of the monograph.

The 6th Eass Conference, held in Rome in May 2009 and dedicated to “Sport, Bodies, Identities”, aimed at focalizing surveys, studies and methodological approaches of the *Social Sciences* oriented to draw a wide-range representation of sport as one of the most important, expressive and socially relevant representations of body. It means that sport was considered as a privileged instrument and a strategy for producing both individual and collective identities, sense and belonging.

By this point of view, the main challenge that the involved scholars had to face was to support, on one hand, a properly sociological perspective to the topics, and, on the other, enriching and integrating it by different scientific contributions involving all the domains of *Social Sciences*.

Reviewing the contributions of the participants submitted to the readers, thanks to the cooperation between the main academic institutions which supported the programme – the University of Rzeszów (Professor Wojciech J. Cynarski and Professor Kazimierz Obodyński) and University of Cassino (Professor Nicola Porro), we can score an important point in favour of an advancement of such a critical, controversial and culturally debated question.

The Conference held in Rome under the prestigious tutorship of the Eass President, Professor Georg Anders, can be considered at the same time as the arrival point of a first phase of involvement of the *Sociology of sport* in the intriguing domain of body and bodily experience and as the virtual starting point for a more courageous and systematic analysis of sport by the point of view of the *Sociology of body*.

This statement implies a further reflection, regarding Sociology at large, its effort in fighting the tendency to enclose the discipline into the narrow and unfruitful perspective of hyperspecialistic approaches and against the intellectual dictatorship of the so called *hyphenated sociologies*.

The body, and the bodies in action as narrated by the sports experience, can represent a privileged domain for an epistemological revolution. A turning point required by prominent scholars who have underlined the need and the urgency of revisiting the mission itself of contemporary *Sociology*.

A privileged domain because body and sport are placed at the common set of nature and culture, man and society, space and time, matter and mind. Nothing is more personal than the body, and the way we represent it deeply contributes to the establishment of our individual identity. Despite the social control to which it is submitted, it is also the place of individuality, the material substratum of physical existence and social relationships.

Through the history of the body, or better, of the *bodies in action*, it can be possible to tell the history of mankind, its itineraries from primitive communities to civilization, until modernity and the so-called hypermodernity.

Pierre Bourdieu described the body as “a language from which we are spoken”, an intellectual provocation that is put in a continuity line with both Michel Foucault’s and Norbert Elias’s researches. Being impossible now to deepen philosophical premises of this statement, it could be useful to wonder, with Bourdieu, that the *language* could speak the body of sport and wonder, with Foucault, if the analysis of sportization doesn’t represent a *possible point of attack* for philosophical criticism, that are founded on the dichotomy between body and mind. Only in this way it will be possible to welcome the recommendations of Elias to avoid any reductionistic representation of social action and therefore of sportization. We cannot question the body without first distancing from traditional visions. Neither can we settle down in a Sociology incline to the “reduction to state” (*Zustandreduktion*) of social courses. While we have to adopt that dynamic and dialectic representation of social system that Elias identifies as *figuration*, in Simmel’s honour.

From this perspective, that tries to combine Weber and Simmel with the civilization theory of Elias and with the anti-metaphysical criticism of Foucault and Bourdieu, the social action space is covered by the body. In sports, as well as in sexuality and in illnesses, the body represents a *system of meanings*. Sportized bodies are not just *representation*. They create a social *construction*. Sportization, in fact, cannot ignore formulation, transmission, and the continuous perfecting of practices and *body techniques*. With this formula, the anthropologist Marcel Mauss defined the “ways how men, in any society, learn to use their bodies”. Medicine, hygiene, medical theories, the use of physicalness during leisure time activities, but also the rules enforced by the fashion or by publicity, food taste and dietetic regulations belong to the social action field of the body. They produce specific body techniques. They have been matched and interconnected too with sportization courses and they contributed collective imagination to outline modern sportized bodies in a more usual technical action of physical modelling.

The body was and is at the centre of a centenary struggle *for power* and *amongst powers*. By becoming, all human societies bring into being new taboos

through the body and suppress the old ones, stir up new fears while leaving behind old ones.

Current affairs provide dramatic examples. A new generation of kamikaze terrorists *embodies* (in its actual meaning) a collective nightmare, even more worrying because based on the denial of the instinct of self-preservation itself. The nightmare takes shape through the body of killer martyrs, it is designated as a metaphor place of a root cultural conflict. Moreover, the body gives evidence to the disenchantment towards the mythologies of *hypermodern* science.

The society of the risk produces both the narcissistic illusion of a perfect body and the mass hypochondria of the target body. In the threat to the integrity of our individual bodies, our appeased civilization fears come up. Vulnerability of the body breaks off the illusion of immortality and transforms everybody of us into possible victims and virtual persecutors. This may be grounds for pathologies at venereal transmission or in the case of traffic risks, weapon violence or the endemic persistence of hunger, for illnesses or for the consequences of addiction to alcohol and drug. The body of hypermodernity is a prisoner of sexual insecurity and of dietary uneasiness. It is a body free from the repressive puritan ethic, and at the same time a body bought and sold to prostitution. It is a body modelled by surgery or genetically manipulated, deformed by caloric excesses or shaped by the rituals of diet and gyms. The body transformed in consumer religion and freedom, but also subject and object of the worrying contradiction of a *contingent immortality*. Late modernity raised it to preference instrument of a new inter-society ascesis, that enhances human condition and its diversity in comparison to animal world through the trait of the species, which is consciousness to *own* a body and not just to *be* a body, as Berger and Luckman emphasized in the late Sixties.

The representation and the social construction of the body are two unavoidable elements of a civilization theory. According to Elias, especially close observation of sportization dynamics allows a social theory of emotions. A sociology of sportization is able to make the “unsaid” of Western civilization come out, because it makes clear how bodies – *sportized* bodies – are pervaded by the social element. This intuition includes a criticism of mentalistic epistemologies, from Plato to Descartes, not less root than that of Foucault. Unavoidably, it lives on the contribution of psychoanalysis. Freud, first of all, distinguished the *material* body, the inner body (*Körper*) from the *experience* body, as the source of excitement (*Leib*). The first one is the visible and tangible body, widespread on the space, with its anatomical coherence and subject to the compulsory logic of physiology. The other one is the body origin of life, subject of individuation. That is the body is *historicized* according to different sport corporeity examples described by the process of sportization and civilization.

The body reflects main social forms and symbolic apparatuses of Western sportization, their relationships with the power, culture, media. This is why the *sportized* body is, by definition, able to take up different forms, representations and aesthetical canons. It is *polymorph*: there are many sportized bodies, and there are many and

different cultural technical and expressive manners of sport activities. Or rather: the body identifies meaningful variations on the issue also if it refers to only one discipline. There is not a *body* of athletics or track and field disciplines, but a number of different *bodies in motion* of sprinters, jumpers or long-runners.

Moreover, sportization doesn't deal just with practiced disciplines, but also with the wider and different frameworks that represent sport events, such as *social facts*. The rhythmic advancing of a gymnastic choreography describes sportized bodies in the form of an anonymous fellow, of a mass-gymnast. The colorful sceneries set up by soccer ultras make use of real bodies for the simulation of a reference and often aggressive social action. The examples could continue without end. But it is essential to state that in any case, it deals with the activation of body techniques.

The itinerary which is drawn in this volume through the cooperation and the convergence of different cultural traditions, scientific approaches, empirical experiences of research constitutes an example and an opportunity: the example of a shared and friendly led effort for promoting new advancements in *Sociology of sport*, the opportunity for giving birth to an open cultural space in which all the languages of Social Sciences can be spoken and all the experiences can be compared and developed.

The presented monograph is composed of four parts:

Part 1. Sports and Bodies (8 chapters);

Part 2. Sports and Identities (7 chapters);

Part 3. Sports and Organizations (10 chapters);

Part 4. Conferences of eass – Photographic Records and Comments.

The works have been arranged from more general, through detailed problems, to methodological issues. The compilation includes the results of current inquiries of various scientific centres, mainly from Europe. The successive chapters have resulted from scientific research done by representatives of various scientific schools. The authors make use of different methodological perspectives, so readers can find here interesting outlines, interpretive papers with deep reflections, empirical cause and effect papers and passages closely related to social practice – descriptions of physical and popular culture. The book is directed not only for specialists in the field of sport social sciences, sociologists and students, but for all persons who are interested in contemporary sport, physical culture, body and identity problems.

We want to address our acknowledgments for all the authors, for reviewers and for Prof. Dr. Georg Anders, eass President¹, for his *Preface*.

Wojciech J. Cynarski, Nicola Porro, and Kazimierz Obodyński

April – September 2010

¹ 7 May 2010 in Porto (Portugal) during the General assembly of eass Prof. Dr. Nicola Porro was elected the new President of eass from 2010 to 2011, and Prof. Dr. Hannu Itkonen was elected to the next term.

Part 1

SPORTS AND BODIES

Roberto Cipriani

University of Rome 3, Italy

Chapter 1.1.

SPORTS, BODIES, IDENTITIES¹

Introduction

The typical characteristics of the play theorized by Roger Caillois [1991] involve body [Blacking 1977; Defrance 1978; Featherstone, Hepworth, Turner 1991; Frank 1991; Polhemus 1978; Schilling 1993; Turner 1984] and identity [Donnelly 2008; Donnelly Young 1988; Dubar 1996; Hill, Williams 1996; King 2004; Remotti 1996; Stevenson 2007].

As a matter of fact such link is verified in the competition meant as *agon*, in the hazard as *alea*, in the image as *mimicry*, as well as in the vertigo as *ilinx*. Therefore, for instance, the character of competition is present in many sports, both team sports and individual ones, while hazard is based on the relation between the expectation and the given answer (as in the case of the clay pigeon shooting), imitation can be found in the synchronized swimming, risk can finally be found [Baudry 1991] in alpinism (where vertigo is the main feeling while hiking or climbing).

Body gets ready for sports

If I say that I have a body, the self creates quite a distance between me and my body, which becomes other than me, therefore not always subjected to my own will. "From here, the origin of the dualistic conception of having or being is easily perceived: the self *has* a body, but it *is not* a body. And the self *is not* a body even when the statement is that the self is inside a body, in one's own body. In this case, the self and the body are meant as two parts, two different parts of one self, comprehending the self, on one side, as a partial self and, on the other hand, to comprehend one's body as another part which cannot be reduced to the partial self. Therefore, the sentence: I have a body, doubles the meaning of the self into one self which is total, and comprehensive both of the self and the body, and another self which is only one part of it, that one which can be said to be possessed, owned, by the total and comprehensive self, in the same way like the part that we define body is possessed" [Molinaro 2008: 10]. Such issues are very relevant and imply the close relations between body, identity and sport. At

¹ It was a keynote during the eass Conference in Rome 2010 [Ed. note].

this regard, we may refer to the metaphor of archery, where the bow would be the body itself which is being drawn and, thanks to the tension of the bowstring that unifies and closes (forming a sort of circular identity), is afterwards agonistically tighten to the maximum possible strength, in order to launch the arrow (symbol of sport) which will reach the goal, the aim, a certain number of points.

Body as identity

One may say that in the beginning there was the body, and the body became the identity, and started living among sports [Magnane 1964; Ohl 2006; Parlebas 1986]. Obviously, the starting point is always the body [Bromberger, Duret, Kaufmann, Le Breton, de Singly, Vigarello 2005; Le Breton 1990, 1993], without which any kind of identification would never be possible: in everyday language we speak in terms of body identification, which means that the body belongs to somebody, whose registered identity is unique. However, other forms of identity, or identification, are possible and feasible as in sports. In comparison with previous times, there have been also significant changes recently. If the sportive social actor was recognizable by a number written on the back and/or in front of the shirt, as well as on the bicycle or on the motorcycle, or even on the canoe, recently it is more frequent to write (highly visible) the surname or the nickname (an emphasized form of identity considered as extraordinary).

The process of identification [Robinson 2008: 318] implies a somatic coming closer [Schlanger 1995], in a certain way. This is the reason for following the athlete or the team in every moment, as far as possible, from training to away matches, from playing time (of not foreseeable results) to everyday life (repetitive).

One of the aims of this following is the possibility of touching, personally and directly, one's own object-subject of devotion, relation, and psychosociological *transfert*. The search for a signature (an original and identifying sign), possibly with a dedication (identity link between signer and receiver), or having a piece of cloth (that indicates the possibility to have a skin contact with the other), would become a strengthening factor of identity process, in order to find a real and visible implementation. There is also a sort of symbolic equipment that accompanies every sporting event as interaction experience [Goffman 1961, 1967], involving supporters as well as athletes, who look for a sustain (therefore a sort of identification) in all fans that face any kind of sacrifices to follow their champions (sacrifices are not only economical, but also physical ones: think about the number of hours spent travelling to be in several places for the competitions).

The existence of an efficient symbolism shows the real dynamics of identification processes, according to the meaning itself of the term symbol, whose

origins are rooted in the verb συμβάλλω (sumbállo) that in ancient Greek language means “to put together”, “to combine”. In order to understand the sense of this action of “putting together”, of “relating”, the best thing is to remember the vote procedure, of Greek origins, practised in the *agora*, in the public assembly (reserved to male citizens). In order to recognize the right to vote, there was a simple procedure employing fragments of crushed objects made of clay (such as vases). It is well-known that the breaking lines of a clay object are quite different from each other, therefore a “putting together” can succeed only when the fragments combine perfectly re-composing the original shape. At last, such “putting together”, “combining”, allow the identification, and then the symbol is a form of identity, and at meanwhile a legitimization of the process of identification.

Belonging

The role of the symbol is a relevant one for identification, to identify a team, the belonging dynamics between athletes and their fans. Symbols are the ground of struggles for different belongings. An emblematic case can be the relation with the team flag or with the coat of arms representing it. They both have a privileged position and are worshipped as sacred objects [Amara 2008], they are preserved with care, and never left unattended so to avoid eventual damages and inappropriate uses. Prizes received are fixed on both symbols in order to raise their symbolic value, and identity drive. Neither should we neglect the case of a single individual who reaches a certain prestige and esteem so to be considered as a symbolic “flag” standing for the entire team, and for all accompanying, sustaining, and referring to it.

Usually, there is no interruption between the individual and its community, between the athlete and his group. Imitation tendency produces other kind of effects: emulation, but also extreme faithfulness. When a referee or a judge intervenes to sanction a member of the team, the others feel almost obliged to rebel. Each sanction is a damage for the whole team. Therefore, the aim is not only to preserve their team mate from unfavourable decisions, but also to avoid difficulties for the group, such as the possibility of jeopardizing important collaborations.

Also in the case of doping [Brissonneau, Aubel, Ohl 2008] the impact factor of imitation has to be seriously considered. If a leader, somebody with a good influence, heard and followed by the others, decides to keep a deviant, non legitimated behaviour, there is a good chance that the rest of the group will follow him. That is the reason why the net of identity bonds has to be considered as an independent variable, which determines behaviours and attitudes in many subjects, referring to a more or less charismatic leader, who is often the symbol of a team.

Signs of an identity belonging

In some cases, athletes have on their own body the signs of their previous affiliation, such as tattoos, for example [Atkinson 2003; Caplan 2000; De Mello 2000; Featherstone 1999; Nunziata 2008; Steiner 1990; Tannenbaum 1987], thus rendering more visible the identity relation with a team or a club. A tattoo is not easily deleted, as well as the past of the person who holds it cannot be deleted. The fashion of tattoos recently widespread recalls the previous experiences of the subject, either sentimental or sport experiences, or both experiences together in a symbiotic relation. Deciding for carrying an indelible sign on oneself implies a deep motivation, a long-lasting reason. A tattoo is forever, or at least can last as long as the body. Only death will start a process of decomposition, implying a separation from symbols, affiliations, as well as from the body itself where the tattoo has been written. In other words, the tattoo is a quite definitive choice. When an athlete or a team supporter decides to have either his team name, or preferred champion name or image tattooed, he knows the consequences of such action. This solution and experience have undeniable similarities with other phenomena, like religious ones. Stigmata are, for example, a more cruel kind of tattoo, a sort of print *sui generis* of the “image” of a superior entity. St. Francis and Padre Pio da Pietrelcina, within Catholic area, are two emblematic cases of identification with Christ. Identity transition similarly occurs [Barba 2007: 81–105] between an athlete and his group of sport activity, between a supporter and his idol, between a trainer and his group of training [Vigarello 2004]. However, the contrary happens as well, because the relation can also be lived in the other direction: between the team and the star player, between the staff and the trainer (whose body, in case of victory, is exposed and carried by the athletes as a symbol of the maximum convergence between sport [Coakley, Dunning 2000], body [Cortine, Courbin, Vigarello 2005–2006], and identity [Crossley 2001; Stevenson 2002]).

The contact of bodies becomes necessary and is visibly ritualized and showed by the theatrical hug received when one of the team realizes a point, a score or a goal. The orgiastic [Maffesoli 1985] pile formed after a goal reveals a participation, a shared situation that is more than just a physical expression [Ulman 1993], and holds a symbolic meaning that eliminates all differences, of role or character, melted in one group profile, where it is hard to distinguish bodies, arms, legs, and heads. In some cases, this image becomes a real monument, as documented by the well-known (and controversial) image of American soldiers leaning upon one another, and holding high the American flag on Iwo Jima, in a unique image representing the bodies of soldiers and the symbol of confederation.

Means for identification

As a matter of fact the flag carried by fans is the symbol which unifies [Bairner 2003; Henry 2008], and moves, develops belonging feelings, and strengthens the team perception. Some people wear the flag as a suit [Giorcelli 2008]. There are also other kinds of solutions adopted by athletes and fans in order to underline their common aim: from designing the shape of a unique body (for example to hold their hands in the centre of a circle) to the well-known gesture of “give me five” which, combining the five fingers of two athletes, recalls directly the concept of “combining”, “putting together”, remembering the already expressed procedure in use in the Greek *agora*, in which the right to vote was recognized by bringing two pieces near to each other to reshape the broken object: it is more or less the same when two different hands are brought together in “give me five”.

Besides everyday dresses, overalls show identity belonging through their contrasts of colours. In the past overalls were worn only for training time or when remaining on the bench. Now they are used also during leisure time, while staying in a hotel room or at a restaurant. Affiliation has to be constantly kept in mind. This way all athletes would feel directly implied in rendering homage to their own team. As a matter of fact, representative dresses and overalls cover and protect the bodies of athletes, but they also keep alive the feeling of belonging to their community. Just like orchestra components, which are all dressed alike, athletes feel close to each other, also owing to a simple dress that, being a uniform, represents them as being part of an *ensemble*. Uniformity in respect to somebody or something is reached as in religious matters, such as stigmata, for example, where the identification between the mystic and its reference figure (just think about the famous text *Imitation of Christ* by Thomas of Kemp) is so strong to impress the same sores of Christ in his followers. Therefore, if Saint Francis becomes *alter Christus*, also an athlete can be totally devoted to his team to represent it, simply because he is the point of reference, and the key symbol of a whole team.

Sport as well as play [Vigarello 2002] seems to be a form of sociality, or, even better, a form of Simmel's concept of sociability [Simmel 1971: 127–140], defined as “a playing form of socialization”. According to this socialization many symbolic exchanges are possible, through interaction activated by social actors keen on a mutual entertainment, on the basis of a common belonging, and diversification of role playing, of exchanging persons, places and time. In particular Simmel's concept of sociability, according to Loy and Oakley [2007: 4647], is essentially based on reciprocal interaction: while in everyday life obstacles appear even if the actors do not have resources to overcome them, in sport the means to face the barriers artificially created are supplied. Moreover, the participants of a sport game are intentionally rendered impersonal through

masks and costumes, thus reducing personal involvement. In the competition the group collaboration is necessary, reducing personal needs. At last, all participants are considered on the same level, without differences of class or of any other kind, with a democratic spirit.

The athlete expresses, explains, and builds himself up through his own particular language: playing with rules, sometimes respecting them, sometimes breaking them. In this play the athlete tries to represent his life, aiming at a keeping the past in order to construct a different future. Therefore, through sport the self and the body can manifest their *Dasein* (being) in present time, in a perspective originating from Heidegger's thought [1927].

Sociability becomes social openness especially in plays and in sports, but it can also become an aggressive attitude, therefore sociability and aggressive attitude seem to be a part of the same play. However, the final result of such a play is undetermined, because of its unpredictable, risky side. The play changes from being a mean into becoming a final aim, to say sport, which is not a separate area of reality, but it fully belongs to it. The dynamic process is unpredictable because there are some rules to be respected, and to be evaluated by referees, umpires, and judges. In other words, while playing within the rules there is also some struggle with them. And somebody can make fun of them. However, the result of all that depends also on how the other plays, if he /she respects the rules, how he/she reacts to the challenges he/she has to face.

The body and its changes

Until recently, the idea was that sport could be played by some types of bodies, thus excluding too thin bodies or too fat or even handicapped. Nowadays, a body considered "different" from normality can face, on various levels, all kinds of sport activity, thanks to supports studied in order to facilitate competitions among similar "different" people, or even to participate on the same level in competitions among normal athletes.

The experience of Paralympics for "differently able" athletes is certainly a conquered new frontier, even if such event is still a marginal (and emarginated) one in respect to Olympics. However, sport results and competitions are of the same quality level and value. If we consider the initial situation, in some cases the performance is highly superior, in terms of technique and sport, than that of so called "regular" athletes.

The real problem is mainly a cultural one, due to a lack of attention towards handicapped, or subjects with difficulties for some reason (either physical or psychical). As a matter of fact, handicapped is not the right term, "different" or "diverse" would be better, with a different (or diverse) form, a different (or di-

verse) ability, a different (or diverse) aspect but certainly comparable with “normal” ones. In other words, if the colour of the eyes, hair, and skin is not a problem (even if racism [Barba 2007: 81–105] is still present also in sports), the same could happen in a cultural context otherwise disposed towards subjects with body diversities. Probably, some sporting events are the most favourable and recurring occasions to pull down certain physical and cultural barriers. Several sport performances are open, such as marathons or half-marathons; there is enough space for everybody, anyway, through a sort of sport citizenship, that becomes a new realized utopia, because everybody has the possibility of expressing himself, without previous distinctions (apart from some basic rules necessary for participants safeguard).

A so called modified body can be suitable for sport. On this point, many prejudices have been overcome. However, there are still some resistances due to image reasons. Wouldn't be as positive and of image impact to clearly show the potentiality of everybody to live sport, to express oneself through the body, to compare with the others, to verify personal potentialities?

Another issue regards bodies modified *ad hoc* in order to perform at extraordinary levels, raising ethical and behavioural considerations. What are the allowed limits for modifying one's body in order to reach one's goal? To strengthen a muscle is different from “pump” it with harmful substances. As well as following a balanced diet is different from changing one's physical characteristics (not only) to reach a sport success. On a mere esthetical level, a “reduced” body, constraint, tied up, can transform into something completely different from its original form. Therefore, the body and the person are all-in-one, and to consider one without the other means to separate them, as happens between blood and arteries, with undesirable results.

Also in this case, balancing can avoid lethal consequences. Practicing some of the so-called extreme sports, for example, can have characteristics that risk destroying typical actor's identity.

Gender of the body

A particularly significant identity is gender identity [Armour, Kirk 2008: 269–270; Kay, Jeans 2008: 146–148]. The distinction between male and female sport is quite accepted and cannot be easily abolished. However, some considerations can be proposed. Male performances show a clear attitude of men for reaching better results, if measured and compared with women results. Nonetheless, some results obtained by women are far better than some obtained by men. This would mean that not always male performances are better than female ones. Besides, one should consider the cultural factor, not a secondary one, that

a wider part of men have been practicing sport long time before women did [Mewett 2003: 331–332], also due to cultural, and religious reasons.

If the ground is wider, there are more probabilities of emerging individuals of high quality performances. That's not a matter of denying the characteristics that facilitate men performances, but may be that with a change of cultural, and religious habits an innovative trend is likely to be registered.

In recent years, for instance, measurement intervals (time, height, length, strength, weight, duration, etc.) have reduced, so that the gap between male and female records is less consistent. If we analyse the situation of team sports, probably a male volleyball team can win against a female team, but not all male volleyball teams are destined *eo ipso* to prevail on female ones. As an experiment, would be interesting to verify, in the long term, the tendency of the game in mixed teams, half male and half females, or also with male or females turning in the team according to the strategic needs or the qualities of every single athlete. Something similar has occurred already, at least among trainers and technicians: there are women who train male teams (the other way round is already a reality since a long time). Also among game judges or referees gender difference is no more remarked as before. Therefore, the way is open and the future will bring important news.

Stadium and seat as identity factors

As far as identity factors are concerned, a tendency is gaining way, especially by more rich clubs, to dispose as private owner of the structure where the games are played “at home”. Talking about home means to refer to a very cared place, as the family. That is why societies aspire to build or buy stadiums [Houliha 2008: 40–46], gymnasiums, in other words places of their daily sport practice, that assume an official character through the meeting with the counter team, but also with its own public. An alliance pact is renovated, a solidarity resisting to all sport defeat, a long lasting covenant that is destined to become a form of intra-family socialization that represents the intergenerational faith, which cannot be easily damaged because it has begun, and consolidated in a decisive moment of individual experience of life.

As a consequence, to dispose of an owned stadium as one's own house is a factor that can support the choice that the sport-fan has taken at a certain stage of his/her life, probably due to a particularly influent family member. Therefore, going to the stadium is like going home. And to go there, with one or more members of the family, becomes an occasion of unity and membership that consolidates both sport and family belonging.

Also the seat of a team should not be neglected (in Rome, until a few years ago, the building of the seat of the local football team, Sport Association Roma,

was indicated, with ambiguity and irony, as the Holy See). Therefore, the seat of a sport team is object of interest, and affection, because the team meets there in the free time from training and games, and athletes and fans socialize in a sort of inter-personal transformation that allows, within a distinction of roles, an easiness that cannot be found elsewhere. The familiarity reached allows athletes and fans to have direct confrontations, either in sport situations such as a billiard game or a table sport play.

Such close “face to face” relation can improve reciprocal knowledge and put the bases for a complicity given for granted, in the common interest of the identity and belonging team.

Conclusions

As a result of what has been said before, the symbolic interactionism of Herbert Blumer [1969] still represents one of the best theoretical-methodological solutions for the sociology of sport. Sport is largely constellated with symbols, meanings, interpersonal relations that are openly expressed in the actions of sport social actors. Such actions have a meaning, create interactive relations and interpret or modify all body positions, as well as hands gestures and many varieties of language forms. As a matter of fact, in terms of symbolic interactionism the process (presupposing continuity) is very important, as well as emergency (referring to emerging of various and unpredictable events), and agency (that is to say the human ability of acting with awareness, being constructive, transformative, and oriented to a correct managing of the self, and outside context), the existence of given conditions (to which one may adapt or manage to change), the dialectic (that goes far beyond the classical dichotomy of body and mind, reason and emotion). Therefore, process, emergency, agency, constructed condition, and dialectics are the five elements that characterize symbolic interactionism, and that are apparently very useful in the sociological study of sport, because such elements are capable of detecting what is relevant in sport activities.

From a methodological point of view, more recent developments offer new facilities, especially for qualitative analysis, according to the variations of ethnography, in collecting in depth interviews as well as life histories. Laboratory experiments are no longer so useful, social reality is now considered an excellent laboratory without technical problems of investigation. Also visual sociology is experiencing relevant progresses. At last, also for document analysis, either texts or images, there is refined software. Among these, *NVivo* has to be highlighted for its previous success, and for the new version implemented with the possibility of handling and analysing images. *Nvivo 8* is the new release of software produced by Qualitative Solutions & Research International, and origi-

nally thought to develop *Grounded Theory* by Glaser and Strauss [1967]. According to *Grounded Theory* approach, hypotheses have not to be postulated before the research project, theories are instead built starting from empirical data. Therefore, this kind of research is at first open, as a second step it follows an axial logic (based on correlations), and its last step is selective. However, the intersection between quantitative approaches and qualitative ones is destined to give better results than classical procedures (examples can be found in Brenda Farnell [2004: 30–55] and Pauline Turner Strong [2004: 79–87] on the racial use of sport mascots).

In the attempt of imagining the future developments of sport sociology, Peter Donnelly [2008: 27] mentions at first: “the globalization of sport, including its relationship to local, and regional sport practices, and to issues of identity”. Therefore, the theme of identity seems to be a strategic one in the years to come, as a clear consequence of globalization processes, and the related attempts of resistance [Scott 1990] or resilience at a local level.

References

- Amara M. (2008), *An introduction to the study of sport in the Muslim world* [in:] Barrie Houlihan [ed.], *Sport and Society*, Sage, London, pp. 532–552.
- Armour K. M., Kirk D. (2008), *Physical education and school sport* [in:] Barrie Houlihan [ed.], *Sport and Society*, Sage, London, pp. 255–283.
- Atkinson M. (2003), *Tattooed. The Sociogenesis of a Body Art*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto.
- Bairner A. (2003), *Political Unionism and Sporting Nationalism. An Examination of the Relationship between Sport and National Identity within the Ulster Unionist Tradition*, “Identities. Global Studies in Culture and Power”, 10, 4, pp. 517–535.
- Bancel N., Gayman J.-M. (2002), *Du guerrier à l’athlète. Eléments d’histoire des pratiques corporelles*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris.
- Barba B. (2007), *Un antropologo nel pallone*, Meltemi, Roma.
- Baudry P. (1991), *Le corps extrême: approche sociologique des conduites à risque*, L’Harmattan, Paris.
- Blacking J. [ed.] (1977), *The Anthropology of the Body*, Academic Press, London.
- Blumer H. (1969), *Symbolic Interactionism. Perspective and Method*, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.
- Brissonneau Ch., Aubel O., Ohl F. (2008), *L’épreuve du dopage. Sociologie du cyclisme professionnel*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris.
- Bromberger Ch., Duret P., Kaufmann J.-C., Le Breton D., de Singly F., Vigarello G. (2005), *Un corps pour soi*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris.
- Cailliois R. (1991), *Les jeux et les hommes: le masque et le vertige*, Gallimard, Paris; ed. or., 1958; tr. it., *I giochi e gli uomini*, Bompiani, Milano 1981.
- Caplan J. (2000), *Written on the Body. The Tattoo in European and American History*, Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Cassiano G. (2007), *Le istituzioni cenobitiche*, Edizioni Scritti Monastici Abbazia di Praglia, Bressio di Teolo (Padova).

- Coakley J., Dunning E. [eds.] (2000), *Handbook of Sport Studies*, Sage, London.
- Courtine J.-J., Corbin A., Vigarello G. (2005–2006), *Histoire du corps*, Seuil, Paris, vol. 3.
- Crossley N. (2001), *The Social Body. Habit, Identity and Desire*, Sage, London.
- Defrance Jacques (1978), *La fortification des corps. Essai d'histoire sociale des pratiques d'exercice corporel*, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris.
- De Mello M. (2000), *Bodies of Inscription. A Cultural History of the Modern Tattoo Community*, Duke University Press, Durham, N.C.
- Donnelly P. (2008), *Sport and social theory* [in:] Barrie Houlihan [ed.], *Sport and Society*, Sage, London, pp. 11–32.
- Donnelly P., Young K. (1988), *The Construction and Confirmation of Identity in Sport Subcultures*, “Sociology of Sport Journal”, 5, 3, pp. 223–240.
- Dubar C. (1996), *La socialisation. Construction des identités sociales et professionnelles*, Colin, Paris.
- Farnell B. (2004), *The Fancy Dance of Racializing Discourse*, “Journal of Sport & Social Issues”, 28, 1, pp. 30–55.
- Featherstone M.[ed.] (1999), *Body Modification*, Sage, London.
- Featherstone M., Hepworth M., Turner B. S. [eds.] (1991), *The Body: Social Processes and Cultural Theory*, Sage, London.
- Frank A. F. (1991), *At the Will of the Body*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston.
- Giorcelli C. [a cura di] (2008), *Abito e Identità. Ricerche di Storia Letteraria e Culturale*, vol. 8, Ila Palma, Roma.
- Glaser B. G., Strauss A. (1967), *The Discovery of Grounded Theory. Strategies for Qualitative Research*, Aldine-de Gruyter, Chicago-New York; ed. it., *La scoperta della grounded theory. Strategie per la ricerca qualitativa*, a cura di Antonio Strati, Armando, Roma, 2009.
- Goffman E. (1961), *Encounters. Two Studies in the Sociology of Interaction*, Bobbs-Merrill, Indianapolis.
- Goffman E. (1967), *Interaction Ritual. Essays on Face-to-Face Behavior*, Anchor Books, Doubleday, Garden City, N.Y.
- Heidegger M. (1927), *Sein und Zeit*, Max Niemeyer, Tübingen; tr. ingl., *Being and Time*, Harper, New York, 1962; tr. it., *Essere e tempo*, Bocca, Milano, 1953.
- Henry I. P. (2008), *Sport, the Role of the European Union and the Decline of the Nation State?* [in:] Barrie Houlihan [ed.], *Sport and Society*, Sage, London, pp. 513–531.
- Hill J., Williams J. [eds.] (1996), *Sport and Identity in the North of England*, Keele University Press, Keele.
- Houlihan B.[ed.] (2008), *Sport and Society*, Sage, London.
- Jamet M. (1991), *Le sport dans la société, entre raison(s) et passion(s)*, L'Harmattan, Paris.
- Kay T., Jeanes R. (2008), *Women, Sport and Gender Inequity* [in:] Barrie Houlihan [ed.], *Sport and Society*, Sage, London, pp. 130–154.
- King C. (2004), *Race and Cultural Identity. Playing the Race Game inside Football*, “Leisure Studies”, 23, 1, pp. 19–30.
- Le Breton D. (1990), *Anthropologie du corps et modernité*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris.
- Le Breton D. (1993), *Sociologie du corps*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris.
- Loy J. W., Coakley J. (2007), *Sport* [in:] George Ritzer [ed.], *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*, Blackwell, Oxford, vol. IX, pp. 4643–4653.
- Maffesoli M. (1985), *L'ombre de Dionysos, contribution à une sociologie de l'orgie*, Les Méridiens, Paris.
- Magnane G. (1964), *Sociologie du sport*, Gallimard, Paris; ed. it., *Sociologia dello sport*, La Scuola, Brescia, 1972.

- Mewett P. G. (2003), *Conspiring to Run. Women, their Bodies and Athletics Training*, "International Review for the Sociology of Sport", 38, 3, pp. 331–349.
- Molinaro A. (2008), *Sulla metafisica della corporeità* [in:] Aniceto Molinaro, Francisco de Macedo [eds.], *Verità del corpo. Una domanda sul nostro essere*, Edizioni Pro Sanctitate, Roma, pp. 9–22.
- Nunziata V. (2008), *Il corpo: protagonista dei giovani* [in:] Natale Ammaturo [a cura di], *Il consumo culturale dei giovani. Una ricerca a Napoli e Salerno*, FrancoAngeli, Milano, pp. 107–115.
- Ohl F. (2006), *Sociologie du sport. Perspectives internationales et mondialisation*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris.
- Parlebas P. (1986), *Éléments de sociologie du sport*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris.
- Pociello Ch. (1995), *Les cultures sportives: pratiques, représentations et mythes sportifs*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris.
- Polhemus T. [ed.] (1978), *Social Aspects of the Human Body*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth.
- Poli Raffaele (2005), *Football et identités. Les sentiments d'appartenance en question*, F.I.F.A., Éditions C.I.E.S., Neuchâtel.
- Porro N. (2008), *Sociologia del calcio*, Carocci, Roma.
- Remotti F. (1996), *Contro l'identità*, Laterza, Roma-Bari.
- Robinson L. (2008), *The business of sport* [in:] Barrie Houlihan [ed.], *Sport and Society*, Sage, London, pp. 307–327.
- Salisci M. (2008), *Al di là del corpo. Sport e costruzione dell'identità maschile* [in:] Isabella Crespi [a cura di], *Identità e trasformazioni sociali nella dopomodernità: tra personale e sociale, maschile e femminile*, Edizioni Università di Macerata, Macerata, pp. 143–167.
- Schilling Ch. (1993), *The Body and Social Theory*, Sage, London.
- Schlanger J. (1995), *Les métaphores de l'organisme*, L'Harmattan, Paris.
- Scott J. C. (1990), *Domination and the Arts of Resistance. Hidden Transcripts*, Yale University Press, New Haven.
- Simmel G. (1971), *On Individuality and Social Forms*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Steiner Ch. (1990), *Body Personal and Body Politic. Adornment and Leadership in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, "Anthropos", 85, pp. 431–445.
- Stevenson Ch. L. (2002), *Seeking Identities. Towards an Understanding of the Athletic Careers of Masters Swimmers*, "International Review for the Sociology of Sport", 37, 2, pp. 131–146.
- Stevenson Ch. (2007), *Sport and identity* [in:] George Ritzer [ed.], *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*, Blackwell, Oxford, vol. 5, pp. 2220–2223.
- Synnot A., Howes D. (1992), *From Measurement to Meaning. Anthropologies of the Body*, "Anthropos", 87, pp. 147–166.
- Tannenbaum N., (1987), *Tattoos: Invulnerability and Power in Shan Cosmology*, "American Ethnologist", 14, 4, pp. 693–712.
- Turner B. S. (1984), *The Body and Society. Explorations in Social Theory*, Blackwell, Oxford.
- Turner Strong Pauline (2004), *The Mascot Slot. Cultural Citizenship, Political Correctness, and Pseudo-Indian Sports Symbols*, "Journal of Sport & Social Issues", 28, 1, pp. 79–87.
- Ulmann J. (1993), *Corps et civilisation. Éducation physique, médecine, sport*, Vrin, Paris.
- Vigarello G. (2002), *Du jeu ancien au show sportif. La naissance d'un mythe*, Seuil, Paris.
- Vigarello G. (2004), *Le corps redressé. Histoire d'un pouvoir pédagogique*, Colin, Paris; ed. or., Delarge, Paris 1978.

Key words: *sociology of body, identification, gender, sport*

Wojciech J. Cynarski, Kazimierz Obodyński

Faculty of Physical Education, University of Rzeszów, Poland

Chapter 1.2.

SELF-IDENTIFICATION THROUGH BODILY AWARENESS IN THE CONTEMPORARY MASS CULTURE

“The human body is an ideal meeting place for theology and science because it displays the fullest spectrum of the manifold wisdom of God”

[Van der Meer 2001, p. 39].

Introduction

The authors dedicate the following study to the issue of bodily awareness in contemporary mass culture and self-identification through this bodily awareness, as mentioned in the title. They distinguish three basic forms of self-identification through bodily awareness which are interpreted as models of relation to one's own bodily awareness (corporeity) i.e.: 1) the one appearing in pop culture, 2) the one that is religiously conditioned, 3) the one that is connected with self-realization.

These models are, though to a different degree, conditioned by the world view, ideology or, at least, the range of conscious needs and aims. In particular the pop culture model is popularized mainly through the media. That is the reason why the authors, apart from the subject literature analysis, additionally adopted a method of visual sociology.

The pop culture model is connected with a fashion for bodily sensuality and sexual attractiveness, as well as the trend toward juvenilization: panic, fear and escape from ageing and the old age.

Contemporary commercialized pop culture puts an emphasis on the hedonic and aesthetic values of the body. These values are connected with the appropriate patterns from the somatic culture from the canon of the physical culture sociology of Zbigniew Krawczyk School [Krawczyk 1995; Cynarski 2005].

The religiously conditioned relation to bodily awareness refers to the Christian tradition, the Catholic Church teaching in particular. Here, a man is treated as a person, as a psychophysical human being. The person should care about his or her body and soul, taking care, at the same time, of health and controlling his

or her sensuality. This model is present in the global mass culture, through the commercial and secularly-oriented media, though to the smaller extent.

The self-realization model, in turn, which can be called the ascetic model of psychophysical culture (with the positive understanding of ascetism as physical exercises directed at moral and spiritual progress [Obodyński, Cynarski 2003]) and it is present most significantly in the psychophysical practices of the East such as: Yoga, meditation exercises, *qigong*, *taiji quan* and martial arts ways.

The first of the models comes from a certain pressure to have an entertaining lifestyle, pleasurable ways of spending time, proper appearance and taking advantage of certain services functioning in the global media and conditioned by the dominating ideology (liberal and progressive) of postmodernism [compare: Horkheimer, Adorno 1994; Bauman 1995; Coupland 2003]. The second model functions in a greater degree in “non-media circulation”, in the religious practices of some countries (such as Poland) and regions. To a smaller extent, the model also functions in the media such as, for example, in the Internet [comp.: Adler 2008; Dziewiecki 2008]. The third pattern is the outcome of the several factors such as:

1) higher level of education of physical culture (coordination motor abilities and sports culture) and 2) awakening of the self-realization needs of the societies in the better developed countries [Cynarski 2003]; 3) the positive mental effect of the New Age breakthrough and long-lasting cultural dialogues [Cynarski 2008]; 4) mixture of different traditions, values and anti-values, democratization and commercialization [Alter 1994; Cotter, Henley 1994]. This model in its pure form is very rare in mass culture.

Three patterns (models) of relation to the bodily awareness



Photo 1. A ‘brave’ outfit of Britney Spears, one of the pop-culture icons. On the right – photo 2 – nudity of very slim women during a fashion show (the Internet)

1. Pop-culture hedonism

Pop-culture hedonism is a pattern of relation to bodily awareness, which puts this body awareness in the centre of attention. Concentration of the sensual side of bodily attraction is imposed by the media- commercial and entertainment business and it is also compatible with the lifestyle promoted by the media. The lifestyle is to be treated with ease: lightly, nicely and with a common and erotic freedom. It is expected to be associated with the progressive modern approach and emancipation. It means that the moral liberalism substitutes religious demands of moral rigorism.

Does not, however, the mass culture has an effect upon the mass audience based on the psycho-technical and socio-technical manipulation, as pointed out by the representatives of the Frankfurt school? Low-brow mass culture imposes artificial consumers' wishes and models of not so ambitious standards [Fromm, 1989; Horkheimer, Adorno 1994; Cynarski 2003]. Television and glossy magazines show the world more beautiful than it is in reality, better-looking people, comfort of living and possessing expensive items. Apart from that, the pop-culture model is connected with a trend of juvenilization of mass culture, with panic and fear towards ageing and old age. It is as in a fairy tale about the queen who has always wanted to be young and beautiful.

In the history of culture there have been changes in the types of values represented by various models. In Athens in ancient Greece, there co-existed in a relative harmony different types of ideals (*arete*; *kalos kagathos*). In Sparta and Rome an emphasis was placed upon the aspect of 'strength' (*virtus*). In medieval Europe the moral ideal (ascetic) was preferred, though the knightly ethos was also appreciated (bravery, nobleness and honour).

Contemporary commercial pop culture places an emphasis on the hedonic and aesthetic values of the body. They are connected with the adequate models of the somatic culture from the canon of physical culture sociology of the Zbigniew Krawczyk school [Krawczyk 1995; Cynarski 2005], namely the hedonistic and aesthetic ones. As it is pointed out by Bogdan Banasiak in his work *O bohaterach i rajach. Utopia i optymizm jako wyznaczniki kultury Zachodu* (*About the heroes and paradises. Utopia and optimism as the indicators of the Western culture*), the moral and intellectual ideals are dominated by good looks, youth (attractiveness) and strength and quite often by the egalitarian commonness [Banasiak 2008].

The results of Rymarczyk's [2008] research concerning the care of body aesthetics as a sphere of norms and duties, conducted through the contents analysis of the magazines devoted to men's and women's lifestyle magazines, confirms the fact of imposing proper models of body care and connected with it self-identification described by Bauman [1995] and Coupland [2003]. According to Rymarczyk [2008]: 'models promoted by fashion mass culture and lifestyle

fulfill the axiomatic vacuum which appeared as an outcome of the past value systems connected with tradition, religion or political ideologies. Thus, they are an indication of the willingness to fulfill axiomatic and spiritual emptiness.



Photo 3. Promoting beauty improvement by tatoos. On the right – photo 4 – another pop culture icon (Angelina Jolie as Lara Croft in a film “Tomb Rider”)

A variation of pop culture hedonism is a **sexual pattern and gender-related view of one's body** in the feminist and postmodernism literature. This interpretation has been confirmed by selected texts of feminist (gender) literature. Hereupon, a person must be constantly self-identifying himself or herself: ‘self-identification is a matter of feelings’ [Kwiecień 2006].

‘Women's literature’, as an indication of postmodern mass culture is sometimes a kind of literary ‘mixture’ of human bodiliness, sexuality, widely understood uniqueness and diversity. It refers to the ‘gender of the text itself’, in which the subject makes his/her own ‘sexual self-identification’. Additionally, according to Agnieszka Kwiecień [2006] the outfit points to the borders of freedom and a relaxed way of behaviour (compare photos 1–4). In present times it is clearly visible in the example of Muslim women in radical societies. In this case the unification of the outfit for both sexes is not possible. The Muslim woman is covered, in fact, she is not important. There is a radical connection between the outfit and personality, character, opportunities and a social role of the individual. The outfit imposes certain ways of behaviour, which is accepted as a natural belonging to a given social personality. ‘Socially defined temperament’ becomes accepted in the self-identification process of lifestyle.

Thus, not all the women can or want to identify their femininity with sexuality and demonstrate their sexuality with own bodily awareness. There appear the results of the lack of constraint in respect to their looks, eating habits (obesity) and eating disorders (bulimia, anorexia). The need of attractive looks may lead to physical and mental health problems which are the result of a subjective view of one's body and occasionally it leads to some destructive outcomes [Niedźwiecka-Kącik 2008].

The ideology of feminism, together with other trendy ideologies, considerably influences sociology. It concerns culture and sport sociology in particular [Cynarski 2009], as well as the sociology of family and body. For example, a book has been released, under the scientific supervision of Claudia Malacridy and Jacqueline Low [2009], devoted to body sociology. The authors of this textbook discuss body sociology but also health and illness sociology, elements of social theory of a body, and obviously, the 'gender' ideology. The book has been dominated by the feminist view and interpretations in accordance with this perspective. The contents are quite convergent with the new book by Sarah Grogan [2008], whose study is devoted to the body image and a lack of satisfaction with one's own looks.

The issues concerning a body can be found in the sociology textbook of Kurt Weis and Robert Gugutzer as well as in a study by Michelle T. Helstein from the University of Lethbridge. The perspective is provided by the sociology of sport, while a body (its recognition and connected with it a feeling of identity) is the 'sport body' – the body of a sportsman [Weis, Gugutzer 2008; Helstein 2007]. The heroines of the mass culture such as Lara Croft from the film "Tomb Rider" (photo 4) is a type of a dynamic postmodern woman- greatly emancipated, independent and creative [Cynarski 2001]. The postmodern discourse is obviously not the only form of reflection.

Amongst other issues, the body as a social creation and social fact is analysed on the grounds of the Polish School of physical culture sociology. Zbigniew Krawczyk refers to the interesting research by Klaus Heinemann concerning body control. The study concerns behaviour in different situations, controlling physiological reactions, covering one's body which is culturally conditioned [Heinemann 1989; Krawczyk 1995, pp. 102–103]. Apart from that Krawczyk [1995, pp. 104–105] draws attention to the sacred features of the body. This sacredness stretches from myths and old religions (photo 5) to contemporary national holidays and cult of the heroes.

There are some voices of criticism coming from the areas of pedagogy, sociology of upbringing and moral sociology. It seems that the Western culture, due to its moral crisis, needs straight 'directions' in the form of concrete norms of behaviour and moral rigorism. Andrzej Pawlucki describes our civilizational

and cultural contemporary times, as ‘the times of Apocalypse’, ‘a vanity and hedonism fair’ etc. He refers in a critical way to ultramodern cult of the body – **corporeity** – and the cult of nature [Pawłucki 2002, p. 21]. Mass culture publicises advertising and fashion for corporeity, sensuality and ‘economic ideology of the body’. As pointed out by Pawłucki: ‘We are impressed by the American style of the cult of the body. There are many patterns overlapping in this cult, most frequently the exotic ones: Hindu, Japanese or Chinese. Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish what belongs to a given culture. There appears a new eclectic pattern which lost its basic character. The Americans offer to us those mixed patterns of the body cult (...), resulting in the body itself becomes an item for sale’ [Pawłucki 2002, p. 22]. The problem concerns the extreme commercialization of physical culture in all its aspects (photo 6). Pawłucki describes in his studies circus and sport cult of the body as a notion of neo-pagan and pantheistic worldview, which is connected with postmodern ideology of accepting reason, truth and goodness [compare: Pawłucki 2002, 2003].



Photo 5. A body as a tool in *Sumō* ritual. Photo 6. – a combat tool in a bloodshed show called “mma” (mixed martial arts)

2. Christian identification of bodily awareness

‘Christian identification’ and bodily self-identification is here understood as seeing one’s body in a way which is conditioned particularly by the Catholic culture and social teaching of the Catholic Church. It is the echo of theology of the body, integral anthropology and Christian personalism, Catholic in particular [compare: Kosiewicz, 1998a, b; Brungs 2001; Van der Meer 2001; Kowalczyk 2009]. It is an application of philosophical and theological concepts in relation to bodily culture, physical culture and the culture of the body. In particular in the sacrum area the body is not manifested too strongly (photo 7 and 8)



Photo 7. The First Communion in Poland. Photo 8. The habits of the Catholic monks (The Internet)

The **religiously conditioned** model is the one which protects from the traps of the extreme corporeity. From the perspective of Catholic personalism, contemporary civilization and Western culture overemphasize the role of identity in the physical aspect and that is why there is a great possibility that in these cultural circles, a great number of people are liable to assign the excessive role of the physical sphere at the expense of other remaining dimensions of human beings. As a consequence, many people concentrate a great deal of their attention and energy on their own body, taking care of its physical health and appearance. 'In the case of the proper human development the meaning of a human's body sphere is diminishing as he/she discovers other dimensions of his/her own reality. Then the human emotional and moral sensitivity becomes less important, as with the ability to think and inner freedom, his own positive relations with God, other human beings and himself' [Dziewiecki 2008].

The body is a part of human reality, which from the beginning of our life in the clearest way signalizes its presence and needs. Man can be entirely unaware of his ways of thinking or emotional experiences but it is difficult not to be aware of being hungry, tired or in pain. A normally functioning man remains in constant contact with his own body. He is aware of his own specific features and physical organism. This kind of somatic awareness comes into being from the earliest moments of a child's existence and it is initially the only dimension in which the child discovers it and experiences himself/herself. Gradually, the bodily awareness becomes integrated with other dimensions of human reality: thought awareness, empathy, developing moral, as well as, spiritual, religious and social sensitivity.

However, 'in the case of disturbed development it can happen that the self-identity sense of a given man becomes limited only or solely to his own-awareness on the corporal level. In such a situation bodily awareness takes on

an exaggerated meaning, because it constitutes the only, or at least, the basic relation point, as far as the self-identification and self-esteem of the given person are concerned. This type of identity reduction limits in a basic way the field of interest of an individual and the range of self-experience, leading to serious disturbance in functioning his personality. An excessive concentration on the bodily awareness leads to the situation in which the basic issue becomes maintaining one's own body in a maximally good condition, aesthetics and physical fitness. In the case, when this turns out to be impossible in the long-run, the man of such reduced self-identity awareness can easily become depressed and does not accept himself. An equally dangerous situation is when a man excessively concentrated on his body, turns out to be, at least at some point in his life, very satisfied with his body and physical appearance. There arises a danger of illusion that a good physical condition and attractive looks are sufficient for being happy, appreciated and surrounded by friends' [Dziewiecki 2008].

The situation in which a given person reduces himself/herself to the body sphere i.e. identifies himself/herself with their own body, becomes an example of certain extremity-spiritual underdevelopment [Fromm 1989]. The body becomes the basic point of reference. In consequence a given person subjects himself/herself to his/her own body at the expense of other dimension of its humanity- psychical, moral, spiritual, religious and social. Such a person presumes that in order to be happy he or she needs the body and bodily satisfaction. A man who identifies himself with his bodily awareness steps on a route of becoming addicted to the body and being its slave in fulfilling its needs: appetite, physical needs and desires, laziness and comfort. Somebody who is subjected to his own body, is directed by the body logic, doing only what his body demands. It is a logic of temporary pleasure and excessive concentration on the needs and experiences of the body.

'Reducing oneself to your own bodily awareness and being directed by the body logic leads to dramatic consequences. A body-concentrating man is not able to understand himself as a human being. He reduces himself to the world of nature and desires. He is not able to love, to be faithful, responsible and hard-working because it is not inherent in the body logic. Behaving in such a way as his bodily awareness orders him, the man makes himself unable to build mature relations with God and people. He comes into a more and more painful conflict with himself. Subjecting to the dictatorship of the body leads to mental problems, pangs of conscience, painful disappointments and dramatic interpersonal conflicts. It often results in brutal crimes. Rapes or other forms of sexual violence are a dramatic outcome of subjecting to body dictatorship' [Adler 2008; Dziewiecki 2008].

3. The pattern of a positive asceticism, self-realizational

The self-realization model of relations to one's bodily awareness and personal self-identity is evident in the evolution of sports culture, relating to the social systems and main participation motivation [table 1, Cynarski 2003] and the more general concept of "spiritual anthropology progress", resulting from humanistic psychology. It is an indication of the post industrial and postmodern culture – both psychophysical, as well as, health culture (health understood in a holistic way) and is compatible with values-goals and motives 'activity for self-realization' and for 'widely understood health'.

We can call it an ascetic model of the psychophysical culture, because human activity is directed specifically at progress in the moral and spiritual development. The positive ascetics is a practice of physical exercises, though aiming at physical perfection is only a vehicle of progress on the highly ethical, humanistic way of humanity [Obodyński, Cynarski 2003]. This model appears in a clearest way in the psychophysical practices of the East such as: yoga, meditation techniques, *qigong*, *taiji quan*, as well as, martial arts ways. The emphasis is laid in a variety of ways – from the medical aims to educational and utilitarian values.

Table 1. Kinds of sports in relation to the systems of social regimes and main motivations for participation

sport – the entertainment for bored gentlemen	active participation	the fall of feudalism, the beginnings of capitalism
sport – mass entertainment, pop-cultural event	business, spectators' participation	capitalism, real socialism
career in order to obtain a result	economic activity aims	capitalism
career in order to obtain a result	political and economic activity aims	real socialism
psychophysical culture	self-realization activity	postmodern society
health culture	activity for the widely understood concept of health	postmodern society
body culture (physical recreation)	for pleasure, beauty, emotions and other motives	from the earliest times till now

[source: Cynarski 2003, p. 87]

Exercising for the sake of health and self-improvement, as well as to gain personal satisfaction, the ability to defend oneself, better concentration skills, emotional self-control etc. result from the proper level of education related to physical culture (the coordination of motor abilities and sports culture). The popularity of such forms of psychophysical culture is also a derivation of the self-realized needs of societies in the more developed countries. Another important factor is contem-

porary attitudes being open to cultural dialogue and drawing on valuable non-European cultural models, from the controversial movement of New Age and conducted by a number of researchers (starting from Eliade) as well as cultural dialogue lasting many years [Tokarski 1989; Kowalczyk 2008].



Photo 9–10. Chinese traditions of *Wu shu* – flying dragon and a figure with a sword (The Internet)



Photo 11–12. Japanese *Budō* – a show of *iaidō* and a group practicing *jūjutsu* (from the collection of W.J. Cynarski)

Ethical elements are similar in the martial arts of the East Asian countries. The relation to the corporeity is expressed through a modest outfit and mutual respect of the practitioners (photo 9–12). On the other hand, the existing axiomatic chaos (mixture of various traditions, values and anti-values) may prove to

be a problem. Past educational systems have undergone democratization and commercialization processes [Cotter, Henley 1994]. In addition, some forms are influenced by politics [Alter 1994]. The extreme commercialization and connection with mass culture cause the degradation of the axiological potential of martial arts ways and other Asian practices of the psychophysical development. Martial arts are reduced to the brutal fight (film, cage fights shows etc. photo 6) [Cynarski 2008] or they are presented as magical rituals, where the exotic packaging must help to sell the product.

Summary

Physical recreation that is not ideologically determined – the *sport for all idea* – has been practised from the earliest times to the present day, for the sake of pleasure, beauty, emotions and other similar motives. However, the entertaining lifestyle, spending time pleasantly, good appearance and taking advantage of certain services, are becoming, in a way, enforced. This is taking place in the times of cultural globalization owing to the media imposing certain models of behaviour complying with the dominating ideology of postmodernism (liberal and progressive). The feminist ideology adds to it the association of a woman's self-identification with sexuality. The pop culture model is promoted in particular by television and lifestyle magazines.

The religious, Christian model of relation to one's own bodily awareness is less visible in the media. Nevertheless, there are some opinions concerning this subject available on the Internet. Attention is drawn to the fact of dangers resulting from the reduction of human self-awareness to mere bodily-awareness.

On the other hand, the self-realization model, connecting the physical progress with self-creation aims, is least visible in the media. Trends coming from a fascination in the exotic or the extreme commercialization distort its deeper meaning. Nonetheless, self-identification through bodily awareness is in that case particularly worth attention. Physical activity helps the one who is practising it in a better self-understanding and daily process of the individual strive for progress in the fight with own weaknesses.

It may, from the normative perspective, be most socially convenient to promote the model combining the features of the mentioned models, namely the second and the third one.

References

- Adler J. (Nov 2008), *Moja generacja. Postawa wobec własnego ciała* (in Polish), [www. mojagegeneracja.pl/](http://www.mojagegeneracja.pl/).

- Alter J.S. (1994), *Somatic nationalism: Indian wrestling and militant Hinduism*, "Modern Asian Studies", Cambridge University Press, vol. 28, no. 3: 557–588.
- Banasiak B. (Nov 2008), *O bohaterach i rajach. Utopia i optymizm jako wyznaczniki kultury Zachodu*, festiwal.ph-f.org/resume1/banasiak.pdf
- Bauman Z. (1995), *Ciało i przemoc w obliczu ponowoczesności*, UMK, Toruń.
- Brungs R., SJ [ed.] (2001), *Christianity and the Human Body. A Theology of the Human Body*, ITEST, St. Louis, Missouri.
- Cotter M., Henley J. (1994), *Martial arts marketing*, "Multinational Business Review", vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 79–85.
- Coupland J. (2003), *Ageist ideology and discourses of control in skincare marketing products* [in:] J. Coupland, R. Gwyn [eds.], *Discourse, the Body and Identity*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York.
- Cynarski W.J. (2001), *Dynamiczna kobieta ponowoczesna*, „Ido – Ruch dla Kultury / Movement for Culture”, t. II, s. 180–192.
- Cynarski W.J. (2003), *Globalizacja a spotkanie kultur*, 2nd edn., UR, Rzeszów.
- Cynarski W.J. (2005), *Physical culture in the holistic perspective* [in:] J. Kosiewicz [ed.], *Sport, Culture and Society. In Honour of Professor Zbigniew Krawczyk*, AWF, Warszawa, pp. 196–204.
- Cynarski W.J. (2009), *Wpływ popularnych ideologii na teorie aktualnie dominujące w socjologii kultury. Zarys problematyki* [w:] A. Andrusiewicz [red.], *Studia Społeczno-Polityczne*, t. 3, s. 116–121.
- Cynarski W.J. (2010), *Spotkania, konflikty, dialogi. Analiza wybranych obszarów kultury fizycznej i turystyki kulturowej*, 2nd edn., Rzeszów University Press, Rzeszów.
- Dziewiecki M. (Nov 2008), *Kształtowanie chrześcijańskiej postawy wobec ciała*, www.opoka.org.pl/biblioteka/T/TM/0107N_01.html.
- Fromm E. (1989), *Mieć czy być. Duchowe podstawy nowego społeczeństwa*, Klub Otrycki, Warszawa.
- Grogan S. (2008), *Body Image: Understanding Body Dissatisfaction in Men, Women and Children*, Routledge, London, pp. 225.
- Heinemann K. (1989), *Wprowadzenie do socjologii sportu*, Centralny Ośrodek Metodyczny SNP, Warszawa.
- Helstein M.T. (2007), *Seeing your sporting body: identity, subjectivity, and misrecognition*, "Sociology of Sport Journal", vol. 24, no. 1, pp. 78–103.
- Horkheimer M., Adorno T.W. (1994), *Dialektyka Oświecenia*, IFiS PAN, Warszawa.
- Kosiewicz J. (1998a), *Mysł wczesnochrześcijańska i katolicka wobec ciała*, Warszawa.
- Kosiewicz J. (1998b), *Bóg, cielesność i miłość*, Aletheia, Warszawa.
- Kowalczyk S. (2008), *Sztuki walki jako element dialogu kulturowego w procesie globalizacji*, „Kultura Fizyczna”, 2008, nr 7–8, s. 28–29.
- Kowalczyk S. (2009), *Ciało człowieka w refleksji filozoficznej*, KUL, Lublin
- Krawczyk Z. [red.] (1995), *Socjologia kultury fizycznej*, AWF, Warszawa.
- Kwiecień A. (2006), *Tożsamość maszyny w twórczości Rebeci Horn: powłoka zewnętrzna, która wyznacza granice i modeluje podmiotowość. Part 1*, <http://magazyn.o.pl/2006/tozsamosc-maszyny-w-tworczosci-rebeci-horn-cz-1/5/>
- Malacrida C., Low J. [eds.] (2009), *Sociology of the Body*, Oxford University Press, pp. 285.
- Niedźwiecka-Kącik D. (2008), *Subiektywne postrzeganie własnego ciała – destrukcyjna potrzeba odchudzania się*, „Wychowanie Fizyczne i Zdrowotne”, nr 1, s. 40–47.
- Obodyński K., Cynarski W.J. (2003), *The ascetic pattern of the body culture in the Japanese ways of non-aggression* [in:] J. Kosiewicz, K. Obodyński [eds.], *Sport in the Mirror of the Values*, PTNKF, Rzeszów, pp. 131–141.
- Pawłucki A. (2002), *Osoba w pedagogice ciała. Wykłady*, Wydawnictwo OSW, Olsztyn.

- Pawłucki A. (2003), *Personalism for Sport Pedagogy*, AWFIS, Gdańsk.
- Rymarczyk P. (2008), *Dbłość o estetykę ciała jako sfera norm i obowiązków – analiza wybranych magazynów poświęconych stylowi życia* [in:] Z. Dziubiński [ed.], *Humanistyczne aspekty sportu i turystyki*, SALOS, Warszawa, s. 196–203.
- Tokarski S. (1989), *Sztuki walki. Ruchowe formy ekspresji filozofii Wschodu*, Glob, Szczecin.
- Van der Meer J.M. (2001), *Interpreting nature and scripture: a new proposal for their interaction* [in:] R. Brungs, SJ [ed.], *Christianity and the Human Body. A Theology of the Human Body*, ITEST, St. Louis, Missouri, pp. 38–72.
- Weis K., Gugutzer R. [eds.] (2008), *Handbuch Sportsoziologie*, Hofmann, Schorndorf, pp. 404.

Key words: *body, pop culture, models, values, identification*

Jakub Mosz

University of Physical Education, Warsaw, Poland

Chapter 1.3.

THE BODY IN SPORT FROM THE VIEW POINT OF EVOLUTIONARY STRATEGIES OF NATURE¹

Contemporary sport reflects diversity of forms of the human body. That diversity is connected with a great diversity of forms of sports competitions.

The subject of our considerations is the image of the body, its external layer and sport body patterns, and that is the viewpoint from which we formulate statements concerning that diversity. Thus you can say that in the world of sport there are differences concerning the bodily shape within particular sports as well as between different sports. An example of the first situation can be provided by men's running competitions. There we are dealing with heavily built sprinters and "ethereal" long-distance runners. To illustrate the second situation we can highlight a "binary" opposition between the bodies of basketball players and the jockeys. From the anthropological viewpoint we would have here a precise illustration of somatic differences resulting from different bodily build. The aesthetic viewpoint stops at shapes of those bodies and a conclusion concerning the extreme differences between them based on numerous variables: height, weight, colour of skin. That contrast, which is naturally taking into account different characters of the above-mentioned sports, loses its spectacular character when we refer to extreme forms of bodies in both sports. The tallest jockey of the world was Bruce Hobbs, who was 190cm tall, which would provide him with a good position on a basketball court, while the shortest basketball player was Tyrone Curtis, who was 160 cm high, and hence in a good position for horse racing competitions.

Extremely different bodily forms are not synonymous with ideal forms of sports corporeality. When the subject of our research is the world of sport, which is composed of about 84 Olympic sports, we see the whole range of bodily shapes offered to us by nature. This enables bodily forms of differentiated appearance and various somatic features determining definite kinds of sports activity to come into being.

¹ The text has been written as a part of the research program BW. I. 43 – "Aesthetic aspects of sport" financed by the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education.

Bodies, which from the aesthetical viewpoint are similar to each other, may have different somatic features predestining them for different forms of sport activity. The connection between somatic features and practised sports does not mean that the latter simply results from the first. It is impossible to construct a simple syllogism pointing out that definite sports activity results from having definite features. Admittedly, there exist definite somatic features which, according to common sense, predestine us for practising certain sports. In atypical forms of sporting competition in which the body is not a trained competitive tool, such as in the case of curling, there are no defined forms of carnality. A curling team is a good example of adapting to a sporting world, mixed forms of carnality.

Patterns of sport corporeality are imbued in the world of Mediterranean culture through the bodily shapes coming from Greek sculpture, which survived in Roman copies reflecting changing fashions concerning the bodily shape which were present in the culture of ancient Rome. However, sources of those images of sports corporeality do not directly come from the real world of sport, but from its artistic creation, from sculptural realizations. Evolutionary strategies of nature bring about great diversity of forms of human corporeality. Such abundance of forms makes it possible to create differentiated forms of sporting competition, where the above-mentioned forms of corporeality find their proper place in socio-cultural space. Some forms of the body even impose the way of life and professional career realized in the world of sport. This applies to both women and men. It is clearly visible in the case of women and men who are exceptionally tall. Basketball and volleyball becomes for them the traditionally rationale for their bodily shape.

Patterns of bodily beauty should be the patterns included in our everyday life. And the exceptional it is something rare there; something which – thanks to that characteristic – becomes visible. The above-mentioned patterns should also be connected with the obtainable properties of our corporeality. You can do a lot with the shape of your body, but you cannot lengthen or shorten it. The natural index for longitudinal features is constant on the natural level. Referring to everyday life, this is visible in numerous rankings made up by the mass media and the Internet surfers and concerning visual attractiveness of figures from the world of sport. The concept of visual attractiveness of the sports body has two areas to question. The first is related to the appropriateness of the form of the body to a particular sport, the attraction, on one hand, is variations which emphasize the physicality of the sporting competition, such as extreme growth or weight, and those different from our visual norms. The source of the attraction is also a Para-sporting rivalry; using natural forms of corporeality such as: the strong-man body or body-building body.

Attractiveness in this context means not something different, strange, unparalleled, surprising, but something close to commonly accepted patterns of corporeality and bodily beauty, because the subject of evaluation is not the very

shape of the body, but a combination of body sculpture and beauty of the face. Bodies, characterized by types of beauty which suit patterns of visual attractiveness being in force in a given culture are “selected” from the world of sport. In the American stereotypical, Californian version such an ideal pattern could be a sports “Barbie Doll” – a combination of bodily perfection, an ideally shaped body, with the Californian type of beauty. The Barbie / Barbie Doll corporeality is a model created in a world shaped by the influence of the consumer market where it has become possible to shape forms. Mass culture, on one hand creates models of corporeality, and on the other proposes ways to address them. The Barbie / Barbie Doll carnality is the ideal technology. Sports Barbie / Barbie Doll sports is a form of corporeality of the sport body corresponding to a perfect specimen, formed in the physical movement of the accompanying aura of sexuality, such as “glamour” / Bailey in 1990. The visible sexuality “glamour” is clear in the election as an attractive sport made by viewers-fans of the internet portals.

Anna Kournikova’s permanent presence on various lists of the most attractive (top sexy, most beautiful) women athletes seems to confirm this. Her figure unites both the above-mentioned pictures of corporeality. Her body is not a picture of musculature, as it is suggested by the bodies of female athletes in many track and field sports. While creating her own image Kournikova skilfully moves between the area of sport on the one hand, and popular culture and the world of advertising on the other. She is a model example of a figure from the world of sport who owes her success not to sports successes but to a skilfully constructed image.

Greek culture, while constructing the shape of the human body, found its ideal harmony in figures of Greek athletes, who spark today’s imaginations about track and field athletes. The Greek athletic body is, as a matter of fact, a track and field body. The image of the body expressed by sculptures depicting Hercules is a “supernatural” form, it does not concern the human body and, in spite of the fact that it emanates power, it did not become a pattern of sports corporeality. Perfection was perceived in the male body of average somatic features but “sculptured” with movement, Hercules’s form of the body was an exaggeration, excessive literalism in suggesting power. It was rather a mythical than an athletic body, rather a demigod’s than a human body. And nobly born Greek warriors rather made themselves similar to an athletic than to a mythical body.

The feeling of bodily harmony is found in the male track and field body, although it is the form of the body, which may be found in the majority of contemporary sports. It is a classic example of a cultural pattern. Its clearness is connected with the belonging to the tradition of Mediterranean culture. The global nature of the contemporary culture is not shown by the domination of one cultural or physical pattern. The layer of mass culture within the global layer shows diverse models of sports corporeality. The mixed images of the sporting world given to us by the media show bodies from multicultural backgrounds,

from areas primarily outside the Mediterranean culture and its ancient traditions of sportsmanship. Traditional Japanese culture shows an "unusual" form, from a European point of view, in the sporting model displayed by the body of a sumo player. The form of its flesh is the "antithesis" of the sporting image formed in the tradition of Greek sport. That difference is one of the causes of the visual attractiveness of the sumo sport in western culture, and allows you to create a set of cultural forms of sporting bodies, open to the possibility of creative nature. The strength of a sporting body, expressed through its muscles, of which the crowning jewel is, in the culture embedded with the traditions of the Mediterranean; a model of Herculean corporeality, is in Sumo hidden under a thick layer of fat which is the antithesis of the sporty character of the body accepted by western culture. A fascination with the physicality of sumo in the western culture is an expression of its visual appeal, which requires an extension of the set forms of sporting bodies and beauty layer within its cultural diversity. The form of the sumo body is a fulfilling factor within a set of sporting bodies, which shows one limit of their form, which is the negation of the recognized forms in western culture, extending the scope of the category.

A "grotesque" sumo wrestling contestant's body expresses different cultural traditions and patterns, which need not treat our perception of bodily harmony as something binding. Thus, aesthetical considerations on the shape of sports corporeality are cultural considerations. Identity-related character of such reflection on sport is manifested in evaluations of shapes of the body considered from the viewpoint of its visual attractiveness. Cultural differences are the source of different bodily patterns also considering the athletic body. Diversity of bodily forms in the area of sport is covered by specialization within particular sports. Fans are accustomed to particular forms of corporeality constituting the basis for sports competition in a given sport, they regard them as natural and proper. If they constitute an important element of sports competition, as it happens in sports acrobatics or in weightlifting, they are not regarded as strange or curious.

The fact that differences in bodily shapes are natural within a given sport makes them invisible. Only removing them from the context of sports rivalry and confronting them with other bodily forms makes them symptoms of difference. Such comparisons are, as a matter of fact, medial moves. They are manifestations of looking for visual attractions, forms attracting viewers' attention, in the world of sport. This is not far removed from one of the genealogical sources of contemporary sport constituted by marketplace-circus shows. Although the very world of sport does not create such an event as a display of bodily curiosities, such a product is potentially included in it and is occasionally highlighted by the mass media. Bodily curiosities are a natural subject of human interest. The largest, the smallest, the heaviest, the strongest become medial figures in some a priori way. They are given that status by "attractiveness of a curiosity" which does not require creative and marketing endeavours, which

makes their corporeality different from the corporeality reflecting the level of the socially average bodily form, which requires creation by being given a cultural marker of perfection enabling a choice to be made.

Considerations on differences in sports corporeality necessarily lead to a question about the archetype of the athletic body. It may be posed in a definite cultural tradition, which is constituted for us by traditions of Mediterranean culture evolving towards the contemporary form of Western culture. The subject of the analysis may be constituted here by the visual layer of culture enabling to the highlighting of patterns of bodily shapes through which the form of the athletic body used to be expressed. Attractiveness of a definite pattern of corporeality, its cultural popularity providing it with a semantic layer, may prove that it is perceived as a pattern of the athletic body. The visual layer of culture in the case of the subject we are interested in refers to figurative art. First images of the athletic body may be legitimately pointed out in the context of ancient Greek culture. A unique place of sports rivalry in Greek society made sport a subject of artistic studies of the shape of the human body and one of the subjects of sculpture and painting. Vase-painting primarily shows acts of sports rivalry. Sculpture, on the other hand, is focused on creation of the “sports portrait” constituting one of the elements of the prize for victory in sports games. What seems common for both branches of art is the search for an artistic form to create an image of the body.

Due to an incomplete picture of the surviving cultural artifacts of that time it is not easy to make a judgment for the sport model of the body to function in contemporary culture. Identifying the form of the body which we consider as defining the sport body in ancient Greece is a reflection made from the perspective of modern ideas and designs that we can indicate corporeality in contemporary sport. From this perspective, we can show four forms which could serve as a defining model of the sporting body in ancient culture and which we can identify with bodies in an example of sports in contemporary culture. Three of these relate to male bodies and one to female. One of them came into being as a result of looking for the canon of the human bodily beauty which was related to the athletic body as to the subject of its studies. Just that body was the place where ideal proportions, harmony and symmetry – expressed by Polyclitus in his sculpture of Doryphoros – were found. Polyclitus’s male nude is something like a synthesis of studies of the athletic body. Its prototype was a male nude carrying a spear – an attribute of sports rivalry – which gave it a clearly sporting pose. Polyclitus’s “Doryphoros”, regarded in the context of the history of sculpture, is an example of an archetypal male nude. Contemporarily, in spite of its mediation by the world of sport, it is not perceived as an image of an athletic body. Thus it cannot constitute an archetype of the athletic body, in spite of the fact that it has features of an athletic body. This refers especially to its typically athletic musculature. The way of emphasising it enables us to describe Polycli-

tus's nude as an athletic type. Classical for the male nude type in history of European sculpture is Polyclitus's "Diadumenos". Today the shape of the "Diadumenos" body, taken from the place where he stood, stripped of the attributes of sport, with an enigmatic positioning of the hands which does not define that body as a sporting body in an obvious manner. Its structure suggests that the body is smooth and formed as a result of physical activity. Bronze copies of this statue complete the form of the best known "Diadumenos" marble body. The positioning of the hands of the bronze copies show us a man tying up the band on his hair, which we define like a sporting gesture, and the body of "Diadumenos" like a possible pattern of the sporting body.

The role of an archetype of the athletic body understood as an archetypical cultural symbol seems to be played by the other form of sports corporeality created by Greek art. It was Myron's "Discobolus", the best-known form of the athletic body from the time of ancient Greece, which became the pattern of the athletic body. Even the positioning of the body leads us to consider it as a sporting body. His athletic tendency is seen clearly. Regarding the bodily shape, it is not significantly different from Polyclitus's athletic type, indeed it is even a slightly more delicate form taking into account the way of emphasizing musculature, but it is simultaneously characteristic enough to be recognized as an athletic body. Myron's sculpture includes an unambiguous designatum which makes it possible to place the sculpture in the world of sport. This is the pose in which the male nude was presented – the pose reflecting a phase of an athletic movement – discus-throwing.

The subject of Myron's sculpture is the body in movement. He presented "Discobolus" in a dynamic bodily turn, a moment before throwing a discus, which is a pose characteristic for the world of sport. The "sporty" character of "Discobolus"'s body is determined by the form of the movement in which it was presented. It is definitely a foreground element and simultaneously the one determining the sporty character of the Myron's sculpture. Myron's "Discobolus" has become one of the most recognizable ancient Greek sculptures, a symbol of its Olympic ethos, an expression of sports antiquity. In the contemporary Olympic movement it plays the role of an identity symbol pointing to the roots of contemporary Olympism.

Diversity of forms of sports corporeality in the contemporary world of sport makes recognition of the only one form of the body as the archetype of the athletic body something problematic. However, it is possible to recognize the body expressing an athletic movement as the archetypical one. In some sense, what becomes archetypal is the very form of movement and the body becomes a background element, an object expressing movement. Thus, it should be recognized that the archetype of the athletic body is the body in athletic movement. From that viewpoint the "Discobolus" excellently fits such a role. What determines the "sporty" character is the movement of the body and not its build. The arche-

typal character of the body of Myron's "Discobolus" is a consequence of the recognizing that sculpture as an archetype of athletic movement. Polyclitus's "Doryphoros" – devoid of athletic movement – in spite of its sports genealogy it is only an archetype of the male nude in sculpture. The very athletic movement, however, cannot determine the sports corporeality. The form of the body must be harmonized with the form of athletic movement it is to represent. The athletic Greek torso has accompanied the European culture since ancient times. During the Renaissance it remained in the public consciousness thanks to Michelangelo, carved and painted by him as the Old and New Testament men and women, reflecting his fascination with the antique sculpture and ancient models of the male athletic torso which are preserved in the "Group Laokoon" and torso Belvedere.

The shape of the bodily form of "Discobolus" belongs to average forms of the athletic body. Thus the basis of the archetype of the athletic body is a form which is placed – in an Aristotelian way – between bodily extremities. It is not an image of force and power of the human body, which might be constituted by the "Farnese Hercules". Thus, not an expression of power but the form of movement determines the sporty character of the bodily image.

The third of the male forms is the embodiment of strength, power and extraordinary possibilities of the body and all it epitomizes in the Lysippus sculpture "Farnese Hercules". The person of Hercules in ancient Greece had a lot of sculpture and painting visualization. On the Olympic sport area there were lot of representation of Hercules' works and actions. Greeks athletes with "Herculean" corporeality try to follow his actions. Pausanias once described such a person. It was Polydamas, the strongest man in ancient Greece, as was inscribed on the pedestal of his statue in the Olympic area, who killed a lion on Mount Olympus, like Hercules in Nemeia. The pattern of Hercules' body is present in the area of contemporary pop-culture, in cartoon and feature films, in the ideas of corporeality of wrestling, fitness and body building.

In the notion of the archetype of the athletic body the image of the male body predominates. However, it does not seem to exhaust the content of the notion. Hence a question about the archetype of the female athletic body should be posed. Masculine dominance in ancient sport seems to point to 20th century sport as a cultural space where archetypical patterns of the female athletic body could appear. Such a role could be played by one of the female figures of the world of sport falling into the pattern of sports "Barbie Doll", although probably post-modern cultural diversity would mean that we would have to deal with a greater number of such figures and varied patterns. However, historical research makes it possible to point out a definitely more unambiguous and significant cultural pattern of the female athletic body which can be found in ancient times, although the fact that in the Renaissance and Baroque periods it was connected with the mythological space and the character of Diana deprived it of a significant sports context.

Such a cultural pattern can be constituted by the mythical character of Atalanta. Atalanta was a significant pattern in ancient Greek culture referring to female social roles. Differences concerning the range of acceptable female social roles are visible in the cases of Ionian, Spartan and Athenian culture. The sporting model for the female body is the mythical figure of Atalanta which can be seen on preserved Greek vase paintings. There is a presumption that there were two myths of Atalanta: one is of the heroic valiant Grecian as the only woman who took part in the expedition of the Argonauts and who was hunting with Meleagro for caledonian boar; the second shows the feminine nature, revealed by her neglecting the rivalry in a race by collecting the golden apples, thrown by Hyppomenes during the famous race. The ancient Greeks saw the power of femininity in Atalanta preserved in European culture in the form of Diana. Atalanta in her Greek ethos is a character of a female who has not been beaten by males. Preserved Greek vases from the black-figure and red-figure period show Atalanta in the context of sports rivalry. Atalanta was unbeaten in running and wrestling and these are the sports activities which she is shown engaged in.

Such a pattern of sports rivalry can be pointed out in Spartan society, where women were allowed to compete with men, but vase paintings showing Atalanta also come from extremely conservative Athenian culture. Atalanta is shown running, preparing for wrestling, the wrestling fight against Peleus. Unlike the female figure taking part in games in her honour, she wears an untypical sportswear. She is virtually naked, she wears a hat covering her hair and sometimes a strange outfit resembling the 20th century fitness outfits. Such sportswear we can find in the III a.c. Roman mosaic in the Villa de Casale in Piazza Armerina. The character of Atalanta seems to play the role of a cultural pattern of a female character who is not submitted to male dominance, unbeaten in sports rivalry. In that context it is a significant archetype of the female sports character. Regarding her mythological genealogy her images are characterized by latitude. Maybe she is not so much an archetype of the sports female body as an archetype of femininity in the world of sport. From that viewpoint this may constitute one of the first gender patterns. European art views her as a model of feminine temptation, however, the art of the Greeks clearly shows her athletic qualities. 17th century paintings show Atalanta hunting with Meleagro, like in Rubens' "Atalanta and Meleagro", or collecting golden apples during the race with Hyppomenes, like in Guido Reni's "Atalanta and Hyppomenes" and many other paintings from the 14th century. The reinterpretation of the Atalanta gender pattern by Christian culture is a reflection of expressing masculinity in the subordination of femininity.

The body forms created by Polycleitus, Lysippus and Atalanta gave rise to many imitations within European culture. The most athletically accepted body – that shown in "Discobolus" by Myron – was repeated many times in sculptures,

which themselves had little impact on body image in European art, although this physical structure can be found in the modern metrosexual body, e.g. David Beckham. Polycleitus's body remains an image of the athletic body which expresses strong male characteristics that meet the requirements of the social image of a "real" man used in advertising, drugs, films, actions, and numerous other forms of media depicting masculinity. Atalanta is a pattern of a fantasy and computer game heroes. The form of Hercules is referred to naturally by the entity of many athletic disciplines i.e. shot-put and discus, a modern Discobolus, and creating a culture around sports athletes.

Social and especially, cultural placement of sports competition makes us use all possible forms of corporeality, corresponding with diverse sports post-fans' tastes, in its space. They constitute a picture of the sports body as the subject of sports competition and the object of its cultural transformations. Visual pressure gives contemporary humans a need for conscious management of their corporeality [Mosz 2009]. Changing patterns of the body posture impose an active alignment of the body to new trends and patterns of carnality. The body becomes a plastic object subjected to treatments become like [Synnot 1993]. The world of sports does not yield to this tendency. It absorbs all the natural forms of the carnality not creating the imperative of change. Its essence is not the assimilation but highlighting the diversity of the body, through which it creates a variety of sports and sporting competitions, attracting the attention of the world media.

References

- Bernhard M.L. (1971), *Greek art in the V century b.c.*, PWN, Warszawa.
 Clark K. (1998) *The Nude. A study in Ideal Form*, WAiF & PWN, Warszawa.
 Mosz J. (2009), *Zarządzanie wizerunkiem w kulturze fizycznej cywilizacji konsumpcjonizmu* [w:] Z. Dziubiński, K. Jankowski [red.], *Kultura fizyczna w społeczeństwie nowoczesnym*, AWF, Warszawa.
 Pausanias (1968), *Description of Greece*, Ossolineum, Wrocław.
 Rogers M.F. (1999), *Brabie Culture*, London, California.
 Synnot A. (1993), *The Body Social: Symbolism, Self and Society*, London.

Key words: *natural body, cultural body, sport body*

Jannick Niort, Javier Hernández Vázquez, Ana Bofill Ródenas

INEFC – University of Barcelona, Spain

Contact: *jniort@gmail.com*

Chapter 1.4.

DANCE AND INTELLECTUAL DISABILITY: A DIFFERENT DANCE, A DIFFERENT LIFE

Introduction

Dance has always been a recreational and educational activity principally reserved for society's elite, as much for economic reasons as for social and gender factors: girls dance and boys play football. What was not well-considered was making dance one's profession. Fortunately, gender bias is tending to disappear and being a professional dancer has taken on a certain social value, as studying dance offers ample general and specific cultural benefits. It can be said that dance has been institutionalized. Even so, it still is not considered an educational discipline at the same level as gymnastics, the visual and plastic arts, or music.

Our daily dance work with intellectually handicapped people has made us reflect upon the specific contribution dance makes to special education, both as part of the foundation curriculum and as a complementary educational and recreational activity. We have considered how students with disabilities experience their bodies, feel movement, and perceive their environment through dance. In this monograph, we will try to focus on what benefits dance can offer people with diverse kinds of physical, psychological, and sensorial handicaps and what approaches have proved to be effective. The singularity of our focus group is that all the students involved not only have a medium or severe grade of mental handicap, but also suffer other conditions such as cerebral palsy, sensory impairments, or severe developmental problems.

1. Body and perception in intellectual disability

"I am conscious of the world through the medium of my body", Merleau-Ponty [1945/2002, pp. 94–95].

The body marks the frontiers of our spatial limitations and allows us, through our sensory experience, to define the texture of things in our environment, to enjoy the tenderness of a caress, feel the clasp of a hand, or to suffer the pain of a burn or a happenstance blow.

“The outline of my body is a frontier which ordinary spatial relations do not cross.” [Merleau-Ponty 1945/2002, p. 112]

The body protects us and is our medium for unity with space and all it contains. We belong to space: the body and space are form and content in three dimensions. The body is a volume within a volume; space and the individual adapt to each other, respecting the frontiers that they mutually define.

We see, hear, feel, taste, and touch. Our five senses operate in direct relation to our mental capacity that transforms the messages they transmit into an emotional interpretation. When a person’s mental ability is affected, diminished by a cerebral lesion or a defective chromosome, how does he or she perceive his body in space and experience exteroceptive sensations?

We are familiar with the characteristics of a young person with Down’s syndrome including his muscular hypotony. How can he feel the relationship of his body to space, in the sense of being conscious of it, considering his difficulty in controlling his muscle tension in executing movements and in maintaining his postural stability? How does a mentally handicapped youth who has a cerebral lesion or cerebral palsy, experience the impotence of his will made manifest in stereotypical movements and muscle spasms? Professional experience has shown us that disabled children and adolescents fully experience their bodies, but at an instinctive, primitive level and do not understand why their bodies don’t respond to their will or their instinct, for example, when they experience a sudden rigidity in a leg. We have also noted that intellectual disability is accompanied by a reduction in one’s perception of the body in space, as space itself is perceived as narrower, due to defective ocular motility and a more limited peripheral vision.

At the same time, students with severe development problems appear to lose themselves in unlimited space. By this, are we given to believe that the transmitted information or exterior perceptions they receive are neither analyzed nor integrated at a cerebral level? These subjects have a tendency to put everything in their mouths (experiencing them through the sense of taste) or to touch everything (knowing them by somesthetic perception) in order to orient themselves spatially. Often other pathologies or afflictions associated with mental disability make the perception of the body in space more difficult, as the information processed is not fully comprehended and its subsequent interpretation does not provide useful results.

“To understand is to experience the harmony between what we aim for and what is given, between the intention and the performance-and the body is our anchorage in the world.” [Merleau-Ponty 1945/2002, p.169]

Comprehension and perception are linked. This could explain the notable differences in perception shown by a mentally handicapped student. These differences might not be due to poor perception, but rather to a defective comprehension that leads to an irrelevant interpretation.

A blind person fine tunes another sense to compensate for missing visual references: the sense of touch with a strongly developed sense of rhythm. A deaf person is able to perceive rhythm through vibration, either through his feet or his hands, express himself through sign language, and visually capture movement.

How is a deaf and blind person who also suffers a mental disability, diminished sensory capabilities, and a below average intellectual coefficient that limits his/her capacity for verbal expression and understanding, capable, in spite of all these handicaps, of expressing joy- an emotional response to a particularly special moment he has physically experienced and physically enjoyed? The body is absolutely essential in perceiving one's environment and the world, indispensable for expressing intrinsic sensations and experiencing the emotions that make an intellectually handicapped person, whether in transmitting or perceiving expressivity, a vibrant being. All human beings are essentially alike.

"Our body is our general medium for having a world." [Merleau-Ponty 1945/2002, p. 169]

The perception of the body in space and as a means of expression is adapted to the immediate necessities of an intellectually handicapped person. Social and ethical criteria are reduced or suppressed in function of the psychological state in which the individual finds himself/herself. Handicapped people may suffer episodes of total isolation from their surrounding environment or an exacerbated overflow of emotions that blurs the perceived frontiers between their bodies and the space around them. Cases in which physical manifestations are either null or exaggerated, are generally psychotic disorders related to autism and other types of mental disability.

Regarding a patient suffering a psychological blindness, Merleau Ponty wrote: "The patient is conscious of his bodily space as the matrix of his habitual action, but not as an objective setting; his body is at his disposal as a means of ingress into a familiar surrounding, but not as the means of expression of a gratuitous and free spatial thought." [Merleau-Ponty 1945/2002, p. 119].

This reflection can be perfectly applied to intellectually handicapped people, in the sense that, their bodies are like a weight, a burden. As Merleau Ponty reminds us "the perception of the body and of objects in contact with the body is vague when there is no movement", in the next section we will attempt to analyze the body and movement.

2. Movement and perception in intellectual disability

“It is clearly in action that the spatiality of our body is brought into being, and an analysis of one’s own movement should enable us to arrive at a better understanding of it.” [Merleau-Ponty 1945/2002, p.117]

In the previous section we have explored the frontiers of the body in space. Now we will speak of the limits of the body in movement, without forgetting that the bodies in question are different bodies, bodies that belong to people with significant intellectual limitations. In these cases, when comprehension is a difficult task, the body must be more alert than the mind, a situation corroborated by Merleau-Ponty: “It is the body that catches (*kapiert*) and comprehends movement.” [Merleau-Ponty 1945/2002, p. 126]

Our experience with different types of physical and intellectual disability has verified that there are diverse ways to “catch” and feel movement. The most obvious cases involve young people with Down’s syndrome, who capture movement easily, although their realization of a movement may be somewhat hampered by their hypotony. For this same reason, they do not define their movements- ‘they don’t feel it down to their fingertips’ is the expression that professional dancers often use-and sustaining a movement in space is difficult for them. In dance practice, movement must pass the limits of the body and penetrate space in order to give it outline and form. In the context we are referring to, the hypotonic body impedes the leap. The student finds it difficult to pull energy from the floor to lift himself up against the pull of gravity. “Es del suelo que sacamos la energía,” (We pull our energy from the floor) Robert Cohan [1986] repeated over and over again in his classes; a valid observation for all bodies.

Floor contact is very important. Floor exercises require less force against gravity and are an essential reference, above all for blind people, who fear falling, as opposed to psychotic people who reject the floor, or autistic people who, to avoid contact with the world, often walk on the points of their toes. The body in movement and its relation to the floor are sensitive points for intellectually disabled students and therefore difficult to work with. In addition, we have observed that they often keep their hands closed when in contact with the floor, which is a signal of being blocked, and with the body stretched out on the floor they are unable to move, even with the aid of elbows, knees, ankles, etc. An intellectually handicapped person uses his extremities with great difficulty. His hands and feet, flat and imperfect, weigh him down and have little strength to support his hypotonic or extremely stiff body.

We must ask ourselves how an intellectually handicapped blind person placed in an empty space suited to free movement can comprehend movement without any reference point other than the floor and contact with the objects and other people within his reach. Verbal connotations that employ a vocabulary easy to comprehend and interpret are absolutely indispensable. We must not

forget that a blind person tends to seek refuge in physical mannerisms characteristic of the blind, and these stereotypical movements condition their ability to learn other movements, although they appear to be a necessary stimulus to channel their energy. We find the same mannerisms in numerous people that have a cerebral lesion or severe development problems. Merleau-Ponty highlights the importance of the instructions given to the psychologically blind patient, for whom instructions take on an intellectual significance rather than a motor function significance. The intellectually handicapped student comprehends the gesture or movement and attempts to imitate it because he sees it. At times, when there is a high level of complicity between teacher and student, verbal instructions are not essential in initiating the movement (the blind being an exception), or may be adapted to the necessities of the particular person they are intended for. Even if the movement is not correctly executed, the mere activation of motor intention represents progress toward the eventual realization of the movement requested by the instructor.

What goes on in the body of an intellectually handicapped person with cerebral palsy? His movement appears to be imprisoned by his body. When the body initiates a movement, it seems to come up against invisible spatial barriers and the movement takes on another aesthetic: a chaotic, syncopated plasticity that is often brusque, as opposed to the heavy and sluggish plasticity of the young person with Down's Syndrome, the diffuse plasticity of an autistic person, or the robotic plasticity of a young psychotic person.

In terms of cognition, experience has taught us to use another vocabulary. *Stretch your knees* doesn't mean anything to an intellectually disabled student but given the instructions *push your knees back*, he is able to achieve the desired effect of stretching his knees. If we say *stretch your neck*, his head falls backward. Useful instructions in this case would be *hold your head up*. It's therefore very useful to invent a vocabulary or replace it with concrete metaphors to ensure that the student comprehends the instructions, as repeatedly seeing the movement is not sufficient. We must give intentionality to the movement so that it acquires force in space and is transmitted with all its meaning to a possible spectator.

The intellectually disabled student is satisfied with his body and lives with it as it is, following his instincts, without complexes or effort. Corrections of his movements are quickly forgotten and progress is only achieved through repetition. For this reason, we also believe that it is necessary to verbalize movement, so that the student is able to integrate it more easily, using both his motor and cognitive functions, and to insist not only that he executes a free movement, but also a technical movement, with the intention of connecting new neurons. "No es el órgano que hace la función, sino la función que hace el órgano" (It's not the organ that creates the function, but rather the function that creates the organ), said Ramon y Cajal. We consider both free movement and technical

movement exercises fundamental to the education and development of intellectually handicapped children and adolescents. Merleau-Ponty has said:

“Elaborating upon these primary actions and moving from their literal to a figurative meaning, it manifests through them a core of new significance: this is true of motor habits such as dancing.” [Merleau-Ponty 1945/2002, p.169]

We will now turn our attention to dance as a medium of expression, and above all, a medium for perceiving the body, movement, and the world of the intellectually disabled.

3. Dance and intellectual disability

“La danza es la expresión de la vida a través del cuerpo” (Dance is the expression of life through the body) [Cohan 1986].

Employing dance in the context of intellectual disability, in which the body is relatively unskilled and the mind is challenged might seem paradoxical; but for its capacity to impart knowledge of one’s own body, and as a means of expression, dance can be an indispensable instrument in the education of intellectually disabled children and adolescents. Jean Le Boulch [1998] is convinced: “La única actividad corporal que puede servir de soporte a la dimensión expresiva y a la imaginación es la danza. Su práctica será una garantía de que el niño/niña, en su primer encuentro con la institución escolar vehículo de razón, podrá conservar aún durante muchos años la espontaneidad y el frescor de la infancia.” (Dance is the only physical activity that can serve as a support to the dimension of expression and the imagination. Initiation in the dance from the child’s very first encounter with educational institutions created to teach him to reason will guarantee that he will nevertheless retain the spontaneity and freshness of childhood for many years to come).

Dance is movement as Merleau-Ponty states: “...there is not a perception followed by a movement, for both form a system which varies as a whole” [Merleau-Ponty 1945/2002, p. 127].

This whole is the dance. If numerous educational specialists, including Wallon, Aucouturier, Lapierre, Le Boulch, and dance professionals such as Laban, Dalcroze, Lifar, and Béjart have considered movement as a medium for education and development, why not use it daily in Special Education? Physical activity is often limited to psycho motility and sports, relegating dance to the category of a mere extra-curricular activity. Le Boulch [1998], in his vision of the body within the framework of XXI century schools believed: “La danza está en el corazón de la acción psicomotora ya que se encuentra a la intersección de lo operativo y de lo afectivo, de lo corporal y de lo mental”. (Dance is the core of psycho motor action as it is situated at the intersection of the functional and the emotional; the physical and the mental.)

Dance constitutes the perfect combination of mental and physical activity for helping handicapped people to forge their future as human beings. Dance works the body and the mind; it is a path inside space and a method of personal introspection.

We take each student's physical characteristics into account in movement exercises. Through movement, they will perceive space, time, and their own bodies: space, moving in a three-dimension space; time, by following rhythm; and the body, by attempting to carry out a directed movement that will allow them to feel their own muscles. These three factors, which correspond to spatial structuring, temporal structuring, and corporal structuring are the foundation for working with all kinds of disability.

We must consider dance from two perspectives: the physical and the psychological. From a physical perspective, muscular work is a long and entailed process. We do not perceive our body in the same way that we see it. For example, we can have the sensation that our shoulder is straight when, in reality, it is bit hunched over. The body, therefore, must capture the perception of a straightened shoulder and its movement, and assimilate it. This applies to any type of movement. Furthermore, we must avoid the use of excessive force and take into account the physical characteristics and problems that must be corrected and should not be left to worsen. We monitor the atlantoaxial instability of students with Down's syndrome, making sure not to force flexibility, already accentuated by their muscular hypotony and the *laxity of their ligaments, and carefully focus on their ocular motility, among other problems. Balancing, jumps, pirouettes, and movements in general complement exercises that allow students to become conscious of their bodies as an element in space and as its own structured element.*

With people who have a cerebral lesion, we focus on relaxation and control of stereotypical movements. As they often suffer epileptic seizures, we carefully monitor the music utilized, rotational movements, and repeated gestures that are difficult for them to execute. In performance situations, we maintain a strict control over spotlights and choose low intensity lighting. With autistic and hyperactive students, it is necessary to reign in their overwhelming energy by focusing on self-control, attempting to draw their attention away from extraneous things that interest them, and gradually drawing them into the group dynamic. Dalcroze said: "Hacer que el niño/a tome consciencia de los ritmos inherentes a sus movimientos para estabilizarlo." (Make the child aware of the inherent rhythms of his movements to give him stability).

Students with severe development problems are so diverse that each individual is a unique case. At the *pedagogical* level, what works well with one does not work with another.

We take care to verbalize all movements for the blind student and work face to face with deaf students. People with sensory disabilities, especially the blind, must gain self-confidence and must learn to move freely in space without fear,

although this entails overcoming their difficulties in comprehending the mechanisms of movement. From a psychological perspective, dance is liberation. It frees the body and mind and permits a person to express himself and be understood, as well as exchange emotions and feelings with others. A handicapped person, with his/her limited mastery of language, will know better how to exteriorize the sensations he/she experiences if he/she has a consciousness of his/her own body. Dance provides a better platform for developing body awareness than any other physical activity. It does not give place to competitiveness or provoke disappointment and it increases the student's self-esteem and sense of security. Dance also offers the interesting possibility of being someone else. What one is not in real life but would like to be can be lived out through dance. In the dance we love each other, we are the best; we can be a mother, an old person, a flower, or a butterfly. We vibrate with the movement of waves and breathe with the wind. Metaphors become sensations in the moment that we perceive them. For a blind person, the color red burns and is represented by a rapid, small movement. Blue is refreshing. It is water, a river, and is expressed by the image of the body curled over, bathed in freshness, or in the arms of a companion. Yellow is as smooth as a caress that we give or we receive. It is the fine sand on the beach or the sun. Green is the grass we roll in, fearlessly and confidently, with our bodies stretched out. Similar interpretations can be made for all the colors, forms, sentiments, and abstract expressions that are difficult to comprehend through movement alone.

Movement transforms a perception received into a symbolic image and transmits it to the spectator. In that instant, stereotypic mannerisms disappear. Integrated movement and concentration have overpowered involuntary reflex.

Another benefit that dancing provides an intellectually handicapped person at the psychological level is stimulation of the memory and mental imaging. Dancing is not only executing one movement after another; each movement has a meaning and an interpretation. When paired with music, an image of the movement must anticipate the musical tempo. The dancer must listen, execute a movement and communicate it to the spectator. The blind aside, even the gaze has a great importance. The gaze is a part of the intentionality within the movement. It is a message directed to the public and a tool for creating complicity among partners in the execution of a joint movement and in the comprehension and sharing of an emotion.

Body, movement, perception: this is the essence of dance.

"Isn't she the soul of fable and an escapist from all the gates of life?" [Valery 1951, p. 53].

Conclusion

With these reflections on dance and the effects of intellectual disability upon the body, movement, space, and perception, we enter into the debate con-

cerning the relevance of dance as an educational and training activity, as a curricular discipline in ordinary schools and, above all, in special education. The time has come for people with intellectual disabilities to carry out activities that are not always burdened by the word therapy. Although the benefits that dance offers to the intellectually disabled are implicit, they are the same benefits that it offers to everyone, whether they suffer a disability or not. We would also like to demystify the perception of dance as being merely entertainment or an elitist, frivolous activity. These attitudes need to be reviewed and this situation needs to be normalized legally. It also seems that in matters related to disability, almost anything is regarded as valid, and within the community, dancing is often employed in a superficial way; in good faith, but with little professionalism. Its implementation as a teaching method requires a rigorous and serious approach that takes into account that it is someone's body that we are working with. Dance must be given the place it deserves within education, in the training of professionals, and importance needs to be given to the benefits it offers. We are fully aware of all the concepts and questions that need to be studied, although much more investigation is still needed.

Dance can open new horizons for further research in the fields of physical therapy, psychology, motility, social work, and education. We, ourselves, are working along these lines. For the present, we offer the fruit of our practical and theoretic experience in the teaching, training, and development of intellectually disabled young people to the larger educational community in the hope that it will aid others who also consider dance an inestimable opportunity to positively transform the lives of the disabled. This is our sincerest desire.

References

1. Cohan R. (1986), *La Danse*, Robert Laffont, Barcelona.
 2. Le Bouch J. (1998), *El cuerpo en la escuela en el siglo XXI*, INDE, Barcelona.
 3. Merleau-Ponty M. (1945), *Phénoménologie de la perception (Phenomenology of Perception)*, transl. Colin Smith 1962, Routledge Classics, London and New York.
 4. Valéry P. (1945), *L'âme et la danse (Dance and the Soul)*, transl. Dorothy Bussy, 1951 J. Lehmann, London.
- English translations of quotes cited from M. Merleau-Ponty are taken from the English edition: *Phenomenology of Perception*, (2002) Abington and New York, Routledge. The quote from Paul Valéry is taken from the English edition: *Dance and the Soul*, (1951) London: J. Lehmann. All other quotations have been translated from the Spanish language text available.

Key words: *dance, intellectual disability, movement, perception*

Antonio Borgogni, Stefania Manzo, Simone Digennaro

Faculty of Sport Sciences, Department of Sport and Health Sciences, University of Cassino, Italy;
Via Sant'Angelo, Località Folcara, 03043 Cassino, Italy

Chapter 1.5.

PERCEPTION OF LIFESTYLES. A COMPARISON BETWEEN SPORTS PRACTISING AND NON-PRACTISING YOUNG PEOPLE

Introduction

Since the transformation in Italian law¹ of the Children's Right Convention, many actions have been carried out to involve minors in public policies. Most of them have been directed to children while only a small part has involved young people. Only a few of them have included sport as their object rarely involving minors as active protagonist. Meanwhile, the phenomena of the youth sport drop and burn out are affecting sports participation in Italy as like in other many countries.

The article presents the second step of the research included in a project expected to highlight the outline of the sports club as a more inclusive place from the point of view of young people with the aim to reduce the drop and burn-out. The project, named the Ideal Sport Club, is a research-action carried out by the Department of Sport and Health Sciences of the University of Cassino in cooperation with "Il corpo va in città" and "UISP- Emilia Romagna Committee" Associations. It was funded by Emilia Romagna Region through a project of the former Ministry of Sport and Youth Affairs (2006–2008).

The project started in 2006 and was divided into two phases: the first involved 90 students of the sports sections, almost all practising sport, of two secondary schools in Ferrara², the second, ending in 2010, is involving the towns of Piacenza and Rimini.

The main aims of the project were: to find strategies to reduce the drop out during adolescence; to re-qualify the sport offer adapting it to the aggregation

¹ Law n. 176/1991: Ratification and implementation of the Children's rights convention

² Town of 130000 inhabitants with a number of sport facilities pro capita higher than the European average

needs of young people; to renovate the training courses for sport educators and managers; to train a new sport manager at a sport club level.

The **first phase** of the project was divided into two parts.

First part

During the first part, funded by the Municipality of Ferrara and carried out in 2006/07 School Year, the students were involved in several workshops and in a research from which we drew the first results and the guidelines to construct the tools for further depth investigation.

Questionnaires were submitted to all participants followed by workshops aimed to discuss the results and find the any possible solutions.

The main results of the aforementioned can be summarized as follows: practising sport provides, first of all, psychological before physical well-being and it is moreover good fun. The fun, together with friendship, seems to be the factor driving the young people to continue doing sport, personal motivation and possible results following the former. The 90% of the students began to practise sport on the advice of a friend. Motivation towards sport is, at the beginning, strongly social and aggregative. Most of the sports practised are team sports. The wish to belong to a group is as important as the possibility of positive interaction with peers in which personal limits and insecurity can be express. The trainer is the main subject accused of drop out or of abandon of the sport club. The school engagements often coincide with the sports timetable putting the students under stress.

During the workshops, adolescents suggested two main possible solutions to the drop and burn out: investing in better-qualified trainers with improved humanistic approach, educational knowledge and technical formation and reorganizing sporting timetables.

Second part

During the second part, coincident with the 2007/08 school year, the 90 students, after a training course, joined the researchers of the project.

The tools, chosen through a workshop and then decided and refined by the research group, were questionnaires, interviews and storyboards.

Under the supervision of the research staff, they administered questionnaires, interviewed and contacted peers, coaches, and directors of Sport Clubs.

Here we can evidence the double (both Educational and Sociological) value of the project:

– from the point of view of the theoretical aims of Physical Education, the most important factors of the project are the process of inclusion of the students in research on the sports system, in which they are directly involved, and which gives them the opportunity to study firsthand the dynamics of a Sports Association in all its aspects;

– from a broader educational point of view the students studied and learned to use sociological tools directly applying their knowledge while the schools carried out an interdisciplinary path (Physical Education, Social Sciences, Statistics);

– from a sociological view point, giving the research tools on the hands of young people implies obviously a minor scientific level of the results. At the same time, in an action-research perspective aimed at obtaining sociological information and activated educational routes, we think that this risk can be balanced by the comprehensive effects of the action. Moreover, we would pose some open questions concerning the start-up of educational processes elaborating the issues of the project: how much, for instance, the fact that the questionnaires have been administrated by peers sensitizes the interviewees? How far does actually being an interviewer increase awareness of the issues as compared to just participating in a lesson on the subject?

During the second phase, the number of questionnaires administered by the young researchers were 697 (55.7% males; 44.3% female); the average age of the interviewed was 16.5 (range 14–18). The 89.9% practised sport at the age 6–13; the 75.5% practised sport – 60.5% at competitive level, 39.5% at as amateur – at the moment of the questionnaire; the 24.7% didn't practise – 68.0% because they abandoned, the 32.0% because totally inactive.

The sampling was simply casual; this means that the data do not refer to the whole sample of the adolescent resident in Ferrara. For this reason the gender division is slightly unbalanced.

The questionnaire

The questionnaire, after a general part, was built through “filter questions”, to define four profiles: who practises competitive sport; who practises amateur sport; who gave up/abandoned sport; who never practised sport and physical activity.

In the last part, the questionnaire contained questions about lifestyles and self-perception with assigned values and different kinds of scales.

The aim of this structure was to understand the characteristics of the different profiles and how the sample approaches sports themes and active lifestyles.

The perception of lifestyles

One of the main sections of the research focussed on the perception of lifestyle of the four different profiles of adolescents.

The main question (number 17) was “Consider your life during the last six months: how much do you agree with the following sentences? a) I’m satisfied with my life style; b) my lifestyle could be better if I decided to practise more physical activity; d) my current lifestyle could worsen if I abandoned to practise physical activity.”

The analysis of the answers was done using a four level qualitative ladder: I definitely agree, I agree, I don’t really agree, I absolutely disagree. The distribution (17a) for profiles shows that the most satisfied are the competitive (85.0%) followed by the inactive (80.0%), amateur (77.0%), who has abandoned (72.0%). The percentage of satisfied within the inactive is very high; nearly to affirm their pride to be inactive. Competitive are also the most “decisively satisfied” (35.0%).

Figure 1: Question 17 A for single profile (%)

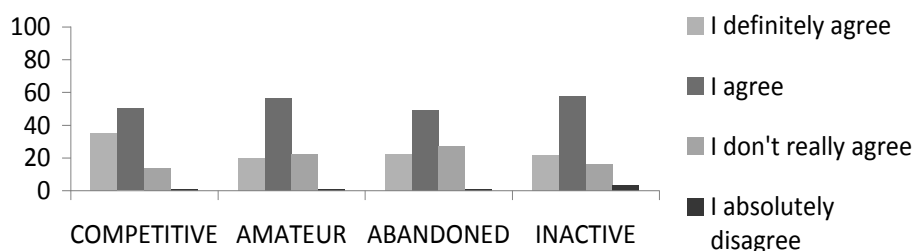


Figure 1. “17A for single profile”

The data by gender show that females are around 10.0% less satisfied than males on average. Summing the positive answer, 75.0% of the girls are satisfied vs. 84% of the boys. The percentage of agreement is the same (53.0% vs. 52.0%), significant differences are in who “definitely agrees” (23% females, 31% males) and in who “don’t really agree” (14% males, 24% females).

Figure 2: Question 17 A by GENDER (%)

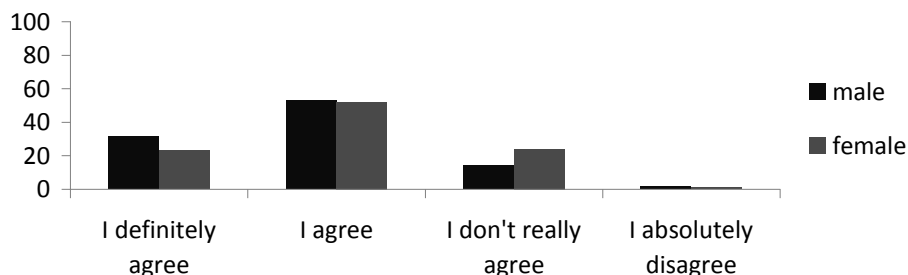


Figure 2. “17A by gender”

The answers to the 17b sentence show that the competitive (29.0%) and the amateur (51.0%) don't think that improving activity could lead to better lifestyle; quite interesting is the awareness of who abandoned (73.0%) and of the inactive (67.0%) about the benefits of physical activity.

The competitive seem to be not only highly satisfied of their lifestyle (17a) but also don't link better lifestyle to more physical activity. The amateurs have a more balanced profile.

Who has abandoned and inactive seem to wait for some kind of motivation (or motivator) which or who can facilitate the starting of activities.

Figure 3: Question 17 B for total profile

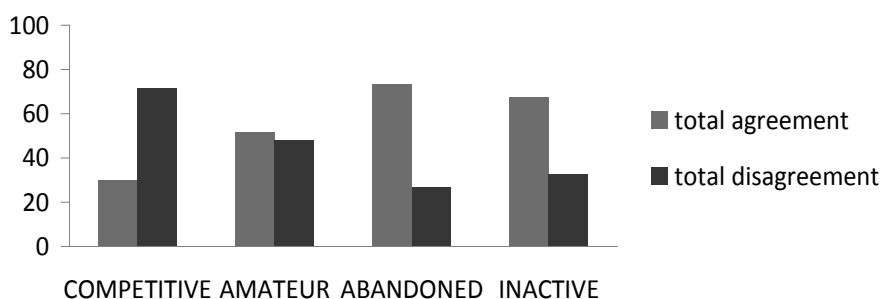


Figure 3. "17B for total profile"

The data by gender highlight that females agree (57.0%) more than males (38.0%). The biggest differences are in the percentage of who "agree" (42.0% female vs. 29.0% male).

Females seem to be more conscious about the needs of more activity to achieve better lifestyles. To read properly these data is to be considered that the percentage of females who practise sport within the interviewed is lower than the males' one (71.0% vs. 79.0%) and that they practise more as amateur.

Figure 4: Question 17 B by GENDER

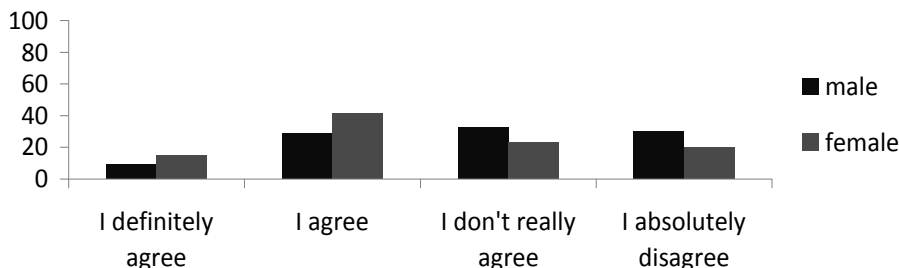


Figure 4. "17B by gender"

One of the most interesting findings concerns the awareness of the benefit of practising physical activities: the competitive, in fact, are four times more aware that the abandon of physical activity means worsen the lifestyle; 82.0% of them agree against the 22.0% of the inactive; the figures for the others are respectively 78.0% for amateurs, almost the same than the competitive, and 30.0% for who abandoned. The majority of the competitive definitely agree while the majority of who abandoned and inactive “absolutely disagree”.

Figure 5: Question 17 D for total profile

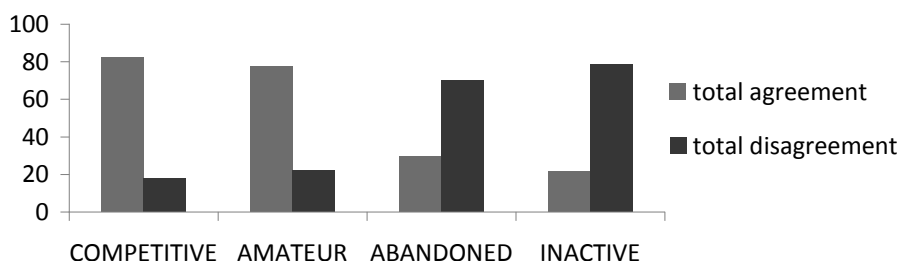


Figure 5. “17D for total profile”

The habits

Concerning the smoke and alcohol consumption habits, we used some standardised questions (ISTAT 2008) .

The two main questions were “do you smoke cigarettes?” and “did you drink more than 6 glasses in the evening during the last 12 months?”

Figure 6: SMOKE for single profile

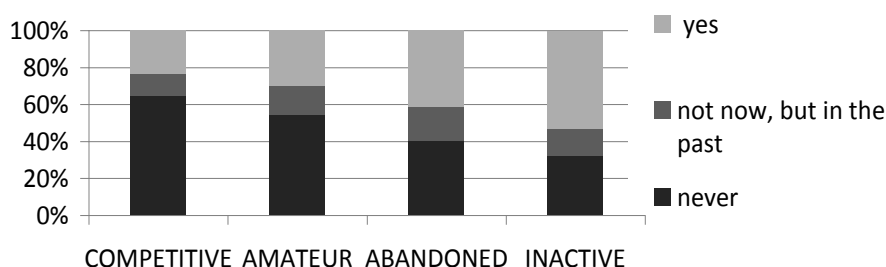


Figure 6. “Smoke for single profile”

The analysis about the smoke by profile shows that 55.0% answered “has never smoked”, the 30.0% smoked in the past and the 31.0% currently smoke. The mean of cigarette/day is 10 (9 for competitive/amateur, 15 for sedentariness).

The percentage of who has never smoked decreases in relation with the quantity and level of practice: 65.0% competitive, 55.0% amateur, 41.0% who abandoned, 32.0% inactive.

About the alcohol, the 55.0% answered “no”. The competitive are the most virtuous (59.0%); the amateur, like as who has abandoned, perfectly match the mean (55/56%); the inactive are at 42.0%.

Who answered “yes” affirm to drink more than 6 glasses from 6.85 times (competitive profile) to 8.06 (inactive) with a mean of 7.75.

What is important to point out is the percentage (44.0%; $\pm 41/58\%$) of youngsters who drank in a measure considered at risk by public health studies.

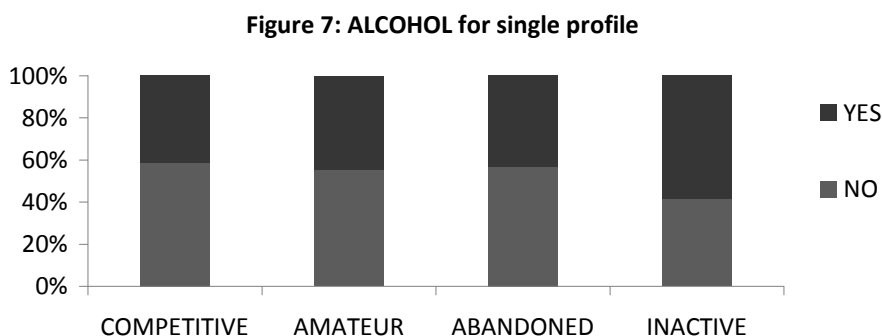


Figure 7. “Alcohol for single profile”

The analysis of the habits by gender shows that while there are no significant differences between male and female about smoking, for alcohol consumption they are relevant: more than the half of the males answered “yes” (52.0%) against the 65.0% of the female. One boy out of two drank more than six glasses during a single evening in the last 12 months. They did it drinking almost 8 glasses (7.9%). The same figures for the female are respectively one out of three and 6.

In general, referring to the answers to the question (n. 22) “In your opinion how much important are the following habits for an active and healthy life-style”, the four profiles are very similar for each habit. The habits analyzed were: following a correct diet, practising physical activity every day even for a short time, choosing to cycle or walk instead of driving or riding motorbikes, having regular rhythms of life, not smoking, not drinking, not making use of drugs of any kinds.

In fact, the variations related to the four profiles within each habit are minimal ($\Delta=0,66$).

The variations between the means of each habit are significant.

“Not making use of drugs of any kind” is at 9.0 versus 6.9 of “choosing to cycle or walk instead of driving”. Quite interesting is the difference between

“Walking” and “Practising Physical Activity every day”. The difference between the two means is significant (0.8) but of greater interest is the difference for Competitive (1.51) which decreases proportionally to the level of practice (Amateurs 1.0; Who abandoned 0.7; Inactive 0.04). We didn’t find significant differences between males and females.

We can argue that, mostly for anyone who practises sport, walking or cycling are not considered everyday physical activity. These data are very interesting also because the town of the survey has been awarded in Italy as “City of Bikes” and riding bicycles is a part of the everyday life also for adolescents. We can suppose an educational issue: schools and the health system do not promote the practice of walking/cycling as important for a “healthy life style” but only the practice of organized or more demanding physical activity.

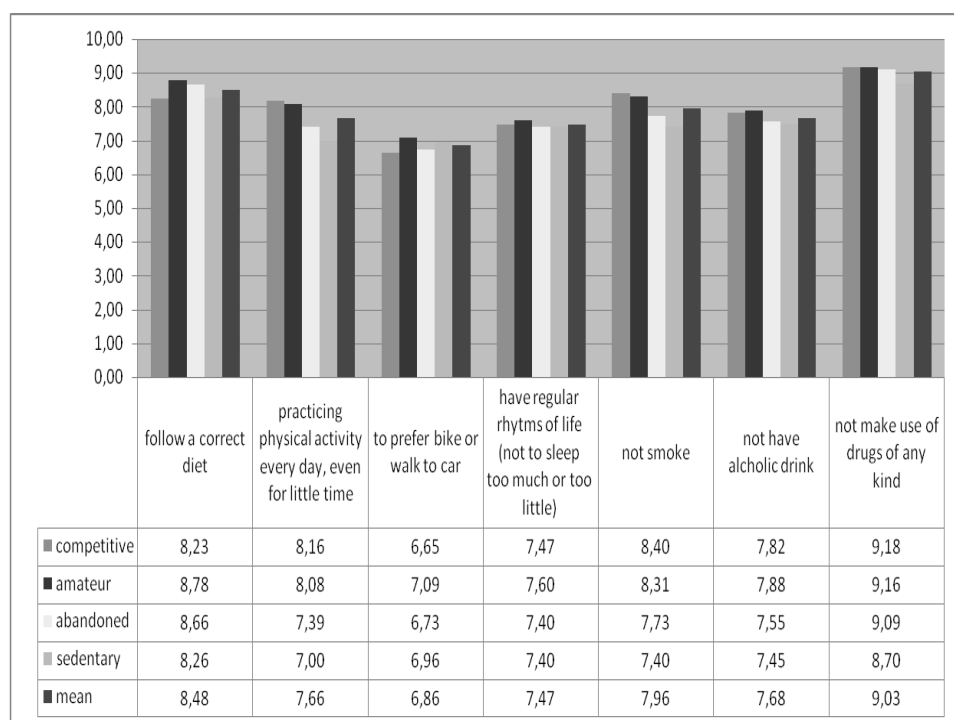


Figure 8. “In your opinion how much important are the following habits for an active and healthy lifestyle ” [source: own research]

During the second part, the project has been chosen by the Emilia Romagna Region as good practice of action-research. This decision allowed the involvement of other two towns in the project: 800 more questionnaires are implementing the data base of the research.

The **second phase** of the project started in 2008/2009. The results of the third year are currently in an elaboration phase. We can just mention that on the basis of the quantitative data, the collective investigation reports a good level of involvement in sport activities and a large record of cases in terms of practice. About that, one crucial variable in the choice of the model of involvement is the 'time'. Indeed, people practising at amateur level justify their preference with regard to the possibility to better manage their daily-life. In addition, the same variable is one of the relevant aspects in explaining the phenomenon of the drop-up/burn-out. Generally speaking, individuals investigated expressed positive opinions for what concerns both the quality of the sport services provided by the clubs and the value of the sport opportunities available.

Conclusions

At general level, the data emerging from the qualitative part of the research highlight two main fields: the serious deficiency in the cultural and educational/methodological formation of the sport operators; the image of the Sport Club as simply a space instead of a place which young people can use, not only to practise sport but also to meet together.

Moreover, the study revealed some very interesting results from the social and educational points of view bringing to light some of the weak points of the Italian Sport System: the level of formation of the operators is a critical point in a country in which the Faculty of Sport Sciences has only recently been established (2000); the adolescents who practise sport consider the very low aggregative attitude of the sport clubs as the crucial factor of the drop out phenomenon (which does not constitute a problem for them at the moment).

Concerning lifestyles we can summarize as following. All the four profiles seem to be significantly satisfied with their lifestyles, the substantial difference concerns the role of practice. The amateurs, who abandoned and the inactive are conscious that increasing physical activity could improve lifestyle; the competitive group clearly declare their unwillingness to do more physical activity.

The most interesting findings concern the awareness of the benefit of physical activity for active lifestyles: who don't practise seem to be aware of the benefit of the activity opening the field to a possible educational action of motivation but, at the same time is four times less conscious than the competitive and the amateurs that a lack of physical activity could worsen the lifestyle.

A very interesting finding, which warrants further investigation, is the attitude that walking and cycling are not considered as good practices to improve active lifestyles.

Who practise don't smoke, most of them have never smoked, a minority stopped smoking; they use alcohol in a worrying way but less than who don't practise. Males drink much more than female.

"Who don't practise sport" smoke and drink till becoming the majority in the inactive profile. Drinkers and smokers, within "who practise sport", drink and smoke less than "who don't practise." No substantial differences appear on the opinions about the use of doping.

References

- Anders G. (1982), *Sport and youth culture*, "International Review for the Sociology of Sport" 17: 49–60.
- European Commission (2006), *An EU strategy to support Member States in reducing alcohol related harm*. Retrieved from <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2006:0625:FIN:EN:PDF>
- European Commission, Working Group "Sport and Health" (2008), *EU Physical Activity Guidelines*. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/sport/library/doc/c1/pa_guidelines_4th_consolidated_draft_en.pdf
- European Commission (2001), *White Paper on Youth, A new Impetus for European Youth*. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/youth/archive/whitepaper/index_en.html
- Ferron C., Narring F., Caudey M., Michaud P-A. (1999), *Sport activity in adolescence: associations with health perceptions and experimental behaviours*, "Health Education Research", vol. 14, no. 2, 225–233.
- ISTAT – Italian Statistic National Institute (2008), *L'uso e l'abuso di alcool in Italia*, Retrieved from http://www.istat.it/salastampa/comunicati/non_calendario/20090423_00/testointegrale20090423.pdf
- Laitakari J., Vuori I., Oja P. (1996), *Is long-term maintenance of health-related physical activity possible? An analysis of concepts and evidence*, "Health Education Research", vol. 11, no. 4, 463–467.
- Pociello C. (1981), *Sports et société, approche socioculturelle des pratiques*, Parigi: Vigot.
- Poortinga W. (2007), *Associations of physical activity with smoking and alcohol consumption: A sport or occupation effect?* "Preventive Medicine", vol. 45, no. 1: 66–70.
- Skilke A.E. (2008), *Understanding sport clubs as sport policy implementers: a theoretical framework for the analysis of the implementation of central sport policy through local and voluntary sport organizations*, "International Review of Sociology of Sport": 181–200.
- Sparling P.B., Owen N., Lambert E.V., Haskell W.L. (1999), *Promoting physical activity: the new imperative for public health*, "Health Education Research", 14: 225 – 233.
- UNICEF (1989), *Convention on the Rights of the Child*. Retrieved from <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/pdf/crc.pdf>
- Vilhjalmsson R., Kristjansdottir G. (2003), *Gender differences in physical activity in older children and adolescents: the central role of organized sport*, "Social Science & Medicine", vol. 56, no. 2: 363–374.

Key words: *sport clubs, drop and burn out, habits*

Marc Theeboom, Jikkemien Vertonghen

Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium
Contact: marc.theeboom@vub.ac.be

Chapter 1.6.

‘IT IS LIKE A FINGER POINTING AWAY TO THE MOON’. TEACHING MARTIAL ARTS TO CHILDREN

Lee: It’s Lao’s time.

Braithwaite: Yes, of course.

(Lee turns to Lao)

Lee: Kick me.

(Lao hesitates)

Lee: Kick me!

(Lao kicks)

Lee: What was that? An exhibition? We need emotional content. Try again!

(Lao kicks again)

Lee: I said, emotional content, not anger! Now try again, with me!

(Lao kicks again)

Lee: That’s it! How did it feel to you?

Lao: Let me think....

(Lee hits Lao to the back of the head)

Lee: Don’t think. Feel! It is like a finger pointing away to the moon.

(Lao looks at finger)

(Lee hits Lao to the back of the head again)

Lee: Don’t concentrate on the finger, or you will miss all that heavenly glory. Do you understand?

(Lao nods head and bows to Lee)

(Lee hits Lao to the back of the head again)

Lee: Never take your eyes off your opponent. Even when you bow!

(Lao bows while looking at Lee)

Lee: That’s it.

The above scene comes from the Hollywood action movie ‘Enter the Dragon’ [1973], starring the late Chinese-American actor and martial artist Bruce Lee. Lee, who played an undercover agent also named Lee, is seen during the beginning of the movie teaching Chinese martial arts to a young student (Lao).

The scene can be regarded as a typical example of a traditional Asian martial arts teaching method. This method is characterized by a distinct distance between teacher and student, where the former serves as a model for the latter with a constant repetition of the teacher's example [Layton 1988; Pieter 1987]. According to Homma [1993], there is only limited positive encouragement and appreciation, as the aim is to strive for humility. Students are expected to focus on the things they still have to do, instead of on what has already been achieved. Homma indicated that this specific relationship between teacher and student is based on Buddhist ‘Zen’ principles. Canic [1986] described the role of the traditional martial art teacher as pointing students in the way to reach ‘spiritual maturity’. According to Canic, this can only be achieved by the use of demonstrations with limited verbal support, as too much talking would lead to confusion in finding a genuine experience of enlightenment.

Martial arts and youth

Today, martial arts are popular in many European countries. Among other things, data show that martial arts are among the 10 most practised sports in a club context [van Bottenburg *et al.* 2005]. Literature reports a broad variety of benefits of martial arts practice to youth. To date however, conclusive empirical evidence to support the effects of martial arts practice on youth remains scarce. For example, while some studies have reported increased levels of anti-social behaviour among young martial arts participants [Delva-Tautiliili 1995; Reynes, Lorant 2002], others have described positive socio-psychological outcomes [e.g., Gonzalez 1990; Zivin *et al.* 2001]. It has been indicated that the lack of conclusive evidence can partly be explained by the fact that in a majority of studies cross-sectional designs are used which do not rule out changes due to selection biases [Fuller 1988]. However, as more recent longitudinal studies have also provided opposite findings [among others, Endresen, Olweus 2005; Reynes, Lorant 2004], it becomes clear that other perspectives are needed as well.

For example, the specific context of martial arts practice can be regarded as an influencing factor when investigating outcomes in participants. It can be expected that different experiences might occur between various forms of martial arts practice. While in some cases this can be related to differences between martial arts styles (e.g., ‘softer’ styles such as aikido, compared to ‘harder styles’ such as kickboxing), also other contextual factors will probably have to be taken into account as interventions within the same martial art have resulted in opposite findings [Reynes, Lorant 2002, 2004].

In their review of the research with regard to socio-psychological effects of sports participation, Shields and Bredemeier [1995] concluded, among other things, that it is difficult to make general statements without taking into consideration the structural qualities of the sport itself, the participants’ characteristics,

the social context and the type of guidance that is used. For example, with regard to the participants' characteristics, it has been indicated that cultural differences exist between western and eastern participants in the way they perceive training in traditional Asian martial arts [Back, Kim 1984]. It is important to further indicate here that there is evidence that these differences seem to be more specifically related to traditional Asian sports [Chelladurai *et al.* 1987]. In general, these results seem to correspond with the findings of others who suggest that the same activity can be different not only in meaning, but also in the nature of behavior by different ethnic groups [Duda, Allison 1990].

Next to the characteristics of participants, Shields and Bredemeier [1995], among other things, also referred to the type of guidance that is used. They indicated that the teaching style is to be expected to play an important role with regard to possible socio-psychological outcomes in sports participants. In reference to martial arts, some studies have tried to determine the effect of martial arts practice by comparing two or more variations of teaching approaches [e.g., Najafi 2003]. In most of these studies in which a traditional teaching style was compared to one or two other (non traditional) approaches, outcome differences with regard to a variety of variables were reported.

One of the perspectives from where to obtain more insight into the effects of martial arts practice on young participants, is to analyze the experiences of those directly involved (i.e., martial arts participants and teachers). To date however, little is known about the way children, experience martial arts. Also, research on views, motives and experiences of martial arts teachers that work with youth remains scarce, despite the fact that a number of authors have specifically emphasized the distinct influence of teachers in martial arts [e.g., Jones *et al.* 2006; Lantz 2002].

Because of the lack of data regarding young martial arts participants and teachers, a study was set up to analyze the views and experiences of children and teachers involved in martial arts through the use of a qualitative research methodology. The results of the first part of this study (i.e., experiences of 40 children between the age of 8 and 12 years in 5 different martial arts) have been described in Theeboom *et al.* [2009]. The second part of the study (i.e., an analysis of views and experiences of martial arts teachers) is now described in the present chapter.

Study

Through qualitative research methodology (in-depth interviews), views and experiences of 26 Flemish¹ male teachers coming from nine different martial arts were analyzed (i.e., judo, karate, jiu-jitsu, taekwondo, aikido, wrestling,

¹ Flanders is the northern Dutch-speaking part of Belgium.

thaiboxing, kickboxing, and boxing). All interviewees had a long time teaching experience (between 25 and 50 years) and some of them were involved in more than one martial art. All teachers that were interviewed, work with children between the age of 6 and 14 years and organize separate courses for children.

Methods and procedure

Interviews

Due the nature of the study (i.e., analysing views and experiences of a specific group), a qualitative approach [Gratton, Jones 2004] using semi-structured in-depth interviews was used. Prior to the interviews, the interviewers observed a training session that allowed them to have some insight in the organizational and teaching approach within the specific club.

All interviews were tape-recorded and verbatim transcribed afterwards. Interview data were content analyzed inductively. Based on the methodology described in Scanlan *et al.* [1991], raw data units (i.e., quotes) were clustered into common themes (first order), which in turn were then grouped into second higher order themes. A similar procedure was used by a second (external) assessor. Both schemes were then compared, resulting in a final selection of five second order themes: personal involvement (early experiences and motives of teachers), teaching approach (aims, motivating children, dealing with misuse and dangerous techniques), participation motives (children’s reasons for participating), specificity of martial arts (characteristics of Asian martial arts, public image of martial arts), a competition (specific competition related experiences).

Results

The results of this study are presented thematically based on the five second order themes and, where relevant, frequencies are reported in absolute numbers and illustrated using raw data (i.e., quotes).

Teaching approach

Aims

The teachers in this study have mentioned several aims they strive for in teaching to children, such as giving them a sense of responsibility, self-worth, discipline, dealing with others, having respect, getting used to physical contact, enjoyment and recreation.

It is worthwhile to mention that there was only one teacher (wrestling) that explicitly referred to a sport specific aim (i.e., skill improvement). The majority mentioned more pedagogically oriented aims.

‘Teaching children has little to do with techniques. It mostly comes down to character building. Techniques are secondary. Self-confidence, willpower, concentration, mutual respect are much more moral values we try to stimulate. We try to maintain a form of discipline.’ (jiu-jitsu)

It is interesting to note the extent to which the teachers emphasize the pedagogical importance of (their own) martial arts for children. ‘I believe that if every child would practise judo for 1 or 2 years, it would be good for our society... It is a part of education that will be helpful for the rest of their life.’ (judo)

There were 3 teachers that indicated that their aims had changed over time. In these cases there was a shift from teaching and controlling techniques to more pedagogical aims.

‘... this has evolved over the years. It used to be that I wanted to teach my pupils techniques. But over the years, this has changed drastically to helping children to develop themselves. I think that I now try to prepare them for a future. I’m less a teacher who teaches techniques, and more a father figure, who through a sport, tries to get results.’ (aikido)

One of these three teachers (thaiboxing) added that he then tried to keep youngsters off the streets. It is also interesting to note that several teachers (7) said they felt they had to (partly) take over the educational role of the parents. One teacher even indicated that, through his approach where parents were also present during his classes, they could also learn about their children. Most teachers (16) said they tried to achieve these goals through regularly talk to the children. Through this way they feel they can also evaluate the extent to which they can reach their aims.

In general, most of the teachers (18) in this study make use of a specific approach in guiding children. The difference is not on the technical level, nor regarding the basic principles that are used. The differences that were mentioned are related to variation in combinations, avoiding excessive efforts, making exercises more simple and playful. All teachers indicated to have changed their approach throughout the years, primarily because children have changed. It was also indicated that there is a changed mentality among parents, who are less strict with their children. Other changes that were mentioned, included a more recreational offer next to a traditional approach and a closer contact with children.

Motivating children

Teachers also indicated that they had to motivate children extra during practices. ‘I regard teaching as hot water. You have to heat it, otherwise it cools down.’ (karate)

Another teacher stated that he did not have to motivate children at all. He added: ‘Why they keep coming, I sometimes don’t know!’ (aikido)

The colored belt system was often mentioned as a good way of providing extra motivation. Most teachers (16) believed that it is a good system in working with children.

Interestingly, one trainer indicated that the higher their belts, the less important they consider it to show to others.

Misuse of techniques

Teachers were also asked how they dealt with the misuse of techniques they taught outside school. Some teachers (7) stated that they had never encountered problems, which they regarded as a result of the specific approach they use.

‘This is incorporated in my approach. That is the first thing they learn here and it works. For example, they come up to me and say: ‘Teacher, I fought today at school’ and then I ask: ‘What did you do?’. Then they reply: ‘I withdrew and I said: I do aikido, I don’t do that. I would hurt them otherwise’.’ (aikido)

Although other teachers (12) did not indicate whether or not they had that kind of problems, most of them (10) have a clear opinion on this. Two types of reactions seem to occur. On the one hand, there are teachers (4) that punish students if they misuse techniques. On the other hand, there are teachers (6) who choose for a more gentle approach. They gradually indicate what kind of behavior is expected by students.

‘This is told to them very clearly and I will certainly respond to it: ‘...We don’t want this, because then we make a fool of ourselves. Only fools do such things, those that cannot control themselves, those that can only talk with their fists’.’ (boxing)

Dealing with dangerous techniques

Most teachers (18) indicated that they did not teach ‘dangerous’ techniques to children. ‘I don’t teach children things such as how to pick someone in the eyes or kick in the groin. This does not fit in our didactical approach.’ (karate)

A number of teachers (7) indicated not wanting to teach the use of (traditional) weapons to children. One teacher stated that that would distract children too much, which would lead into too much play. Those that do teach the use of weapons, said that it required enough discipline as it was more difficult to control. One teacher also referred to the danger of breaking techniques for children.

‘This is not done. They’re too frail. And after all, why do we need breaking techniques? To prove yourself during demos and competition? We aren’t dealing with survival, are we?’ (karate)

Children’s participation motives

A number of teachers (6) indicated that children often did not know what to expect when they first came to their school. The majority of the teachers (20) indicated that children did not come to learn how to fight, but regarded this more as a form of recreation. One teacher (thaiboxing) said that children in his school came because they wanted to become a professional fighter later and earn money through prize fighting. He immediately added that this could only be achieved by a very small minority. Still, he added that most of them continued to come, even if they found out that they couldn’t succeed in this.

Most teachers (19) that were interviewed indicated that they did not consider it important to teach children self-defense. According to them, this is rather futile as a child will always lose in a confrontation with an adult.

It is interesting to note that teachers believe that children do not regard having self-defense skills as important. And according to several teachers (12), most children are explicitly encouraged by their parents to come. However, a number of teachers (10) believe that children need to be taught an awareness with regard to safety.

Some teachers (5) added that it was also important to inform parents what self-defense really was. Self-defense for children is regarded by several teachers (7) as a form of prevention against bullying. One teacher described the reason why some children show up at his thaiboxing class:

‘They come to learn how to fight. These are kids that say: ‘I want to learn to hit as hard as possible’. It’s not about defending. I think they have in mind: ‘If I say I practise thai and kickboxing, they will be afraid.’ Because thai and kickboxing are regarded as hard sports.’ (thaiboxing)

The teachers were asked about their opinion regarding the organization of self-defense courses at school. In general, most teachers do not choose unconditionally for self-defense at school as they are concerned about the fact that these courses are given by teachers with limited knowledge of self-defense. ‘It is an illusion that pupils can be taught good self-defense skills by physical education teachers.’ (aikido)

One teacher explicitly stated that this could only be acceptable if real martial arts instructors were involved in these courses at school. However, the purpose would only be to stimulate children to take up real martial arts.

Specificity of martial arts

Characteristics of Asian martial arts

Most teachers (18) said not to experience problems with the fact that they teach an Asian sport to Western children. It is interesting to note that a difference in opinion exists regarding the extent to teach children in the Asian (traditional) way. One teacher considered it important to teach this way as it symbolizes the martial arts. 'We like to stick to the mystic of the East. This makes it different.' (jiu-jitsu)

Others (5) see an added value to the Asian approach, but which should be taught in a more explicit way. However, another teacher indicated that sometimes too much emphasis was put on tradition which would confuse children.

'In a lot of taekwondo schools there is often too much focus on tradition. For example, a lot of schools insist on the use of Korean during classes. If you start this with children, they will eventually not know where to begin. Try to use their own language. It is much more important than knowing how to speak Korean.' (taekwondo)

It has been indicated several times that adaptations to the traditional approach are regarded as necessary. This usually refers to the use of similar principles, but in a more flexible way. 'We must stick to the traditional, but in our way.' (karate)

One teacher indicated that there were no real differences between East and West. In every sport there are rules which all need to be explained.

'I show them and explain why I use this attitude in aikido. I then give them an example. If you play pool and you leave your cue on the table or sit on the table, then you must pay a fine. If you are offside in soccer, you are flagged. So there are also rules in the West.' (aikido)

Teachers were also asked to what extent their sport had a specific character and was different from other sports. For example, they were asked if the aims they tried to achieve could only (or better) be achieved through their sport. One teacher indicated that that was dependent on the type of martial art. He referred to more 'aggressive' martial arts which are less appropriate for children. 'For example, in boxing you want to harm each other, by knocking them out. This is a bad way. Also full-contact karate should not be seen as a sport. Sport should contribute to well-being.' (judo)

One teacher said that a difference could be made between sports that have competition or not. He therefore made a difference between judo and karate on the one hand and jiu-jitsu on the other hand. Most teachers (18), however, indicated that achieving certain aims was less dependent on the kind of martial art, but more on the approach used by the teacher. 'There are no good or bad martial arts. There are only good and bad teachers.' (karate)

Teachers were also asked whether they saw a difference between martial arts and other sports. According to a number of them (12), there is a difference which lies in the Asian origin of most martial arts. There are distinct philosophical principles and traditions which make it easier to use them as an educational instrument. They indicated that it was not the case for most other (Western) sports. 'Teaching about respect seems easier through an Asian sport with a philosophical background than, for example, through soccer. The Asian martial arts are more suitable to make people think about control, remaining calm and an imaginary opponent.' (karate)

There are two forms of practice that exist in most martial arts (e.g., routines and sparring). Although the teachers in this study more or less agree that both forms are suitable for children, there is a difference in opinion in the way they attract children. According to some teachers (6), this depends on the nature of the child. Children that are uncertain tend to choose routines, while those that are more self-confident will be more attracted by sparring. One teacher explicitly stated that most children are more interested in sparring. 'Children hate routines. They find it boring. Children want to learn to kick and punch and are attracted by sparring.' (Taekwondo). The same teacher added that there were a lot of schools that did not teach routines anymore, although he did not approve of this as he regarded routines as a part of martial arts practice. Another teacher, however, pointed to the danger of introducing sparring practice to young children.

Competition

There is a difference in opinion among the teachers in this study regarding competition participation for children. A number of teachers (4) are opposed to competition. One aikido teacher even indicated that he was against any form of competition in martial arts. Others (13) are in favor of children's martial arts competition, but as long as there are specific guidance and adaptations (e.g., more control and more forbidden techniques). Still others (7) indicated that a difference has to be made between routine and fighting competition. One teacher stated that it was important not to start too young with competition for children, as they might not adapt the right attitude. Some teachers (5) indicated that they sometimes did not allow certain children to take part in competition.

Discussion

This study, using a qualitative methodology, has looked at experiences and views of martial arts teachers who work with children. Among other things, the interviews revealed that, according to the teachers, children were not primarily

attracted to martial arts to learn self-defense techniques. Teachers indicated that that motive could mainly be found among parents for sending their children to martial arts classes. Interestingly, data collected among children in the earlier study indicated that self-defense was one of the most important participation motives [Theeboom *et al.* 2009]. However, self-defense was more regarded by them as a way to resist bullying by peers at school. It can be assumed that teachers mostly referred to genuine physical assaults (on the streets).

Another finding showed that teachers had high expectations regarding the outcome of their teaching. This can be illustrated by a range of general pedagogical and leisure oriented aims they strive for in their teaching to children, such as giving children a sense of responsibility, self-worth, discipline, dealing with others, having respect, getting used to physical contact, enjoyment and recreation. It is noteworthy to mention that some teachers even said that they feel the need to (partly) take over the educational role of parents for that matter. Findings clearly indicated that technical instruction is regarded by most teachers as less important to these pedagogically oriented aims. These aims seem to be in line with the outcomes of martial arts practice as reported by the children during the interviews. They indicated, among other things, an increase in self-confidence, self-control and social skills, as well as adapted a non-violent attitude in relation to conflicts.

It is also interesting to note that while most of the interviewed teachers have a clear view on how to handle the misuse of techniques outside the martial arts school, it appears that many teachers do not actually encounter this kind of behaviour. This finding seem to correspond with the interview data of the children, as most of them appear to be reluctant in even talking about their martial art practice to outsiders. It is, however, not clear what the reason is. One possible explanation is that their ‘secrecy’ can be seen in line of a moral code of humility which is regarded as one of the fundamental principles within most traditional Asian martial arts [Najafi 2003]. Several teachers from this study have indicated to believe that Asian martial arts, with their specific philosophical principles and traditions, are more appropriate for a more educational approach, compared to other (Western) sports.

It is important to indicate that data showed that differences exist in the way the traditional teaching approach is being used. There are teachers that use the traditional method as they regard this as an added value. Others feel that adaptations to the traditional approach are necessary in a modernized and Western context. These teachers make use of similar basic principles, but use them in a more flexible way. Still others indicated that the traditional way confuses children and they therefore offer a modern version. This variety of teaching approaches is somewhat similar to what we have described earlier [Theeboom *et al.* 1995], when referring to the occurrence of three approaches in martial arts teaching (i.e., traditional, sporting, efficiency). It is also worthwhile to mention

here that only a few teachers referred to the impact caused by intrinsic differences between martial arts. They mentioned the importance of having competition or not or referred to the level of aggressiveness of particular martial arts. However, the majority of the teachers emphasized the importance of the approach that is used in martial arts teaching (e.g., with regard to achieving educational goals). To date, limited information is available regarding the extent to which a variation in teaching approach in martial arts will have an impact on children.

Conclusion

In recent years, there is a growing use of martial arts as an educational tool in working with youth in general. The present study has illustrated the strong belief teachers have regarding the value of martial arts practice for children. However, one should take into account that the outcome of martial arts practice is dependant on a number of contextual factors. The data of this study have shown that several variations exist within the practice of martial arts. A part from some inherent variations which are linked to specific martial arts types (e.g., competition or not, the use of sparring or routines), there are other influencing factors (e.g., the cultural origin of the specific martial art, the extent to which traditional training aspects are maintained). Often, however, only the type of martial art that is practised is taken into consideration [e.g., Gernigon, Le Bars 2000]. But findings in the present study showed, among others, the variation of views and experiences between teachers from the same martial art (e.g., with regard to the appropriateness to teach aikido to children).

Although the practice of martial arts can undoubtedly be described by a number of characteristics in general, it becomes clear that future research should take different factors into account that can have an impact on the outcomes of martial arts teaching (e.g., the teaching approach that is used, the characteristics of the teacher, participants and type of martial arts).

References

- Back A., Kim D. (1984), *The future course of the Eastern martial arts*, "Quest", vol. 36, pp. 7-14.
- Bottenburg van M., Rijnen B., van Sterkenburg J. (2005), *Sports participation in the European Union. Trends and differences*, Mulier Institute – Arko Sports Media, 's Hertogenbosch – Nieuwegein.
- Canic M.J. (1986), *An Eastern Approach to Motor Skill Acquisition and Performance* [in:] S. Kleinman [ed.], *Mind and Body. East meets West*, Human Kinetics, Champaign, IL, pp. 75-82.
- Chelladurai P., Malloy D., Imamura H., Yamaguchi Y. (1987), *A Cross-Cultural Study of Preferred Leadership in Sports*, "Canadian Journal of Sport Sciences", vol. 12, pp. 106-110.
- Delva-Tauiliili J. (1995), *Does brief Aikido training reduce aggression of youth*, "Perceptual and Motor Skills", vol. 80(1), pp. 297-298.

- Duda J.L., Allison T.J. (1990), *Cross-cultural Analysis in Exercise and Sport Psychology: A Void in the Field*, "Journal of Sport & Exercise Psychology", vol. 12, pp. 114–131.
- Endresen I.M., Olweus D. (2005), *Participation in power sports and antisocial involvement in preadolescent and adolescent boys*, "Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry", vol. 46(5), pp. 468–478.
- Fuller J.R. (1988), *Martial arts and psychological health*, "British Journal of Medical Psychology", vol. 61, pp. 317–328.
- Gernigon C., Le Bars H. (2000), *Achievement goals in aikido and judo : a comparative study among beginner and experienced practitioners*, "Journal of Applied Sport Psychology", vol. 12, pp. 168–179.
- Gonzalez, M.B. (1990), *The effects of martial arts training on the cognitive, emotional, and behavioral functioning of latency-age youth: Implications for the prevention of juvenile delinquency*, "Dissertation Abstracts International", vol. 51, 5298B.
- Gratton C., Jones I. (2004), *Research methods for sport studies*. Routledge, London.
- Homma G. (1993) *Children and the martial arts: an aikido point of view*. North Atlantic Books, Berkeley, CA.
- Jones G.W., MacKay K.S., Peters, D.M. (2006), *Participation motivation in martial artists in the West Midlands region of England*, "Journal of Sports Science and Medicine", vol. 5, pp. 28–34.
- Lantz J. (2002), *Family development and the martial arts: a phenomenological study*, "Contemporary Family Therapy", vol. 24(4), pp. 565–580.
- Layton C. (1988), *The Personality of Black-Belt and Nonblack-Belt Traditional Karateka*, "Perceptual and Motor Skills", vol. 67, pp. 218.
- Linden P. (1984), *Aikido. A movement awareness approach to physical education*, Journal of Physical Education, Recreation and Dance", vol. 55(7), pp. 64–65.
- Najafi A. (2003), *Humility enhancement through the traditional and modern practice of martial arts*. Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the masters degree of arts. Trinity Western University, Langley, British Columbia.
- Pieter W. (1987), *Zen Aesthetics and Human Moving*, "Journal of Human Movement Studies", vol. 13, pp. 411–420.
- Reynes E., Lorant J. (2002), *Effect of traditional judo training on aggressiveness among young boys*, "Perceptual and Motor Skills", vol. 94(1), pp. 21–25.
- Reynes E., Lorant J. (2004), *Competitive martial arts and aggressiveness: a 2-yr. longitudinal study among young boys*, "Perceptual and Motor Skills", vol. 98(1), pp. 103–115.
- Scanlan T., Stein G., Ravizza K. (1991), *An in-depth study of former elite figure skaters: III. Sources of stress*, "Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology", vol. 13, pp. 103–120.
- Shields D.L.L., Bredemeier B.J.L. (1995), *Character development and physical activity*, Human Kinetics, Champaign, IL.
- Theeboom M., De Knop P., Wylleman P. (2008), *Martial arts and socially vulnerable youth. An analysis of Flemish initiatives*, "Sport, Education and Society", vol. 13(3), pp. 301–318.
- Theeboom M., De Knop P., Vertonghen J. (2009), *Experiences of children in martial arts*, "European Journal of Sport and Society", vol. 6(1), pp. 19–34.
- Theeboom M., De Knop P., Wylleman P. (1995), *Traditional Asian martial arts and the West*, "Journal of Comparative Physical Education and Sport", vol. 17, pp. 57–69.
- Zivin G. et al. (2001), *An effective approach to violence prevention: Traditional martial arts in middle school*, "Adolescence", vol. 36, pp. 443–459.

Key words: martial arts, children, experiences, interviews, teachers

Davide Sterchele

Department of Sociology, University of Padua, Italy
Contact: davide.sterchele@unipd.it

Chapter 1.7.

YOUTH IN THE URBAN SPACE: BODILY PRACTICES BETWEEN HOMOLOGATION AND CREATIVITY

Introduction

The social codification of the spaces in which sport activities are practiced shapes both the relationships among practitioners and between them and the social environment where the practices take place [Tangen 2004; Eichberg 1995; Bale 2003].

Children's play and physical activity are especially relegated to codified spaces, which reproduce the rationalistic logic of sportisation [Guttman 1978; Elias, Dunning 1986; Parlebas 1986; Eichberg 2010].

Swimming pools, gyms and other sport facilities put into concrete form the idea of the sport practice as a new right of citizenship extended to everybody [Porro 2001]. However, they ultimately delimitate and define which are the (only) legitimate places and the (only) legitimate forms in which children and youth are allowed to move, run, scream, jump, sweat, get dirty, and play. The spaces for self-organised play outside from adult control have been reduced to a minimum [Matthews 1995; Matthews, Limb, Percy-Smith 1998; Matthews, Limb, Taylor 1999; Matthews, Taylor, Sherwood, Tucker, Limb 2000; Valentine, McKendrick 1997].

Within the codified spaces of the sport facilities, children and youth often assume and reproduce the (adult) dominant sport culture and, with it, the patterns of interaction proposed/imposed by the adults, who socialise them to the "legitimised" ways of moving their bodies in the public space.

Nevertheless, by organising and shaping their ludic-motor practices outside the codified activities of the sport clubs and federations, children and youth can find spaces of autonomy, freedom and creativity. Through processes of interpretative reproduction [Corsaro 1997], they elaborate the rules of interaction to which they are socialised, partly accepting them and partly escaping from them.

Street soccer in playgrounds and skateboarding represent interesting fields where these dynamics can be observed. In both cases, youth have to

manage the tension between the pressures to conformity and homologation that come from the educational agencies and from the market forces on one side and the search for autonomy, freedom, and new criteria for recognition, on the other hand.

Drawing on data from an ongoing research project, I will articulate some considerations about how a social environment regulates and shapes bodily movement in sport and leisure activities relegating it to codified urban spaces as well as about how people ambivalently reproduce and/or challenge the social models that are embedded in such specific “spatialisations”.

Observing how people choose the places where to practice their leisure time physical activity can tell us something about how they relate to the bodily disciplining which is conveyed by the codification of the sportised spaces. One of the emerging questions is whether the propensity to street playing can be considered as a form of resistance to this disciplining process.

Observing bodily movement in urban spaces

The considerations presented here emerge from an ongoing research project¹ whose object are the dynamics by which the differences in the urban space are shaped.

I have decided to analyse soccer and skateboarding considering the first as a paradigmatic example of the sport model based on institutionalised competition, and the second as an example of the alternative practices that attempt to free people from the regulation of leisure time physical activity².

Through ethnographic observations supported by narrative interviews, in our research I am comparing the spaces in which these two different leisure-time activities are engaged in by youth in Padua, a town with 210,000 inhabitants in the north-east of Italy. As the research is still in progress, I do not intend to provide a systematic analysis of the empirical data in this paper. Instead, I draw on the data to develop our reflections.

Regarding soccer, I have chosen an intermediate form between the institutionalised form of soccer clubs and the self-organised form of free play. I have therefore focused on the soccer played at the oratory that is a meeting place in the Italian catholic parishes where children and youth can freely gather and play

¹ The research is funded by the University of Padua (ref.: CPDA075328–2007).

² One may notice that the activities we examine are undertaken by majority or almost exclusively males. Actually, the analysis will not focus on the dimension of gender. Similarly, the ethno-national dimension will also remain unexamined here. Nevertheless, the main aim of this paper is a focus on the intergenerational relations, the socializing dynamics and the interpretative reproductions.

together³. In this first phase of the research I identified a particular oratory as the site for ethnographic observation. In addition to collecting stories from the youth that play there through formal interviews and informal conversations, I have participated in their activities, playing soccer with them.

In the skateboarding case, I have mapped the city spaces used by youth to skateboard. In this early phase of the research, I have limited my attention to the most relevant of these spaces (in particular to a mall's parking lot), where I have interviewed some initial subjects who will later act as gatekeepers to additional subjects.

The research is oriented by a set of interrogatives regarding the dynamics by which the different practices (and therefore also the patterns of interaction that they convey, as well as the actors who practice them) are included and/or excluded in urban spaces.

In the city of Padua, there are people who want to play soccer – and those who want to practice skateboarding – *allowed* to do it? Are they *accepted* and *recognised* in the urban spaces? *Where* (in which places and spaces)? *How* (in which forms)? In which ways are their practices *framed* and *shaped* by allocating them within rationally codified proper spaces that are only designated for that specific activity? What kinds of embodied knowledge are produced by the different spatialisations? In which ways youth elaborate and reinterpret the expectations embedded in each spatialisation?

Between the stadium and the courtyard: the oratory playground

In urban areas, soccer is increasingly practiced within spatial frames specifically dedicated to that sport, such as public facilities available only to the sport club members or the “pay-per-play” pitches in various private sport centres. It is

³ After being initially devoted to prayer meetings, during the IXX century the oratory has primarily become a place for the religious and human education of the youth. Play, music, theatre and other leisure activities have been used as tools to attract youth by creating a joyful and welcoming environment. The oratories have been the main youth meeting points in many Italian villages and cities until the end of the XX century, despite the fact that their importance has gradually decreased in the last thirty years. The oratory is generally placed next to the parish church and it is usually provided with pastoral and recreational spaces such as outdoor playgrounds (in particular soccer mini-pitches), rooms for the catechesis and a bar. In the biggest oratories one can also find a kitchen and other rooms for video-projection, theatre, music. The activities are managed by the priest and some volunteers, often affiliated with associations like ANSPI, NOI, CSI, PGS, Azione Cattolica, Gi.Fra, AGESCI. In many villages and neighbourhoods the local soccer team has been established and organized around the oratory and many Italian players of the recent past – like Franco Baresi and Giacinto Faccetti, for instance – started to play there. However, the oratory is not a sport school and soccer is promoted only as a recreational activity.

played with decreasing frequency in open spaces (parks, courtyards, squares, etc.) that are simultaneously used by different people for different activities. In such spaces, the game of soccer is considered disturbing or dangerous, inso-much as it is often sanctioned or banned.

As with other activities, soccer is *included* and *legitimised* within the urban space the more it accepts to be *enclosed* within properly built spaces and designated settings.

In the oratory playgrounds the form of interaction stays between that of the free play of street – self-organised, far from the adults' control – and that of play that is practiced under the supervision of instructors and umpires within the institutionalised frame of the soccer clubs.

In the oratory playground, the inclusion/exclusion criteria do not follow the categories defined by the sport federations according to gender or age. Instead, the dynamics of self-organization tend to regulate participation according to the rule of the strongest, defined as both "the oldest" and, more often, "the best player". Such self-organisational dynamics are modified, however, by the intervention of the educators in the oratory, who try to guarantee participation to everybody in accordance to the inclusive spirit that such a (institutionalised) context assigns to the recreational activity.

At the beginning of my ethnographic observation in the oratory I noticed that the self-regulated soccer games were essentially fair played, the turn over of the teams was respected, and the youngest players were included in the game.

I found these aspects to be quite unusual, as I would have imagined that in a self-organized sporting game, uncontrolled tensions would be worked out though the rule of the strongest. Nevertheless, the players later revealed to me one reasons for such fairness: anyone subjected to high-handedness or bullying can complain to the volunteers who work at the oratory snack bar. Even if the volunteers do not employ panoptical control on the pitch – the playground is not directly visible from the bar – they are ready to intervene and rebuke, or even provisionally suspend from the game, the players who do not behave inclusively.

In response to these constraints, the youth develop a range of secondary adaptations [Goffman 1961] in order to preserve some autonomy. One of the strategies I witnessed involves the initial acceptance of a child who asks to participate, but than the group starts playing in more aggressive and implicitly intimidating manner, for instance, shooting with special violence when the new player is in the position of goalkeeper, or systematically avoiding passing the new player the ball. These and other forms of mobbing are used by the youth to re-establish, in less visible forms, the rule of the strongest that is typical in self-organised play.

The codification of play spaces contributes to the concretisation of the constraint implicitly exerted by the adults on the practices of youth. The oratory mini-pitch, designed for the standardised sporting form of soccer, shapes the

practice of youth soccer according to schemes that are pre-defined by the adult world. The youth then tends to conform to these schemes. Oratories are currently provided with fenced mini-pitches that are demarcated with indelible lines and fixed goal posts. This spatial arrangement prevents youth from widening the field and reduces the possibility of shrinking it (further, it reduces *a priori* the conceivability of modifying its dimensions).

The youth rarely decide to shorten the 5-a-side pitch to play a 3-a-side or 2-a-side game. Instead, they wait for other players to arrive and only begin a match when at least eight persons have gathered. When more than ten youths are present, excess players do not join the game, but wait for other players to arrive to form an additional team.

That is, the way that the pitch is used is taken for granted, thereby limiting the youth's creativity. Instead of adapting the game to the needs of the persons involved and to the contingencies by modifying the pitch dimensions according to the number of players, by varying the number of goals, or by allowing a team to have an extra player, individual and collective behaviours adapt themselves to the forms of play that are predefined by the spatial codification.

The disappearance of games (including soccer) from streets, squares and courtyards, is not only due to phenomena such as progressive urbanisation, the intensification of traffic and the growing feeling of insecurity in cities. Rather, it is also a consequence of the diffusion of sport and recreational facilities that restricts bodily movement to the sportised form and reproduces and reinforces the rationalistic claim of "a place for each thing, and each thing in its place."

We could say that this form of spatial organisation of interaction, exteriorised by the previous generations, has been objectified and is now interiorised by youth who take it for granted [Berger, Luckmann 1966; Garfinkel 1967]. Youth grow up in a context where it is considered obvious that a ball and an open space are not enough to play soccer. Instead, a place designed especially for that purpose is needed: a pitch with a perfectly smooth surface, well-marked lines, goals with posts and crossbars. That pitch is even better if it is equipped with nets at every goal and is fenced so that the ball does not get lost when kicked outside of the pitch.

Unlike in the past, youth no longer play soccer in the streets, squares and courtyards, and they only rarely play in public parks. Many soccer celebrities complain about these changes for a variety of reasons, including nostalgia for the poetic, aesthetic and playful dimensions of the game; negative effects on the development of soccer skills, such as creativity; and adaptability to environmental difficulties (see, for instance, the statements from José Mourinho, Alex Ferguson and Marcello Lippi quoted in Vialli, Marcotti [2006]). In spite of these complaints, today's youth do not aim at playing in the street or on uneven grounds: they move through the city to reach their favourite "enclosed" and "properly built" soccer (mini) pitches.

Many of the youth I have met at the oratory go there only to use the soccer pitch. They do not attend religious activities (such as catechism) and are not registered as members of the sport clubs that use the facilities for their activities. Some of the youth do not even live in the neighbourhood of the oratory but come from other areas by bicycle, public transportation or on foot with the sole purpose of playing in that pitch. Although in Padua soccer pitches are the most highly diffused sports facilities, one of the youth I interviewed shared that if he were the mayor of the city, he would have built even more of pitches!

Between sportisation and recognition: the ambivalence of skate parks

Even more than soccer, skateboarding is *included* and *legitimised* within the urban space as it is *enclosed* within properly built spaces and designated settings.

Those desiring to skateboard essentially have two alternatives: to break the law by skateboarding in the streets and squares or to ask public authorities to build a skate park (self-built skate parks are considered dangerous and therefore eventually shut down by law enforcement).

However, skateboarding in a skate park is not the same as in the street. Skateboarding is, by nature, an essentially subversive practice in the sense that it tends to break with tradition by using public space in an unconventional and therefore illegitimate manner. Skateboarders search the city for sites and objects (staircases, parking lots, walls, and squares) that they use for their acrobatics instead of their intended social use [Borden 2001]. Because of its subversive nature, this practice developed in opposition to some of the main features of the traditional sporting paradigm, including competition, technical and organisational institutionalisation, the search for physical safety, and codified, properly built spaces for pre-defined uses.

The confinement of such a practice to skate parks therefore results in significant consequences for the form that skateboarding takes. In countries where skateboarding is more widely diffused, skate parks are perceived as instruments to normalise the practice by bringing it within the rationalistic/economistic paradigm that skateboarding was created in opposition to. In this manner, skateboarding is subjected to a gradual sportisation [Humphreys 1997; Jones, Graves 2000; Howell 2008; Vivoni 2009].

The establishment of skate parks contributes to the acceleration of such a process by fostering the introduction of competition (they make it easier to arrange a contest), the commercialisation of the practice (sponsorships or merchandising), the technical and organisational institutionalisation (standardisation of evaluation criteria, legitimisation ofjuries, courses and instructors) and physical safety (obligatory crash helmets, knee-pads, and insurance).

Nevertheless, the normalising function of skate parks is most effectively enacted through the fact that their diffusion, by removing skateboarders from the street, deprives them of the possibility of re-inventing the city by exploring it in search of places and objects suitable for skateboarding. The practice in the skate parks is radically different from that in the street and can be perceived as a domesticated and inauthentic form of skateboarding [Beal 1995]. Moreover, this practice is often relegated to isolating, excluding and boring places [Borden 2001; Dumas, Laforest 2008]. Because of this, although several skate parks have been built in the USA and in Europe over the last thirty years, many skateboarders continue to practice in the street. In this manner, they refuse what they perceive as an attempt at normalisation through the identification of skateboarding as a sport, i.e., by relegating the practice to proper spaces and therefore reshaping their practices [Chiu 2009].

The debates about the establishment of skate parks raise ambivalence and contradictions in both skateboarders' attitudes and in those of the public administrators and the adult world they represent [Dumas, Laforest 2008]. In Italy, where the diffusion of skate parks is a relatively recent phenomenon, skateboarders seem to vacillate between rejecting and demanding such facilities.

The case of Padua is quite emblematic in this sense. No skate park exists in the city, causing local skateboarders to complain. They have made repeated requests to the municipality to establish a skate park. Because small skate parks have arisen in other cities in the region and even in many neighbouring villages in recent years, skateboarders in Padua feel alone in lacking spaces for skateboarding (they even affirm, with some embarrassment, that they have become the laughingstock of the regional skateboarding community). Thus far, Paduan skateboarders have been content with the few available spaces, such as a few mall parking lots available only on Sunday when the shops are closed, but these offer limited terrain for the practice of skateboarding.

Those skateboarders who can afford to do so sometimes visit other cities to reach the most modern and enjoyable skate parks. Others prefer to escape precodified, monothematic spaces like skate parks in search of "skate friendly" urban contexts where they can enjoy their practice in the street. The importance of street skateboarding is generally emphasised by the older skateboarders, who started in the 1990s when skate parks were almost nonexistent. In fact, some state that even when a skate park is eventually constructed in Padua, there will still be people who continue to skateboard in the street. Some of the most passionate among the Paduan skateboarders of the older generation have even decided to move to Barcelona, where in the last fifteen years, an urban architecture particularly appropriate for skateboarding has arisen alongside a tolerant attitude toward the practice on the part of law enforcement.

According to the skateboarders who I have met so far in Padua, the poor development of skateboarding in Italy is due to a combination of various elements.

In their opinion, the dominant culture of soccer overshadows other forms of physical activity, particularly the most innovative forms, fostering a cultural climate that is adverse to skateboarding. Further, the urban design of the Italian cities is not very suitable for skateboarding; the ancient streets and squares in the old town centres are very beautiful for tourists to look at, but provide little space fit for skateboarding.

In such a context, the skate park is ultimately considered the lesser evil and the best or often the only possible compromise. Rather than being perceived as a strategy used by urban planners to expropriate the authenticity of their practice and to normalise it within the sporting-frame, the construction of a skate park is often desired by the skateboarders as a sign of recognition and inclusion.

The need to be recognised and included seems to prevail over the hope to not see one's own practice exploited or distorted through sportisation. Thus, the demand for facilities expresses a search for recognition that articulates according to the dominant sporting paradigm rather than in opposition or alternatively to it.

Nevertheless, whereas the denial of the skate park can be perceived by the youth as a sign of poor attention to their needs, its construction does not necessarily represent a real recognition. Public authorities often think that by constructing a skate park, they are providing youth with a place where they can do "the same things" they do on the streets in a safer and less disturbing way. In such cases, the authorities do not realise that the two different contexts radically transform the practice, demonstrating that they do not have in-depth knowledge of the practice and are not able to understand its requirements.

Because it originated as a subversive activity, skateboarding can generate tensions and hostilities regarding the polysemic use of spaces.

In our social system, the codification and classification of spaces according to their intended use contributes to policing, which tends to be considered a priority. Individuals who are out of place within this ethnomethodological backdrop can be perceived as a potential threat to the stability of such an order [Garfinkel 1967], and their presence can appear disturbing insofar as it engenders moral panic. That is why, as noticed by some of the youth I have interviewed in Padua, gatherings of skateboarders in the streets and squares are often viewed by the passers-by, shop owners and inhabitants of the area with the suspicion usually directed toward groups of immigrants who meet to talk in the parks.

Thus, skateboarding can pose a problem to local politicians and administrators, presenting them with new challenges and stimulating them to develop more complex ways of managing social conflicts. Nevertheless, the implemented strategies are generally informed by traditional reactive modalities or, at best, by attempts at innovation that ultimately reproduce the dominant sporting model, such as the construction of skate parks. The first modality of politicians' relationship to skateboarding, which is well exemplified by the case of Padua illustrated here and is still commonly practiced in Italy, consists of attempts to inhib-

it this form of expression of bodily energy by banning or simply ignoring it. Nevertheless, such an orientation clashes with the public crusades against obesity and sedentariness [Fusco 2007] and the continuous exhortations to exercise in the open air instead of self-anaesthetise in front of the television or computer.

The second alternative, which has also begun to spread in Italy, i.e., the realisation of the properly-built skate parks, reproduces the sportisation model and therefore reasserts that youth's needs are only granted citizenship when expressed within the spaces and the forms provided by adults [Howell 2008].

In contrast, a much more complex solution would be to coordinate bargaining processes that guarantee the "right to existence" of all players at stake, including skateboarders, owners and clients of shopping malls, families walking on the squares, inhabitants of the neighbouring houses, and local authorities, through negotiations aimed toward delineating the modalities of common space use, allowing for cohabitation and balancing the users' respective needs. This solution implies the consideration of social configurations as processual and ever-changing, insofar as it would require the willingness of all of the actors to activate lifelong learning paths that are both individual and collective [Balbo 2008].

Some concluding remarks

The comparison between soccer and skateboarding according to their relationship to "street playing" (i.e., the propensity to use unconventional, informal and irregular spaces) illustrates both the differences and similarities between the two practices. In the study of the contemporary urban environment, street playing is often considered a form of resistance against the power of both the institutional and the commercial systems, which impose the rule: "a place for each practice, and a practice for each place." Nevertheless, our research stimulates some questions about the notion of "resistance." The critical way in which this concept is often used [Rowe 1999], indeed, seems to suggest a zero-sum game configuration and tends to overemphasise the oppositional dimension of some practices.

Not just a zero-sum game. Cultural distinction, self-representation and symbolism. In skateboarding, in contrast to soccer, the freedom of movement, the journey across the city, the discovery of new places (i.e., new locations and new challenges), the surprise of the unforeseen, the thrill of facing risks, and overcoming limits and breaking rules (including those regarding spatial use) are fundamental elements to perform and to confirm the *authenticity* of the experience [Beal, Weidman 2003], on which the distinctive *habitus* [Bourdieu 1980] of the skater is based.

Of course, this distinctiveness is not only used to mark the difference between skateboarders and non-skateboarders; it is also displayed within the

skateboarding community. Indeed, by refusing skate parks, «experienced skateboarders try to create distinctions to separate themselves from novices or less serious skateboarders» [Chiu 2009, p. 29].

Nevertheless, opposition to an external radically other is more effective in strengthening the processes of individual and collective identity building, especially when such another is perceived as a threatening opponent [Simmel 1908; Coser 1956]. Therefore, I suggest that, in this case, resistance could be interpreted as a form of *habitus*: the “oppressor” is not someone who must be eliminated, or from whose domination one has to get free; rather, he/she becomes an indispensable element of one’s own identity, something that is needed to affirm one’s own existence as an “oppositional” one.

The not-resistants: passive conformity or active cooperation? One of the questions raised by considering street play as a form of resistance regards how we should consider people who choose specialised sport facilities for their recreational physical activity. What about youth who request codified/commodified soccer pitches or skate parks? Are they simply victims of the commodification and institutionalisation processes? Are they even a party to these supposed “crimes”?

As I have argued in this paper, many young soccer players and skateboarders warmly support the construction of sports facilities for their favourite leisure activities because they perceive these specifically dedicated spaces as a sign of recognition and inclusion, both for them and for their practices. In so doing, they do not seem to passively conform to an oppressive system. Instead, they seem to intentionally contribute to reproduce and reinforce some aspects of that system [Nava 1987; Wheaton, Beal 2003, p. 158] (of course, from a Marxist point of view, this could be considered a case of “false consciousness”).

To conclude, it is possible to argue that some identities are constructed as “resistant” and they require an “oppressor”, just as the rule-keepers need moral panic and scapegoats. However, commodification and institutionalisation are not always perceived as powerful “enemies” expropriating human freedom. Some of their aspects are not simply suffered or unwarily accepted by human beings; rather, they are often desired and chosen to fulfil personal and social needs.

References

- Balbo L. (2008), *Il lavoro e la cura. Imparare e cambiare [Work and care. Learning and changing]*, Einaudi, Torino.
- Bale J. (2003), *Sport geography*, Routledge, London.
- Beal B. (1995), *Disqualifying the Official: An Exploration of Social Resistance Through the Subculture of Skateboarding*, „Sociology of Sport Journal”, vol. 12, pp. 252–267.
- Beal B., Weidman L. (2003), *Authenticity in the skateboarding world* [in:] R.E. Rinehart and S. Sydnor [Eds.], *To the extreme. Alternative sports, inside and out*, State University of New York Press, Albany, pp. 337–352.

- Berger P.L., Luckmann T. (1966), *The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge*, Anchor Books, Garden City, NY.
- Borden I. (2001), *Skateboarding, space and the city: Architecture and the body*, Berg, Oxford.
- Bourdieu P. (1980), *Le Sens pratique*, Minuit, Paris
- Chiu C. (2009), *Contestation and Conformity: Street and Park Skateboarding in New York City Public Space*, „Space and Culture”, vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 25–42.
- Corsaro W. (1997), *The sociology of childhood*, Pine Forge, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Coser L. (1956), *The Functions of Social Conflict*, The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois.
- Dumas A., Laforest S. (2008), *Intergenerational Conflict: What can skateboarding tell us about the struggles for legitimacy in the field of sports?*, retrieved from: <http://www.idrottsforum.org/articles/dumas-laforest/dumas-laforest080409.html>
- Eichberg H. (1995), *Stadium, pyramid, labyrinth: Eye and body on the move*, [in:] J. Bale, O. Moen [eds.], *The Stadium and the City*, Keele University Press, Keele, pp. 323–347.
- Eichberg H. (2010) *Bodily democracy. Towards a philosophy of Sport for All*, Routledge, London.
- Elias N., Dunning E. [eds.], *Quest for Excitement. Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process*, Blackwell, Oxford.
- Elling A., de Knop P., Knoppers A. (2003), *Gay/Lesbian Sport Clubs and Events. Places of Homo-Social Bonding and Cultural Resistance?*, „International Review for the Sociology of Sport”, vol. 38, no. 4, pp. 441–456
- Fusco C. (2007), *‘Healthification’ and the Promises of Urban Space: A Textual Analysis of Place, Activity, Youth (PLAY-ing) in the City*, „International Review for the Sociology of Sport”, vol. 42, no. 1, pp. 43–63.
- Garfinkel H. (1967), *Studies in Ethnomethodology*, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, NJ.
- Goffman E. (1961), *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*, Penguin, Harmondsworth.
- Guttman A. (1978), *From ritual to record: The nature of modern sports*, Columbia University Press, New York.
- Howell O. (2008), *Skatepark as Neoliberal Playground. Urban Governance, Recreation Space, and the Cultivation of Personal Responsibility*, „Space and Culture”, vol. 11, no. 4, pp. 475–496.
- Humphreys D. (1997), *Shredheads go mainstream? Snowboarding and alternative youth*, „International Review for the Sociology of Sport”, vol. 32, no. 2, pp. 147–160.
- Jones S., Graves A. (2000), *Power play in public space: skateboard parks as battlegrounds, gifts, and expressions of self*, „Landscape Journal”, vol. 19, pp. 136–148.
- Matthews H. (1995), *Living on the edge: children as ‘outsiders’*, „Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie”, vol. 86, no. 5, pp. 456–466.
- Matthews H., Limb M., and Percy-Smith B. (1998), *Changing worlds: the microgeographies of young teenagers*, „Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie”, vol. 89, no. 2, pp. 193–202.
- Matthews H., Limb M., and Taylor M. (1999), *Reclaiming the street: The discourse of curfew*, „Environment and Planning”, vol. 31, pp. 1713–1730.
- Matthews H., Taylor M., Sherwood K., Tucker F., and Limb M. (2000), *Growing up in the countryside: children and the rural idyll*, „Journal of Rural Studies”, vol. 16, pp. 141–153.
- Nava M. (1987), *Consumerism and its Contradictions*, „Cultural Studies”, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 204–210.
- Parlebas, P. (1986), *Éléments de sociologie du sport*, PUF, Parigi.
- Porro N. (2001), *Lineamenti di sociologia dello sport [Features of sport sociology]*, Carocci, Roma.
- Rowe D. (1999), *Play Up. Rethinking Power and Resistance in Sport*, „Journal of Sport & Social Issues”, vol. 22, no. 3, pp. 241–251.
- Simmel G. (1908), *Soziologie*, Duncker & Humblot, Leipzig.

- Tangen J.O. (2004), *Embedded expectations, embodied knowledge and the movements that connect. A system theoretical attempt to explain the use and non-use of sport facilities*, „International Review for the Sociology of Sport”, vol. 39, no. 1, pp. 7–25.
- Valentine G., McKendrick J. (1997), *Children's outdoor play: Exploring parental concerns about children's safety and the changing nature of childhood*, „Geoforum”, vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 219–235.
- Vialli G., Marcotti (2006), *The Italian job. A journey to the heart of two great footballing cultures*, Bantam Press, London.
- Vivoni F. (2009), *Spots of Spatial Desire. Skateparks, Skateplazas, and Urban Politics*, „Journal of Sport & Social Issues”, vol. 33, no. 2, pp. 130–149.
- Wheaton B., Beal B. (2003) *'Keeping it real'. Subcultural Media and the Discourses of Authenticity in Alternative Sport*, „International Review for the Sociology of Sport”, vol. 38, no. 2, pp. 155–176.

Key words: *body culture, play, playground, children*

**Olga Pereira^{1,2}, Inês Monteiro^{1,3}, Adília Silva[†],
Ana Luísa Pereira^{1,4}**

¹ – Faculty of Sports Sciences, University of Porto – Portugal

² – Colégio Didálvi, Barcelos – Portugal

³ – Escola de Formação de Professores Patrice Lumumba – Namibe – Angola

⁴ – Sociology Institute, University of Porto – Portugal

Chapter 1.8.

PORTUGUESE MEDIA PORTRAYAL OF PARALYMPICS ATHLETES

Even if unintentionally, the media frequently influence, values, ideologies and beliefs [Gamson *et al.* 1992], from which Social Representations (SR) about certain groups / issues emerge, whether they are negative or positive. The less we know or identify with those groups/subjects the more SR are influenced by media [McCombs, Shaw 1972] and as such journalistic practices should be controlled. Thus, as people with disabilities are often alienated from a regular social contact, media would have potentially great influence on what it has something to do with the opinion formation and consequently SR related with them.

As we live in a society marked by changing, so media speeches are constantly evolving and in this sense, we must reflect carefully and consistently about it. So, we proposed as general aim of this work to know and understand SR around Paralympics Athletes (PA's) in daily general and also sports newspapers. Through a Content Analysis we try to find differences between the analyzed years (2004 and 2008) and also between different newspapers of our sample ("Jornal de Notícias", "Público", "Jogo" and "Record") in want concerns: kind and quantity of information; treatment of different types of disability; terminology used (correct or incorrect); and stereotypes.

Social Representations and Disability

As Moscovici [1981] says, SR refers to a set of concepts, phrases and explanations which come from the daily life during the course of interpersonal communications. It's through SR that we classify persons and objects, compare

and explain behaviours and make its objectification a part of our social scene [Moscovici 1988], i.e., that we categorize the world.

When SR clearly includes social categorizations, they take us to the idea of Social Stereotypes (SS). Both concepts are similar, although SR is wider as it includes SS [Baptista 2004]. According to Bernardes [2003], all knowledge and beliefs made by individuals about a social group will lead to the stereotype of this group.

But how does the SR processing occur? In Jodelet's opinion [2002], there are three major factors to take into account as a condition of SR production: culture, in a broadly and restricted sense; communication and language; and socioeconomic, institutional, educational and ideological insertion. The SR production process, itself, revolves around a central action – to transform the unfamiliar in familiar – and around two processes: the anchorage¹ and objectivation² [Moscovici 1978]. So, the study of SR is based on analyzing how social groups or individuals in social interaction represent things or make them familiar and give them meaning, i.e., how they create ways of expressing reality and generating knowledge. Media, considered nowadays as one of the most powerful sources of information, assumes an important role in what has to do with individual's formation, as we cannot imagine a world without books, newspapers and so on. This way media became an important device of social cohesion, since it deals with the production, reproduction and dissemination of SR [Alexandre 2001] which will support the understanding that social groups have of themselves and of others – social vision and self-image. In this sense, there is an urgent need to understand in which way media describes PA's, something which we will focus on next taking into account four categories: Main issues; Types of disability; Terminology used (correct or incorrect); and Stereotypes. The analysis made of the Main issues allowed us to conclude that media coverage tends to focus on *rankings* and rarely refers to performances [Schell, Duncan 1999; Schantz, Gilbert 2001; Pereira *et al.* 2006], trivializing them and underestimating their value, perpetuating the medical perspective of disability [Schantz, Gilbert 2001; Hardin 2004]. However, at least in Portugal, it has been noticed that athletes' performances gained wider space in press [Monteiro *et al.* 2008]. Even if the past news was chosen more in function of scandals rather than based on specific sporting values [Schantz, Gilbert 2001], today this has been inverted [Pereira *et al.* 2006; Monteiro *et al.* 2008], i.e., newspapers coverage tends to focus on medals, records and times. Besides, press describes performances in an ethnocentric and nationalist way [Schantz, Gilbert 2001; Thomas, Smith 2003;

¹ Process through which the groups “hold” the new object in local structures by the conversion of the non familiar into categories socially recognized or familiar, i.e. the conversion of the social object into an instrument individuals can use.

² Process, through which the real and daily side of an idea or concept is discovered, consisted of transforming the abstract into something material, through the discovery of the iconic quality of an idea.

Pereira *et al.* 2006], something particularly visible in rankings which appear by comparison with those of other countries. So we can speak about newsworthy values changing, i.e., a Paralympic Games (PG) coverage more based on sporting values and not on scandals, which were relegated to a secondary level. We can say that even if coverage underlines an individual and medical point of view of disability [Schell, Duncan 1999; Schantz, Gilbert 2001; Thomas, Smith 2003], it doesn't seem to trivialize the athlete's performance. Regarding different types of disability, sportive coverage of PA's seems to privilege some of them, namely motor disabilities linked to the wheelchair [Schantz, Marty 1995]. Some studies justify this, claiming that this type of disability does not deviate substantially from the normal concept of "able body" [Schell, Duncan 1999; Schantz, Gilbert 2001; Thomas, Smith 2003] and also because public perception of disability is closely linked to the wheelchair as if one were the synonym of the other [Lachal 1990; Barnes 1992]. Athletes with Cerebral Palsy and Intellectual Disability are usually the ones receiving less attention than others [Schantz, Marty 1995; Schell, Duncan 1999; Schantz, Gilbert 2001], though there might be exceptions. This kind of coverage may promulgate the belief that limitation is not a central question in these people's life and for their identity as people with disabilities [Hughes, Patterson 1997], since it tends to hide it. Nevertheless, ignoring the disability shows how the concept of disability is dominated by "normalized" society since it omits a defining characteristic of those who have a disability – disability itself. According to some studies, [for example, Schantz, Gilbert 2001; Pereira *et al.* 2006], there appears to be a denial of portrayal of the athletes' identity as a person with a disability and so, stereotyped perceptions of disability and people with disabilities may have been reinforced [Thomas, Smith 2003; Pereira *et al.* 2006]. We will also look into the gender differences in disability, as some studies have shown [Wann *et al.* 1998; Eastman, Billings 1999; Urquhart, Crossman 1999; Schlausch, Léséleuc 2003] that it seems that men are more newsworthy than women. Besides that, as Silva, Gomes e Queirós [2006] refer, sportswomen are exposed to several risks because their bodies are exposed. However, as Schell and Duncan [1999] found, female athlete's bodies with disability are discriminated twice – because they are women and they have a body with a disability. In fact, women with disability are not as newsworthy as those without a disability [Schlauch, Léséleuc 2003] but their descriptions tend to be very similar, i.e., based on traditional beliefs of gender [Jones *et al.* 1999].

Looking now to the analysis of Stereotypes, we can say that on the sports stage two stereotypes seem to prevail: "the search for a perfect body" and "supercrip vs bitercip". Athletes have been portrayed as aspiring the perfect body of athletes without disabilities [Smith, Thomas 2005]. When the media speak of the achievements / sporting achievements of athletes with disabilities, they often do it by comparison with able body athletes, which can reinforce a stereotyped

perception of disability and a concern with a perfect body [Thomas, Smith 2003]. This way media reinforce the perfect body idea [Hahn 1987], resulting in a visual paradigm that reinforces the exclusion of marginalized groups. This is particularly important since there seems to be a undeniable dominance of the visual sense, which Jay [1998] calls visual culture or “scopic regime”. Nevertheless, participation in sports demonstrates how PA’s are able to compete in similar ways to those without disabilities, contrarily to what stereotypes suggest. However, sports fans and athletes without disabilities cannot imagine an athlete with a visible disability jumping to the podium in the Olympics in the same way as other athletes [DePauw 1997]³. Maybe in the future this could happen without prejudice and there may be a day when disability will not be “socially” visible – only the athlete and its capacities [DePauw 1997], i.e. the ideal world or Thomas More’s “Island Utopia”⁴. The “supercrip vs bittercrip” stereotype tends to be reinforced in the sports field. Indeed, recent studies [Schell, Duncan 1999; Schantz, Gilbert 2001; Thomas, Smith 2003] found that media tend to describe athlete’s performances based on a medical perspective of disability, i.e., these athletes tend to be portrayed as “victims”, “courageous”, “braves” that overcome the “painful” experience of disability through sports [Schantz, Marty 1995; Schell, Duncan 1999; Schantz, Gilbert 2001; Thomas, Smith 2003; Smith, Thomas 2005], i.e., according to the “supercrip” model which reinforces people with disabilities as heroic [Barnes 1992]. This model damages people with disability’s image by suggesting that only heroic performances must be respected [Shapiro 1993]. Critics consider that this model does not dignify disability and contributes to establish a “normalized” social hierarchy where people with disabilities are located on the bottom [Hardin 2004]. Athletes are described as victims or according to the supercrip model [Schantz, Gilbert 2001; Hardin 2004; Smith, Thomas 2005], the purpose some news is to evoke feelings of compassion and charity since focus is given to disability and not to the sport, as if disability is an experience beyond the normal [Thomas, Smith 2003]. More than respect, most news reveal compassion for PA’s performance [Schantz, Marty 1995; Schantz, Gilbert 2001; Thomas, Smith 2003; Smith, Thomas 2005]. Disability has been regarded as individual and not as something socially constructed [Thomas, Smith 2003], so media reaffirm traditional or dominant conceptions of disability.

³ The most recent example is the controversial case around the south-african athlete Óscar Pisturius, with double amputation of the lower limbs who tried to compete together with the Olympic athletes and who had his request refused. However, after judicial appeal, the athlete got authorization to participate if he could qualify with the minimal times. In this context, Natalie du Toit, free water swimmer, had her path facilitated by Pisturius and participated in these last OG of Pequim.

⁴ In this work, the narrator describes an island where everything is perfect: the river Anhydrius flows down the island (without water), Ademus is ruler (prince without people), and the Aleopolis live there (citizens without a city).

When we look to news terminology, we notice that speeches are condescending, with poor reviews on strategies, rules or performances when compared with other sports. In some coverage, athletes are discussed through a medical perspective of their disability [Schell, Duncan 1999; Schantz, Gilbert 2001; Thomas, Smith 2003; Hardin 2004; Smith, Thomas 2005], as previously referred. Besides this factor, most newspapers have a poor opinion about disability sport, which shows some indifference about it, i.e. trivializing and marginalizing it [Schantz, Gilbert 2001; Pereira *et al.* 2006]. Nevertheless, most newspapers are moving away from “gentle” titles which shows a new tendency to focus on the sport [Howe 2008; Monteiro *et al.* 2008]. Moreover, in British press there have been identified reports on PA’s very similar to those made on athletes without disabilities [Thomas, Smith 2003]. Recent studies [Haller *et al.* 2006; Monteiro *et al.* 2008] demonstrate the use of a more accurate terminology related with PA’s. However, it seems to be a general tendency, verified in some studies [for example, Schell, Duncan 1999; Schantz, Gilbert 2001; Schell, Rodriguez 2001; Smith, Thomas 2005], to write about performances through the use of positive terms, a fact that contraries, according to Howe [2008] usual sports coverage where we can observe positive but also negative elements. In this sense, Thomas & Smith [2005] refer the use of realistic portrayals as a need, i.e., a more critical point of view around PA’s and Paralympics sport just like it happens with other sports. Notwithstanding, Howe [2008], in his analysis of news production regarding PG, observed that this sport is being progressively influenced by commercial concerns and, as a consequence, this sport will tend to be portrayed in a more realistic way – with positive and negative narratives.

Methodology

Analytical Procedures

A Content Analysis was made, a technique which allowed to make inferences about the messages whose characteristics were listed and systematized [Bardin 1977]. For this work we have the following aims: to know and understand SR around Portuguese PA’s and to find differences between analyzed years (2004 and 2008) and different newspapers of our sample (“Jornal de Notícias”, “Público”, “Jogo” e “Record”) in what it has something to do with a kind and quantity of information; different types of disability treatment; terminology used (correct or incorrect); and stereotypes. To ensure our data reliability, the four authors were involved in the codifying and classification process, in order to obtain maximum consensus in the same classification. After this, a deeper reading was performed in order to catalogue data (year, new number, analysed period). All data is related with PG or PA’s. As units of analysis, we used registration units (RU) and we respect the following enumeration rules: presence/absence, frequency, intensity, direction and order.

Corpus Study

Our sample, based on the number of daily circulation, fell upon two National Daily General Newspapers (NDGN)⁵ and two National Daily Sports specialized Newspapers (NDSN)⁶ and in the specific case of Record for being the official newspaper of Portuguese Paralympics mission. These newspapers were analysed through 2004 and 2008 according to table 1.

Table 1. Analysis Periods

Period of Analysis	Data	
	2004	2008
Before PG (1st moment)	1st January to 16th August	1st January to 6th August
Before PG (2nd moment)	17th August to 16th September	7th August to 6th September
During PG	17th September to 28th September	7th September to 17th September
After PG (1st moment)	29th September to 29th October	18th September to 18th October
After PG (2nd moment)	30th October to 31st December	19th October to 31st December

Categorical System

Our categorical system was just defined *a priori* because there were no new categories after reading, i.e., *a posteriori*. Categories definition was based on international research already showed and also research about Portuguese reality, a project leaded by our team [Pereira *et al.* 2006; Monteiro *et al.* 2008]. The “Main Issues” category emerged with the purpose to know the highlighted themes related with PA’s. This relevance of this category is justified on agenda setting theory [McCombs, Shaw 1972], i.e., public tend to give more attention to a subject in the same proportion that media does. Because it is a broad category, we subdivided it in three subcategories: 1. Sport providing, since PG are a sports event; 2. Financial matters, to understand financial and social support, and how these influence PA’s newsworthiness; 3. Athlete with disability, since he is our central study object in order to understand if coverage made tends to follow medical or social models.

Another category emerges when we take into account that someone’s physical appearance is an important requirement regarding newsworthiness – Type of

⁵ “Jornal de Notícias” and “Público”

⁶ “Record” and “Jogo”

Disability. Through this category we intend to know if there are disabilities⁷ more newsworthy than others and if that is the case, why such differences exist. Questions of gender will be included at this point, i.e., if there are significant differences between men and women coverage and if women, as Schell e Duncan [1999] said, are expose to double discrimination.

Since we have observed in previous studies [Thomas, Smith 2003; Kama 2004] that newspapers used stereotyped language, we created the category Stereotypes. Through it we will investigate if in Portugal this tendency occurs. Finally, the analysis of a category – Terminology has a privileged place in our study since we made a content analysis to newspapers, which in Portugal brings together a lot of fans, potentially influenced. As reference to this terminology analysis we use the American Red Cross [2006] *People First Language table* – also used by IPC. This way we were able to verify if NDGN and NDSN between 2004 and 2008 PG editions follow or not American newspapers’ tendency concerning terminology used referring to Portuguese PA’s.

Results and Discussion

When we look at table 2, which indicates the total number of news articles for each newspaper, we verify a noticeable decrease in all newspapers between 2004 and 2008.

Table 2. Total number of news articles of *Jornal de Notícias*, *O Público*, *Jogo e Record* in 2004 and 2008 in different analysis periods

Year	2004				2008			
Period/ Newspaper	J.N.	Público	O Jogo	Record	J.N.	Público	O Jogo	Record
BG (1 st moment)	1	0	11	12	2	3	5	1
BG(2 nd moment)	26	9	17	32	1	0	0	2
During PG	67	23	58	65	14	10	10	43
AG (1 st moment)	12	3	8	16	0	0	1	0
AG(2 nd moment)	0	2	2	5	0	0	0	0
Total per newspaper	106	37	104	130	17	13	16	46
Total per year	377				92			

This decrease has contradicted previous found tendencies not only in Portugal [Pereira *et al.* 2006; Monteiro *et al.* 2008] but also at international level [Schantz, Marty 1995; Schantz, Gilbert 2001; Smith, Thomas 2005]. Knowing

⁷ The Types of disabilities that constitute our set of registration units are those held to account by the IPC: Amputated, Brain Paralysis, Visual Disability, vertebro-medular Lesions (Motor Disability) and *les autres*.

the important role played by media in public opinion [Noelle-Neumann 1994; Kellner 1995; Sousa 1999; Rios 2005], this decrease has great meaning, since it could mean less or no interest about these PA's, and thus influence attitudes around them. One explanation for this could be found in the News-Worth (NW) concept [Hall *et al.* 1993; Traquina 2002]⁸, i.e., since NW are changeable, such changes could have influenced the referred decrease. Going back to 2003, we noticed that it was the International Year for Persons with Disability, which could have influenced the largest number of news in 2004. On the other hand, in 2008, some great issues marked, at the same time of the PG, the Portuguese media agenda (for example, Portuguese teachers' strike, Madonna tour, Spainair aircraft crash, Tibetan's struggle, etc.) that may have withdrawn the PG from central issue. However, if media recognize PG some NW as, for instance, the "notoriety" or "relevance" [Traquina 2002] PG would be, in the same way, prominent target not depending on the media agenda. This decrease could also be explained by the decreasing number of medals, since previous studies [Schantz, Gilbert 2001; Schell, Rodriguez 2001; Thomas, Smith 2003; Pereira *et al.* 2006; Monteiro 2008], referred results as a NW concerning PA's. So, worst results could explain decreasing number of news.

Moreover, as we know, China, country where the PG have taken place, is dominated by a dictatorship where all information is controlled and dominated by the state. An intervention, conducted by International Federation of Journalists, was necessary to near Chinese authorities to ensure free press movement at Beijing [International Federation of Journalists 2008] since journalists had had some difficulties. This fact could also have influenced the decrease of news number in 2008.

Another explanation for the decrease in the number of news articles about the JG might be the loss of one of the NW, the "novelty", i.e. in 2000 and 2004 there was a large advertisement of the PG, which has lost its NW for not being something new nowadays. Nevertheless, the number of news articles is always high with the Olympic Games. In fact, having the agenda setting theory as a basis, the lower amount of attention in 2008 seems to indicate a less importance and proportion than the PG assumed in the public opinion that year. In this case we can even go further, since the lack of news in 2008 was more evident, which demonstrates that the PG are not a part of the topics which interest the Portuguese public, at least that is what the journalists and editors consider.

As for the different newspapers analysed, "Record" was the newspaper with most number of news articles and "Público" was the one with the least number in both years of study. Being "Record" a sports newspaper and also the official newspaper of the Paralympics mission, the larger number of articles published

⁸ Process "through which the events become "significant" through the *media* and are placed in terms of known social and cultural identification".

was to be expected. The lower numbers for Público could be justified by its generalist character, if it weren't for the fact that "Jornal de Notícias", also a generalist newspaper, presented similar values to those of the sports newspapers in both years. As such, we can notice differences among the NW of journalists, but mainly distinct editorial policies which influence differences between newspapers; i.e. each newspaper determines what is newsworthy or not according to its own interests. If on the one hand the ideological pole defines the news selection process as a public service on behalf of the citizens, on the other hand, the economic pole states that newspapers must sell [Traquina 2002]. In terms of the different periods of analysis, we may refer that, on a whole, the tendency is to have an increasing number of news articles up to the PG, and, afterwards, that number tends to fall. Through this data, we can confirm the NW "proximity", by which the closer we are in time to an event the larger its NW is. Nevertheless, each event's worth depends on a series of other NW, such as "notoriety", "relevance", "notice ability", etc., and its noticeability will be that much more the higher number of NW it has. From what we were able to observe, the Portuguese *media* haven't attributed a high number of NW to the PG throughout the past years. When we analyse the category "Main Issues"⁹, we observe the tendency in every newspaper to overvalue, in both years, the topics related to the subcategory sports providing, as was observed in other studies [Schell, Duncan 1999; Schantz, Gilbert 2001; Pereira *et al.* 2006; Monteiro *et al.* 2008]. Bearing in mind that we are studying a sports event, we consider this fact to be natural because it is expected that various topics related to the event be approached, namely: sports results, records, times, etc., and so we can affirm that the greater emphasis given by newspapers to this subcategory is something that still occurs. The subcategory which presents the next highest results is, just as in the study of Monteiro, Pereira *et al.* [2008] and contradicting the study of Pereira, Silva *et al.* [2006], the subcategory athlete with disability and, in last, we have the topics related to the financial matters. "Record" is the only newspaper which doesn't present this order in 2004, giving more importance, in that year, to the financial matters in detriment to the aspects related to the athlete with disability. In our opinion, this difference could be related to the "Super-Athlete Project"¹⁰ and with the numerous promotion events that took place that year. This because it is natural that, being the "official" newspaper of the Paralympics mission and having launched the Project in 2004, the pre-eminence of that referred category be verified that year, when compared to the other newspapers and also to the year 2008. We believe the overlapping of the subcategory athlete with disability in relation to the subcategory financial matters confers a greater

⁹ In this discussion, we don't always quote international studies because we have a very specific categorization and which, many times, doesn't have a comparison with the existing studies. However, in relation to some results, those studies will be taken into account.

¹⁰ Project with the purpose of promoting and raising funds for the Paralympics sports.

importance to the athlete with disability. Thus, and contrarily to what we found earlier in other studies [Schantz, Gilbert 2001; Thomas, Smith 2003] and as we had been verifying at least in Portugal [Pereira *et al.* 2006; Monteiro *et al.* 2008], the disability is being relegated to second plan to give place to the person/athlete. Therefore, it is necessary to say that the social model seems to be effectively being implemented progressively in the media, and in a broader sense in society.

Table 3. Percentages of the Subcategories of the Category Main issues

	Newspapers	JN		Público		Jogo		Record	
	Year	2004	2008	2004	2008	2004	2008	2004	2008
SUBCATEGORIES	Sports Providing	69,4%	92,3%	84,7%	80,2%	63,6%	82,2%	65,1%	86,9%
	Financial matters	9,2%	1%	6%	2,1%	16,1%	6,7%	22,9%	5,1%
	Athlete with Disability	21,3%	6,7%	9,3%	17,7%	20,3%	11,1%	11,9%	8%
	Total year	402	104	268	96	236	45	218	176

In what concerns the “Sports Providing”, we can notice that, in the periods before the games, highlight is given to the expectations/objectives and preparation, during the games, news is mainly centred on the results as it was verified in other studies [Schell, Duncan 1999; Schantz, Gilbert 2001; Thomas, Smith 2003; Pereira *et al.* 2006; Monteiro *et al.* 2008]. Nevertheless, we can notice the increase of reference to the performances, already witnessed in other studies [Thomas, Smith 2003; Pereira *et al.* 2006; Monteiro *et al.* 2008] and also to the expectations and objectives in this period. In the periods after the games, the news is centred on the tributes and results (already as a form of balance), though for a shorter period than would happen in any other event of this greatness [Pereira *et al.* 2006; Monteiro *et al.* 2008]. In general, all of these results are in compliance with other studies [Thomas, Smith 2003; Pereira *et al.* 2006; Monteiro *et al.* 2008], which is interesting, as it demonstrates that the PA’s are progressively more present in news for this subcategory, which is not just limited to the results as in previous years [Pereira *et al.* 2006].

As for the “Financial matters”, we can notice a decrease in the references which contradicted the previous tendency [Pereira *et al.* 2006; Monteiro *et al.* 2008], in other words, the increase of its number between each edition of the PG. This decrease was due to the fact that no significant changes occurred compared to the year 2004, in which huge financial increases to the PA’s occurred. On the other hand, the publicity campaigns in 2008 were more directed to television, and so maybe that’s why they didn’t have as much visibility in the press.

If in the past there was the focus on lack of support and complaints about the precariousness of the PA’s, nowadays we notice that, though there is still

some lack of support, this is in part filled by numerous campaigns and by the presence of regular sponsors [Monteiro *et al.* 2008]. On that, it is important to refer that the first athlete to obtain a Great sponsorship was Diana Zambo in 1990 [DePauw, Gavron 2005]. Up to present date, there is no information of an athlete with disability having had enough status to represent a brand name.

By the exposed, we understand that the story of the “poor guy”, on the contrary of the study of Thomas and Smith [2001], is no longer the one that “sells newspapers” and that, in alternative, the person behind the athlete and also their “superiority” in comparison with the Olympic athletes (because the PA’s bring home more medals) has been shown to the public. The PA’s image, like what was found in other studies [Thomas, Smith 2003; Pereira *et al.* 2006; Monteiro *et al.* 2008], has appeared in similar manners to that of the image of athletes without disability.

Finally, the analysis of the subcategory “Athlete with Disability” allows us, on the one hand, to note that it is a category uniform in all newspapers, i.e. the same themes are generally focused on each year. On the other hand, it allows us to note some differences between 2004 and 2008, not only in terms of number of references, but also in terms of the lower variety of RU that it contemplates. Of all the RU, the “Profile”, related to the characterization of the athletes, is the one that presents the most occurrences. Though it is the most referred in both years, it has a particularly strong expression in 2004 compared to 2008, since 2004 was a year full of NW for the PA’s (higher number of news articles, larger number of athletes and larger number of medals won). On the other hand, considering the NW “novelty”, we understand that the previous knowledge of the PA’s may have decreased the need to give information about them, since the PA’s are basically the same between 2004 and 2008. Amongst all athletes, the male athletes are the ones referred the most, which may be related to the fact that they are in larger number and to their results. So, the PA’s is more and more seen as an athlete and not as a person with a disability, such as this category demonstrates.

In general, we can say that the news related to the PG get more frequent based on the “proximity” of the event, but they are still influenced by the NW of “conflict”, “controversy”, “relevance”, “unexpected”, and “scandal”, NW of the PG. The results, specially the positive ones, have been highlighted, however, the results that are not as positive have also been progressively highlighted, which leads us to note a larger parallel between the PG and other sports events. The divulgation of results obtained before the PG reveals a greater knowledge of the PA’s and, consequently, reduces the need for approaching these athletes’ tragic stories. Thus, though some of the athletes’ difficulties are recognised, these aren’t thoroughly explored, and many times projects are presented to try to solve some problems, which is extremely useful. So, although there are still differences between athletes with and without disability, noticeable in the difference in state support, the situation tends to be progressively softened, which is noticeable in the public support and the recognition of these athletes’ value. How-

ever, the PG don't seem to have enough "significance", which is noticeable in the lack of "continuity" of news after the games are over. In other words, although some evolution is registered, the PA's don't, or rarely, embody NW like "notoriety of the main agent" or "noticeability". Such NW is only present in their news when someone famous is in their presence (for example, an Olympic athlete or a member of government).

In general, all newspapers tend to publish the same matters, which could indicate a common news source. Globalization, as well as the lack of resources, make editors resort to general information sources (like for example, the Agência Lusa) which define the sense for each matter. By noticing such situation in the coverage of the PG, we note their weak NW, because if that wasn't the case, the newspapers would send their own journalists in order to obtain exclusive news. Therefore, though there was a great evolution since our first study [Pereira *et al.* 2006], the PG aren't news with great frequency, although things aren't as they used to be, because, as Traquina [2002] says, the NW are temporal and fall into different times. The PG are news, but still without great media impact from what we were able to infer, starting with the agenda-setting concept of [McCombs, Shaw 1972], that the PG are not a relevant social matter. Consequently, the change in the perception of the athlete with disability and the person with disability in general is conditioned, since the public and society in general don't have access to information. Nevertheless, it must be said that, besides it all, the athlete with disability is more and more seen as a person/athlete, relegating the disability to a second plan. The way the events, the results and expectations or even the preparation are described is closer and closer to that of the other athletes.

While reading this news we no longer feel "compassion" and so we progressively abdicate of the *bitercrip* idea, but not of the *supercrip*, but we will talk about this model further ahead. On the other hand, a growing support to the athletes with disability is seen more and more, something which has decreased some financial difficulties mentioned earlier. We are positive that the *media* have made a huge contribution to this decrease. Notwithstanding the better results in the PG, it is the OG and their athletes (national and international) who receive the most highlight in the Portuguese media, which is apparently contradictory. With this data we might comprehend that there is really something superior to the results in what has to do with the newsworthiness of ones and others. In fact, according to some studies [Schell, Duncan 1999; Schantz, Gilbert 2001], the lack of dedicated space, the lack of specifically sportive information and the focus on factors of general newsworthiness show that the PG are less important, and not parallel to the OG.

In relation to the category "Types of Disability", we may say that the results as NW stand out once again, since we notice the reference of practically all the disabilities in function of those same results. Thus, the differences found be-

tween the two years in analysis fall essentially upon the worse results of 2008. Nevertheless, we start to realize that the disability is not the main factor in the news about these athletes, which approaches them to the press related to athletes without disability. So, we notice the progressive abandonment of the medical model, namely the centralization on the disability rather than on the person in order to find a growing proximity with the social model, according to which the person is in fact the most important.

Table 4. Percentage of correct terminology and incorrect terminology

	JN		Público		O Jogo		Record	
Subcategory	2004	2008	2004	2008	2004	2008	2004	2008
Correct Terminology	82,8%	96,3%	94,6%	78,6%	84,2%	84,8%	80,8%	95,5%
Incorrect Terminology	17,2%	3,7%	5,4%	21,4%	15,8%	15,2%	19,2%	4,5%

The correct terminology increased in all the newspapers, except “Público”, between the year 2004 and 2008, which complies with the tendency verified in recent studies [Haller *et al.* 2006; Monteiro *et al.* 2008] and which contradict what was previously noticed, i.e. the use of inappropriate language. “Record” was the newspaper in which the most significant rise was noticed between both years, as the work of Monteiro, Pereira *et al.* [2008] suggested. As for the incorrect terminology, we noticed that the numbers decreased between the two analysed years, with only one exception to this tendency, i.e. the case of the newspaper “Público”. These data, specially those related to the sports newspapers, are in accordance with the work of Monteiro, Pereira *et al.* [2008], since the same tendency, i.e. the decrease in the use of incorrect terms, was noticed.

Referring now more concretely to our RU, we can affirm that both in 2004 and in 2008 all newspapers referred to the “characters” of this event using the term “athlete” or “Paralympics athlete”, or else, identifying them with their respective sports, like for example the “swimmer”, the “rider”, etc. already noticed in other studies [Schantz, Gilbert 2001; Monteiro *et al.* 2008]. The primary reference is centred on the person or athlete and the disability appears in second plan, thus noticing the appreciation of the person as other authors had already defended [Vivarta 2003; Kama 2004; Haller *et al.* 2006]. In terms of the specific terminology for each disability, we found, in both years, that there wasn’t coherence, in other words, we found correct and incorrect terminology in the different newspapers. Some times, the same newspaper uses the correct and incorrect term for the same disability, which illustrates well Vivarta’s [2003] idea in relation to the journalists’ lack of mastery of specific language.

Although the incorrect terms are less and less frequent, words like “blind” and “invisual”, amongst others, are still very much present in newspapers in this

study. According to the IPC [2007], this terminology is not the correct one and which has influence over the general population. We also noticed the presence of the term “disabled” which, by being pejorative [Vivarta 2003; American Red Cross 2006], because it considers a person as disabled in its whole, does not contribute much to the social change around people with disability, i.e. in their SR. The athlete is many times “bearer of a disability”, which is not correct according to Vivarta [2003], because the disability is not transported. By the use of these terms, we notice the presence of the medical model of the disability which persists.

Although the incorrect terms are still a part of the journalistic vocabulary, one can note the use of terms progressively more correct, which reveals an actual evolution. However, we notice that there is essentially a lack of mastery of the specific terms to use, firstly on behalf of the specialists in the area themselves [Vivarta 2003], and will reflect on the journalists and consequently in the public readers. Thus, there seems to be the need for training of journalists specialized in the area and that, eventually, there were people with a disability. Independent of having a disability or not, they would undergo a training that would enable them for an adequate writing, assuming a pedagogical role in the use of correct language as Kama [2004], Auslander and Gold [1999c] mention.

Table 5. Number of Register Units of the Stereotype category

Subcategory	JN		Público		O Jogo		Record	
	2004	2008	2004	2008	2004	2008	2004	2008
Stereotypes (n°)	11	2	1	4	3	2	4	6

Although the values of stereotyping are low, we cannot avoid considering them, because they are still present in the journalistic context, especially in the sports context which is the one our study is based on. In general, the stereotype of the “Hero/Super-Athlete” is the one that finds the highest number of occurrences in all the newspapers, with the exception of “Público”, something which goes to the encounter of our previous study [Monteiro *et al.* 2008]. For this data, perhaps the designated “Super Athlete” project may have contributed to the conservation of this stereotype, influenced by the media in the form how it refers to the athletes. Nevertheless, we can’t help but to blame the media, since, as we mentioned earlier, if they mastered the specific terminology, they would not incur in that mistake. Through this myth, we make the people with disability “divine”, making their personal and sports achievements legitimate. It is that we can hardly imagine them depending solely on the same factors as an athlete without a disability and, making a parallel to what other authors mentioned [Wahl, Roth 1982; Nelson 1994; Ross 2001; Saito, Ishiyama 2005], we can hardly imagine them leading a life as an ordinary person, i.e. with love, a job, etc. Therefore, we look at people with a disability as super-humans which trans-

cent themselves in the several areas they participate in and overcome difficulties in acts considered to be heroic. This way, we confirm that people with a disability, as Hardin [2004] suggested, find themselves at the bottom of a social hierarchy, something which leads people without a disability to think they are at a higher level defined by giving a great value to the bodies without a disability.

Another stereotype found, and strongly connected to the previous one, was the “Brave”. This one was also evidenced in other studies [Schantz, Marty 1995; Schell, Duncan 1999; Schantz, Gilbert 2001; Thomas, Smith 2003; Smith, Thomas 2005; Monteiro *et al.* 2008]. According to the references, the athlete with a disability transcends himself essentially by being brave, since besides having a disability, he practises sports. This is not our conviction, but, according to our analysis, this is the message that reaches the reader and that influences the way he perceives this athlete. To confirm what we just mentioned, we have the other stereotype “Suffering” which we found, according to which the disability is described as a suffering. Besides that, the newspapers give the idea that these athletes lives defeat more intensely because they are athletes with a disability. There seem to be traditional beliefs about disability parallel to what Jones *et al.* [1999] found about women. These beliefs come from preconceived ideas [McDonald 2008], that do not correspond to reality and that are demystified when these journalists make their first coverage of an event such as the PG. Here we understand better what Silva *et al.* [2006] mean when they refer to the multiple risks that sports women are subjected to, or yet the words of Schell and Duncan [1999] when they speak of a double discrimination. In fact, it seems that journalists differentiate men from women and also athletes with and without disability. We call the last stereotype found “Difference” by comparison with the athletes without disability and it appears in sequence to the athlete Natalie Du Toit’s participation in the OG. This athlete was distinguished in the news many times for being in the middle of “sports bodies”, i.e. disregarding her excellent physical form which allowed her to pass ahead of some of the so called “perfect bodies”. In making such descriptions, the media contributed to a senseless distinction, since what really matters in this case is the result. However, the emphasis given was in terms of the body, reinforcing what is considered as a “perfect body”, marginalising, in a way, people with a disability. Consequently, many athletes/people with disability live in that anguish of achieving the “perfect body” as Thomas Smith [2005] referred.

The analysed stereotypes do not contribute to the formation of a non-discriminated image of the athletes with a disability. However, nowadays, the frequency with which they appear is much reduced. As such, though it is still not correct, these athletes’ representation in the *media* already denotes a positive evolution, as other author have shown [Vivarta 2003; Monteiro *et al.* 2008]. The use of more positive portraits seems to be gradually increasing.

Conclusions

We set out to begin this study convinced that the media have an impact on society, and in fact, this influence seems to be very evident in Portugal, since, according to data of Portuguese NIE¹¹, our country presents a high level of scholar deficit. Although a part of the readers is capable of filtering the collected information, the majority will capture it as it is and so the media will have a great influence over that majority. Knowing that most of the people that have better information about the PA's and the PG are, in general, family members, friends, or coaches and assistants, etc., we understand that all the groups not for mentioned will also be more vulnerable to any information received through the media. Thus, the information that gets to a large percentage of the population, whether it is correct or not, will be assimilated and will cause an impact. This is true because SR about these athletes will emerge from this information, these SR will also "affect" the people with disability more, since these SR are understood as a process of knowledge production, and so have a transforming action. It was with the purpose of knowing and understanding these SR in Portugal that we carried out this analysis, from which the following conclusions emerged:

In terms of the type and quantity of information given by the several newspapers analysed, we can note that the number of news articles decreased between 2004 and 2008 in all newspapers, contrarily to what was happening until then. Such a fact showed us the importance assumed by the positive sports results obtained by the athletes, since those results weren't as good in 2008, which would have influenced that decrease. As for the type of information given, in the several newspapers, it tends to give more emphasis to the results obtained by the athletes, being this data highlighted the most. In fact, all the data related to the results, records and medals, i.e. to the "Sports Providing", were those that primarily gave newsworthiness to the Portuguese PA's, only then were the data related to "athlete with disability" and "Financial matters" registered. Of all the results obtained by the PA's, the ones that got the highest media attention were the positive results, however, we begin to notice the propagation of the less positive results in the newspapers, something that approaches the description of the PA's to that which is made of the athletes without a disability. The athlete with a disability has an approach more centred in himself and his sports history, something which, in our opinion, favours their own SR. The exploration of tragic life stories stopped happening and when any reference is made to the disability, it is of secondary importance. What is explored is the athletes' previous achievements and work, something that shows the growing presence of the social model. The Financial matters are approached in a more positive form, i.e. without mentioning difficulties or lack of financial support. Truthfully, these

¹¹ National Institute of Statistics

athletes are more supported, not only by the government, but also through projects with the purpose of guaranteeing their presence in the PG, and also in the process of preparation for the PG.

In what concerns the treatment of the different types of disability, our second objective, we didn't observe any differences, i.e. all the disabilities were treated by the newspapers in an equal manner. The most important in terms of newsworthiness was the result obtained and not the disability at hand. Thus, we can note a larger emphasis given to the athlete rather than to his disability, which demonstrates the greater imposition of the social model and which begins to be noticeable in the journalistic speech.

The analysis to the terminology used, our third objective, demonstrated that it is majorly correct. However, the presence of incorrect terminology is still a negative fact, since, in being accessible to millions of people, it will influence the forming of SR around people with disability. Therefore, although we consider there is a positive evolution, it is still not significant, which is why the use of appropriate language should still be encouraged. This because the language used in relation to people with a disability, no matter in what domain, assumes an important role in what has to do with the SR. Nevertheless, the use of incorrect terminology is many times present in the professionals of the field themselves, which leads to differences in the discourse and also doubts to the journalists.

In what has to do with the stereotyped discourse, a decrease was found, though it was still present. The stereotype comes essentially from the fact that the athlete with disability is still looked at according to the *supercrip* model, and also as someone who look for or aspires to have the "perfect body" by comparison to the athletes without a disability. The disability is still associated with the suffering because of being a person with a disability, and, as such, any defeat would be tougher than for any other athlete without a disability. The female athletes with disability are treated in a similar fashion to the male athletes, there only being differences noticeable in the quantity of information, something that seems to be linked to the lower number of medals and also lower participation of female athletes in the PG.

Therefore, and answering to what is our overall purpose, we can state that the athletes with disability are represented in a more and more positive manner. In other words, they are essentially valued by their sports performance and condition as athletes. The newspapers tend to resort to majorly correct terminology, but sometimes reify some existing stereotypes, namely the "supercrip" and the search for the "perfect body".

Investigation in this area is not concluded with this study, it is but the beginning of many new questions that arise and that we placed throughout its presentation. What we consider to be really important is not to let the flame that causes reflexion in the participants to die out, like, for example, in journalists and, ideally, motivate the changes that will lead to the construction of progressively more positive.

References

- Alexandre M. (2001), *O Papel da Mídia na Difusão das Representações Sociais*, "Comum", 6, 111–125.
- American Red Cross (2006), *Participant's Workbook. Serving People with Disabilities Following a Disaster* [online]. Accessed on April 4th, 2008.
- Auslander G.K., Gold N. (1999c), *Disability Terminology in the media: a comparison of newspaper reports in Canada and Israel*, "Social Science & Medicine", 48, 1395–1405.
- Baptista M. (2004), *Estereotipia e Representação Social: uma abordagem psico-sociológica* [in:] A. Barker [ed.], *A Persistência dos Estereótipos*, Universidade de Aveiro, Aveiro.
- Bardin L. (1977), *Análise de Conteúdo*, Edições 70, Lisboa.
- Barnes C. (1992), *Disabling Imagery and the Media* [online]. The British Council of Organisations of Disabled People; Ryburn Publishing Limited Krumlin, Halifax. Available from: <http://www.leeds.ac.uk/disability-studies/archiveuk/Barnes/disabling%20imagery.pdf>. Accessed on November 30th, 2007.
- Bernardes D. (2003), *Dizer "não" aos estereótipos sociais: As ironias do controlo mental*, "Análise Psicológica", 3, 307–321.
- Depauw K. (1997), *The (in) visibility of disability*, "Quest", 49, 416–430.
- Depauw K., Gavron S. (2005), *Disability Sport*, 2^a ed., Human Kinetics, Champaign.
- Eastman S.T., Billings, A.C. (1999), *Gender Parity in the Olympics*, "Journal of Sport & Social Issues", 23, 140–170.
- Gamson W., Croteau D., Hoynes W., Sasson T. (1992), *Media Images and the Social Construction of Reality*, "Annual Review Sociology", 18, 373–393.
- Hahn H. (1987), *Advertising the acceptably employable image: disability and capitalism*, "Policy Studies Journal", 15, 551–570.
- Hall S., Critcher C., Jefferson T., Clarke J., Reports B. (1993), *A produção social das notícias: o Muggin nos media* [in:] N. Traquina [ed.], *Jornalismo: Questões, teorias e Estórias*, Vega, Lisboa.
- Haller B., Dorries B., Rahn J. (2006), *Media labeling versus the US disability community identity: a study of shifting cultural language*, "Disability & Society", 21, 61–75.
- Hardin M.M. (2004), *The "Supercrip" in sport media: wheelchair athletes discuss hegemony's disabled hero*, "Sociology of Sport Online", 7.
- Howe P.D. (2008), *From inside the newsroom: Paralympic Media and the production of Elite Disability*, "International Review for the Sociology of Sport", 43, 135–150.
- Hughes B., Patterson K. (1997), *The social explanation of disability and the disappearing body: towards a sociology of impairment*, "Disability & Society", 12, 325–340.
- International Federation of Journalists (2008), *IFJ Report Calls on China to Meet Press Freedom Challenge* [online]. Accessed on March 22nd 2009.
- International Paralympic Committee (2007), *I.P.C. Vision, Motto, Symbol. Consult* [online]. Accessed on January 13rd, 2008.
- Jay M. (1998), *Scopic regimes of modernity* [in:] S. Lash, J. Friedman [eds.], *Modernity and Identity*, Blackwell, Oxford.
- Jodelet D. (2002), *Representações Sociais: um domínio em expansão* [in:] *As Representações Sociais*, Edurej, Rio de Janeiro.
- Jones R., Murrell A.J., Jackson J. (1999), *Pretty versus Powerful in the Sport Pages*, "Journal of Sport & Social Issues", 23, 183–192.
- Kama A. (2004), *Supercrrips versus the pitiful handicapped: Reception of disabling images by disabled audience members*, "Communications", 29, 447–466.

- Kellner D. (1995), *Media Culture – Cultural Studies, identity and politics between the modern and the postmodern*, Routledge, London.
- Lachal R.C. (1990), *La presse française et les personnes handicapées de 1977 à 1988* [in:] I.D.L.E.E.D.L. Famille [ed.], *Handicap, famille et société*, IDEF, Paris.
- McCombs M.E., Shaw D.L. (1972), *A função do agendamento dos Media* [in:] N. Traquina [ed.], *O poder do jornalismo: análise e textos da teoria do agendamento*, Minerva, Coimbra.
- McDonald M. (2008) *Media and the Paralympic Games* [in:] K. Gilbert, O.J. Schantz [eds.], *The Paralympic Games: Empowerment or Side Show?* Meyer & Meyer Sport, United Kingdom.
- Monteiro I. (2008), *Representações Sociais dos Atletas Paralímpicos nos Jornais Desportivos Portugueses*, Inês Monteiro.
- Monteiro I., Pereira O., Silva M.A., Pereira A.L. (2008), *Representações Sociais dos Atletas Paralímpicos nos Jornais Desportivos Portugueses* [in:] *Conferência Internacional: Media & Desporto*, Lisboa.
- Moscovici S. (1978), *La psychanalyse: son image et son public*, 2^a ed., Presses Universitaires de France, Paris.
- Moscovici S. (1981), *On social representation* [in:] J. Forgas [ed.], *Social Cognition*, Academic Press, Londres.
- Moscovici S. (1988), *Notes towards a Description of Social Representations*, “European Journal of Social Psychology”, 18, 211–250.
- Nelson J.A. (1994), *Broken Images: Portrayals of those with disabilities in American media* [in:] J.A. Nelson [ed.], *The disabled, the media and the information age*, Greenwood Press, Westport, CT.
- Noelle-Neumann E. (1994), *Wirkung der Massenmedien auf die Meinungsbildung* [in:] E. Noelle-Neumann, W. Schulz, J. Wilke [eds.], *Publizistik, Massenkommunikation*, Fischer, Frankfurt.
- Pereira A., Silva A., Pereira O. (2006), *O valor do atleta com deficiência – estudo efectuado através de uma análise de imprensa*, “Revista de Ciências do Desporto”, 6, 65–77.
- Ross R. (2001), *All ears: radio, reception and discourses of disability*, “Media, Culture & Society”, 23, 419–437.
- Rios A. (2005), *Jornalismo como instrumento de cidadania*, “Biblioteca on-line de Ciências da Comunicação”.
- Saito S., Ishiyama R. (2005), *The invisible minority: under-representation of people with disabilities in prime-time TV dramas in Japan*, “Disability & Society”, 20, 437–451.
- Schantz O., Gilbert K. (2001), *An Ideal Misconstrued: Newspaper Coverage of the Atlanta Paralympic Games in France and Germany*, “Sociology of Sport Journal”, 18, 69–94.
- Schantz O., Marty C. (1995), *The French press and sport for people with handicapping conditions* [in:] I. Morisback, P.E. Jorgensen [eds.], *Quality of life through adapted physical activity*, Hamtrykk, Oslo.
- Schell L., Rodriguez S. (2001), *Subverting Bodies/Ambivalent Representations: Media Analysis of Paralympian, Hope Lewellen*, “Sociology of Sport Journal” 18, 127–135.
- Schell L.A., Duncan M.C. (1999), *A content analysis of CBS's coverage of the 1996 Paralympic Games*, “Adapted Physical Activity Quarterly”, 16, 27–47.
- Schlausch S., Léséleuc E.D. (2003), *La présentation de la femme handicapée sportive dans la presse écrite européenne: égalité et différences dans le traitement médiatique des Jeux Paralympiques* [in:] B.D.L. Afraps [ed.], Côte d'Opale.
- Shapiro J.P. (1993), *No pity: People with disabilities forging a new civil rights movement*, Times Books, New York.
- Silva P., Gomes P., Queirós P. (2006), *Género e desporto: a construção de feminilidades e masculinidades* [online]. Accessed on June 14th, 2008.

- Smith A., Thomas N. (2005), *The “inclusion” of elite athletes with disabilities in the 2002 Manchester Commonwealth Games: an exploratory analysis of British newspaper coverage*, “Sport, Education and Society”, 10, 49–67.
- Sousa J.P. (1999), *As Notícias e os seus efeitos*, “Biblioteca on-line de Ciências da Comunicação”.
- Thomas N., Smith A. (2003), *Preoccupied With Able-Bodiedness? An Analysis of the 2000 Paralympic Games*, “Adapted Physical Activity Quarterly”, 20, 166–181.
- Traquina N. (2002), *O que é jornalismo*, 1ª ed., Quimera Editores, Lda., Lisboa.
- Urquhart J., Crossman J. (1999), *The Globe and Mail Coverage of the Winter Olympic Games*, “Journal of Sport & Social Issues”, 23, 193–202.
- Vivarta V. (2003), *Mídia e deficiência*, Agência de Notícias dos Direitos da Infância e Fundação Banco do Brasil, Brasília.
- Wahl O.F., Roth R. (1982), *Television images of mental illness: results of a metropolitan washington media watch*, “Journal of Broadcasting”, 28, 599–605.
- Wann D.L., Schrader M.P., Allison J.A., McGeorge K.K. (1998), *The Inequitable Newspaper Coverage of Men's and Women's Athletics at Small, Medium, and Large Universities*, “Journal of Sport & Social Issues”, 22, 79–87.

Key words: *paralympics athletes, paralympics games, social representations, media*

Part 2

SPORTS AND IDENTITIES

Alessandra Carraro, Davide Sterchele

Department of Sociology, University of Padua, Italy

Contact: *alessandra.carraro.1@unipd.it; davide.sterchele@unipd.it*

Chapter 2.1.

SPORT, MENTAL HEALTH PROBLEMS AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION: THE NEED OF SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH

Social integration and mental-bodily wellness are undoubtedly among the most relevant dimensions studied by the sociology of sport. Nevertheless, little attention has been given until now to a topic that enables the analysis of both of these dimensions together: the use of physical activity as a tool for the social integration of persons with mental health problems¹.

This research field has great sociological relevance for the study of the hegemonic interaction patterns in the society in which these persons should be included, as shown by Goffman's studies on stigma [Goffman 1963], Bateson's analysis of the social matrix of psychiatry [Ruesch, Bateson 1951], and Foucault's works on social history of madness [Foucault 1961].

Drawing on the Italian case, this paper presents some considerations about how the social sciences have studied this topic and about the potential role of sport sociology in this field.

Mental health problems and the sociology of sport

Considering the recent development of the psychiatric approach and health care services, we will develop some reflections about the relationship between sport sociology and mental health rehabilitation in Italy and, more generally, in the international sociological debate.

¹ We use the term "mental health problems", and therefore "persons *with* mental health problems", in order to keep our reflections as free from diagnostic classifications as possible. However, we refer to persons who experience a more or less severe situation of psychic malaise and therefore have to deal, in different ways, with the mental health service system.

The anti-psychiatric movement, aimed at the humanisation of health care services, was successful in Italy thanks to the famous psychiatrist Franco Basaglia [1968], and it led to the suppression of madhouses in 1978². Nevertheless, the desired result of integrating individuals with mental health problems into the larger society still seems far from being achieved. This result would require not only the reorganisation of mental health services but also a community-wide re-imagining of the role of persons with mental health problems within society. In this process, leisure time physical activities can represent an interesting field in which the dynamics of interaction between persons with mental health problems and so-called “normal” persons can be studied by exploring their aggregative potential. Such work would move beyond the simple rhetoric about sport as an automatic means of integration³.

However, various elements limit the contribution of sociology to this analysis. For many years, Italian sociologists have shown little interest in studying sports-related topics, aside from soccer hooliganism. Therefore, the sociology of sport has little (or even no) academic legitimacy within the Italian sociological community [Porro 1992; Russo 2000; Balbo 2001]. Furthermore, there is little room in the curricula of Sport Universities for the social sciences; the little space that is available is mainly given to pedagogy (the didactics of sport), psychology (often oriented to sport performance) and history.

Also for these reasons, the relationship between sport and psychiatric rehabilitation has been essentially studied by psychiatrists and psychologists, whose empirical indexes and scales are mainly focused on the intra-subjective dimension of the impact of physical activity on physiological, biological or neurological wellness.

Less attention is given to the relational and social consequences of physical activity, considered as: *a*) a chance for the persons with mental health problems to broaden their social networks, both by interacting with athletes and teams composed by other service users and, more importantly, by interacting with the other people living in the local community (although interaction can also increase stress, fear and rejection); *b*) a chance for the so-called “normal” people to meet persons with mental health problems so that the former can adapt their practices and attitudes to the presence of the latter (although interaction can also enforce the stigma, instead of eroding it).

This lack of attention is not limited to the Italian context. Indeed, even on the international level, it is very difficult to find research with a sociological

² Since that moment, the care and handling of psychiatric problems, previously managed in separated and segregated forms, has been gradually included within the general national health policies.

³ In Italy, a very interesting field of observation is represented by the various sport activities and events organized by Anspi, Associazione Nazionale Polisportiva per l'Integrazione Sociale (National Association Multi-sport clubs for Social Integration).

approach among the few studies dedicated to the relationship between physical activity and mental health.

The few relevant articles we can find mainly originate in the psychiatric and psychological field. The articles share as their main characteristic features: *a*) attention to the intra-subjective aspects linked to physical activity (psychological, physiological, and biological), and *b*) the positivistic approach based on measurable items, indexes and scale [for some examples, see: Fogarty, Happell, and Pinikahana 2004; Richardson *et al.* 2005; Brown, Goetz, Van Sciver, Sullivan, Hamera 2006; Archie *et al.* 2007; McCormik *et al.* 2008].

Nevertheless, some articles do attempt to delve into topics and methods that could be profitably explored using the instruments of sociological research.

Regarding the first point, for example, a very interesting article drawn from a psychiatric review [Ninot, Bilard, Delignières 2005] compares two different sport contexts involving persons with mild to modest mental retardation: segregated sport, for persons with mental health problems only, and integrated sport, where persons with mental problems people practice together with “normal” people.

The authors focus on the consequences of each form of activity on the practitioners’ perceptions of self-worth and show that those involved in segregated sport activity tend to overestimate their competence, whereas those involved in integrated (mixed) activities show a lower perceived athletic competence despite an actual increase in athletic performance. Though this second perception can be frustrating, it can also help the practitioners develop a more balanced and realistic self-perception.

These interesting conclusions certainly merit also sociological attention, which would help to enrich the analysis by observing, for instance, whether participation in physical activity acts as an opportunity to build social contacts and new friendships that continue outside the sport venue. Sociological attention could also help to address the question of whether and how people, even within integrated sport activities, still reproduce informal segregation.

Regarding the methodological approach, some interesting attempts to use ethnographic methods and to collect narratives and life stories can also be found [see for instance Faulkner, Sparkes 1999; Carless, Sparkes 2008; Carless, Douglas 2008; 2009]. These studies undoubtedly have the benefit of giving voice to the experiences of service users. Nevertheless, a sociological approach could use the same methods to better comprehend the connections between all of the actors involved in the organisational processes pertaining to mental health services – users, psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers – and to better comprehend the general dynamics by which the larger social context – including politicians, associations, families, neighbours and inhabitants of the local community – interacts with people who have mental health problems.

Sport and mental health problems: some specifics

Although the sociology of sport has broadly dealt with integration and disability [Taub, Blinde, Greer 1999; DePauw, Gavron 1995; Brittain 2004; Nixon II 2007; Thomas 2008; Thomas, Smith 2009], the study of the physical activity of people with mental health problems shows some peculiarities.

First, different types of mental health problems imply different needs; therefore, different physical activities can have different consequences for the recovery [Deegan 1993] and integration process⁴. Obviously, this is also true for persons with other forms of disability and, in general, for all who practice sport. Interactions with other people within the sporting environment can be stimulating but can also be frustrating. They can be stressful or boring; they can generate further interaction or increase distress and isolation. However, such consequences for the emotional/relational sphere can be particularly intense for those who experience this dimension alongside their own existential difficulties.

A second point is that sport activities can present different difficulties according to the severity of the mental health problems, raising questions about the classification of psychiatric disabilities, which is less straightforward than the classification of physical disabilities. Furthermore, whereas physical disabilities are usually more stable during one's lifetime, mental health problems often show a more oscillatory and cyclic trend. Such variability in the conditions of those who suffer mental health problems has important consequences for their behaviour and on the forms of social relationships they can build through the practice of physical activity [Uchida, Takahata, Miyazaki 2002].

A third point is linked with the interaction rules of sports activities. Physical disabilities can limit practitioners' ability to perform the physical activities, but they are generally able to cognitively understand the rules and requirements of the activities. Mental health problems can make this interaction more complex, especially in sport games, in which the coordination of reciprocal movement and behaviour requires a certain degree of mutual understanding.

A fourth point is that people with mental health problems are often subjected to pharmacological treatment intended to regularise, support or contain the difficulties experienced by the service users. Unfortunately, such treatment can seriously compromise the users' physical abilities. By stimulating bodily and emotional sensations, physical activity interferes with this regulation process, presenting new challenges for the pharmacological approach along both the therapeutic and economic dimensions. Such challenges sometimes anger those

⁴ In this context, the term "recovery" does not indicate the disappearing of an illness, rather a kind of attitude, a way to face the daily challenges. It does not refer to a linear path, as periods of rapid improvements can be followed by disappointing falls. Therefore, being in the recovery process does not implicate the disappearance of the pain.

within the pharmaceutical industry, both because they have the potential to impact negatively the effects of the medications and because physical activity is a potential competitor to the industry.

A fifth point regards the organisational analysis of mental health services, the psychiatrists' and social workers' professional cultures and, more broadly, the social matrix of psychiatry. The use of physical activity as a tool for the social integration of people with mental health problems raises questions about under whose purview such activity falls. Who should organise sports activities for (or open to) mentally ill people? Who should support those people during their inclusion within a sporting group or association? Who should support the members of the sport clubs and associations in managing interactions burdened with distress and discomfort? Who has the competence and the responsibility to undertake such functions? How is it possible to involve all affected social actors – service users, families, psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers, sport clubs and associations, and political administrators – in building a coordinated management of the participation of persons with mental health problems in sport and physical activities, instead of delegating it to just one of these actors?

Conclusions

Sociological analysis is needed to examine the potentiality and the limits of sport activities in the social integration of mental health problems, not only through empirical diagnostic measurements that are generally focused on the subjective experiences of service users but also through ethnographic observation and the collection of narratives. Such work will enable us to better understand the social matrix of psychiatry and to analyse its complexity.

References

- Archie S.M., Goldberg J.O., Akhtar-Danesh N., Landeen J., McColl L., McNiven J. (2007), *Psychotic Disorders, Eating Habits, and Physical Activity: Who Is Ready for Lifestyle Changes?*, „Psychiatric Services”, vol. 58, pp. 233–239.
- Balbo L. (2001), *Parlare della sociologia (scelte, gerarchie, esclusioni) partendo dal mondo dello sport [Talking about sociology (choices, hierarchies, exclusions) starting from the world of sport]*, „Rassegna italiana di sociologia”, vol. 42, no. 3, pp. 485–491.
- Basaglia F. (1968), *L'istituzione negata [The denied institution]*, Einaudi, Torino.
- Brittain I. (2004), *Perceptions of Disability and their Impact upon Involvement in Sport for People with Disabilities at all Levels*, „Journal of Sport & Social Issues”, vol. 28, no. 4, pp. 429–452.
- Brown C., Goetz J., Van Sciver A., Sullivan D., Hamera E. (2006), *A Psychiatric Rehabilitation Approach to Weight Loss*, „Psychiatric Rehabilitation Journal”, vol. 29, no. 4, pp. 267–263.

- Carless D., Douglas K. (2008) *The Role of Sport and Exercise in Recovery from Serious Mental Illness: Two Case Studies*, „International Journal of Men's Health”, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 137–156.
- Carless D., Douglas K. (2009) *A golf programme for people with severe and enduring mental health problems*, „Journal of Public Mental Health”, vol. 3, no. 4, pp. 26–39.
- Carless D., Sparkes A. (2008) *The physical activity experiences of men with serious mental illness: Three short stories*, „Psychology of Sport and Exercise”, vol. 9, pp. 191–210.
- Deegan P. (1993) *Recovering our sense of value after being labelled mentally ill*, „Psychosocial Nursing and Mental Health Services”, vol. 31, no. 4, pp. 7–11.
- DePauw K.P., Gavron S.J. (1995), *Disability and Sport*, Human Kinetics, Champaign, Illinois.
- Faulkner G., Sparkes A. (1999) *Exercise as Therapy for Schizophrenia. An Ethnographic Study*, „Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology”, 21, pp. 53–69.
- Fogarty M., Happell B., Pinikahana J. (2004), *The benefits of an exercise program for people with schizophrenia: A pilot study*, „Psychiatric Rehabilitation Journal”, vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 173–176.
- Foucault M. (1961), *Folie et Dérailson. Histoire de la folie à L'âge classique [Madness and unreason. A history of madness in the classic age]*, Plon, Paris.
- Goffman E. (1963), *Stigma: notes on the management of spoiled identity*, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, NJ.
- Mccormik B.P., Frey G., Lee C.T., Chun S., Sibthorp J., Gajic T., Stamatovic-Gajic B., Maksimovich M. (2008), *Predicting Transitory Mood From Physical Activity Level Among People With Severe Mental Illness in Two Cultures*, „International Journal of Social Psychiatry”, vol. 54, no. 6, pp. 527–538.
- Ninot G., Bilard J., Delignières D. (2005), *Effects of integrated or segregated sport participation on the physical self for adolescents with intellectual disabilities*, „Journal of Intellectual Disability Research”, vol. 49, no. 9, pp. 682–689.
- Nixon II, H. (2007), *Constructing Diverse Sports Opportunities for People With Disabilities*, „Journal of Sport & Social Issues”, vol. 31, no. 4, pp. 417–433.
- Porro N. (1992) *Sport, Political System and Sociology in Italy*, „International Review for the Sociology of Sport”, vol. 27, no. 4, 329–340.
- Richardson C.R., Faulkner G., McDevitt J., Skrinar G.S., Hutchinson D.S., Piette J.D. (2005) *Integrating Physical Activity Into Mental Health Services for Persons With Serious Mental Illness*, „Psychiatric Services”, vol. 56, no. 3, pp. 324–331.
- Ruesch J., Bateson G. (1951). *Communication: The Social Matrix of Psychiatry*, Norton, New York.
- Russo P. (2000), *L'analisi sociologica dello sport [The sociological analysis of sport]*, „Rassegna italiana di sociologia”, vol. 41, no. 2, pp. 303–313.
- Taub D.E., Blinde E.M., Greer K.R. (1999), *Stigma Management Through Participation in Sport and Physical Activity: Experiences of Male College Students with Physical Disabilities*, „Human Relations”, vol. 52, no. 11, pp. 1469–1484.
- Thomas N. (2008), *Sport and Disability* [in:] B. Houllihan [ed.], *Sport and Society: A Student Introduction*, Sage, London, pp. 205–229.
- Thomas N., Smith A. (2009), *Disability Sport: Policy and Society: an Introduction*, Routledge, London.
- Uchida S., Takahata T., Miyazaki S. (2002), *Competitiveness in sports activities of the psychiatrically disabled*, „Seishin Shinkeigaku Zasshi”, vol. 104, no. 12, pp. 1242–1248.

Key words: *sociology of sport, disability, mental health, physical activity*

Ramón Llopis-Goig

Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology,
Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Valencia, Spain
Contact: ramon.llopis@uv.es

Chapter 2.2.

GENDER IDENTITIES IN SPORT. LEARNING, REPRESENTING AND AVOIDING HEGEMONIC MASCULINITY THROUGH FOOTBALL IN SPANISH SOCIETY

1. Introduction

One of the dimensions in which the sociological study of football can contribute to knowledge about Spanish society and its transformations has to do with the gender identities. In Spain, for a long time football has been considered a ‘male thing’, a uniquely masculine space in which women could only be present as mere companions. But during the past thirty years, Spanish society has undergone an intense process of social change. With regard to the evolution of the relationships between the sexes in Spanish society, it has been pointed out that there is currently greater heterogeneity, both in the identification of the female gender (who is emancipated from her submission to the patriarch to become more versatile), and in the masculine gender, which is now more plural and autonomous. It is more plural because it has become open to a new diversity of masculinities that are heterogeneous, divergent and contradictory among themselves; and it is more autonomous because these masculinities are defined more and more by their own internal relationships of power, friendship or rivalry, instead of being defined, as in the past, by the heterosexual relationships of dominance over women [Gil-Calvo 2006: 49]. In this process, there would also have been an influence from the fragmentation of the social structure caused by the post-industrial emergence of the risk society, the rupture of the lineal continuity of the masculine biographies. In the past, these biographies were based on stable employment and indissoluble marriages, whereas today they are shattered both by unemployment and job instability as well as by divorce and family disorganization [Gil-Calvo 2006: 51]. This explosion has de-structured masculinity, opening it up to new variants.

The question is, has this pluralizing of the masculine identity also taken place in football? Has football changed its role in the construction of masculinity in Spanish men? Has there been a change in the gender *ethos* of football as a result of the evolution of the gender relationships in Spanish society and with regard to what has been called 'the masculinity crisis'? And secondly, what has happened in the case of women who now are becoming more interested in football? Are they integrating themselves into the groups of male fans? How do they feel among men? These are some of the questions that will be addressed in this paper. In order to address these topics, we base our work on the information obtained through interviews with seventeen fans, five groups of fans, four coaches, five physical education teachers in primary and secondary schools, and six professional footballers from Junior and First and Second Division professional football teams. The many hours of field observation we carried out in stadiums, football fields and primary and secondary schools were also quite useful. Additionally, and with the aim of analyzing women's opinions and perceptions about their situation among men as football fans, we have conducted twelve interviews with Spanish women interested in football and involved in football supporter communities, known in Spain as *peñas*.

This article is divided into four parts. In the first part, we present the framework on which the current study is based. In the next three parts, the results of the study are presented and discussed. The fifth part includes the main conclusions drawn.

2. Theoretical frame

In Spain, from the beginning sports were set up as a space for masculine initiation and the reproduction of masculinity. However, the gender aspects inside football have hardly been studied. There have been some studies on the feminine practice of this sport, such as the study in which the experiences of professional female footballers in various European countries were compared [Scranton, Fasting, Pfister, Buñuel 1999], and a journalistic study in which the growing interest of Spanish women in this sport is shown [Orúe, Gutiérrez 2001].

In our study, we start from the concept of hegemonic masculinity by Robert W. Connell. This author developed a model with four categories to organize and order the space of the masculinities [Connell 1997]. According to Connell, there is a type of masculinity, *the hegemonic*, which dominates the other three (*complicity, subordination and marginalization*). The *hegemonic masculinity* is related to heterosexuality, authority, strength and physical endurance. However, although it is strictly applicable to only a few men, many benefit from the dominant position of this type of masculinity in the social structure. Connell called this benefit a 'patriarchal dividend', and considered that those who take ad-

vantage of it are included in the *complicity masculinity*. Connell describes the existence of two more types of masculinity: the subordinate masculinity and the marginalization masculinity [Connell 1997: 40–43]. The *subordinate masculinity* deviates from the dominant heterosexual norm, so that its legitimacy becomes suspect, but it is tolerated with certain indifference (the effeminate and homosexuality, for example). Finally, the marginalization masculinity includes both the deviant masculinities (pederasts, procurers...) as well as those masculinities removed from the dominant norm and that stem from socially excluded ethnic groups.

Our objective is to investigate to what extent football in Spain can continue to be seen as a manifestation of the aforementioned *hegemonic masculinity*. Furthermore, we want to find out what processes reinforce the survival of this type of masculinity. And for this purpose, the concept of *complicity masculinity* proposed by Connell is not very appropriate. Although this author suggests that “the men who experience the football matches on their televisions” could be included under the category of *complicity masculinity* [Connell 1997: 41], our study reveals that this behaviour cannot be extrapolated to the broad spectrum of manifestations of masculinity that are developed in the world of football, whether dealing with relationships between coaches and players in the training sessions or during the games, relationships between children and young people who play football in lower categories and their parents, or the relationships between fans and their teams in the football stadiums. In all of these relationships, the majority of coaches, fans and parents of young players exalt and reinforce the acquisition of hegemonic norms for masculinity, exhibiting behaviours and making comments that have little to do with the ones they make inside their homes in front of the television. What we have in these cases is not *complicity*, but rather *exaltation*. For this reason, we will call them *inductors of masculinity*, as their behaviours are intended to make the footballers *learn* or *represent* a *hegemonic masculinity* [Llopis-Goig 2008].

3. Learning the hegemonic masculinity

In the fieldwork, we were able to verify that football is one of the most important references in the construction of the masculine identity of Spanish boys. Our study has focused on three settings: schools, public spaces and football fields of football clubs in inferior categories.

In the schools, the practice of football continues to be a central element in the social construction of masculinity: from very young ages the boys wear the t-shirts of their idols from the first division of Spanish football; they exchange stickers with their photographs on them; and they take advantage of any free time to play a game of football on any improvised playing field. For the boys, playing football functions as a purveyor of social relations, distraction and personal

affirmation which in turn provide a sense of identity and belonging to a group. In this sense, the practice of football has not varied during the past few decades.

However, football does not have the absolute exclusiveness it had before in the social construction of masculinity. Three decades ago those boys who were not interested in football, or those who proved to be not very apt for the practice of this sport, were seen as weird. However, today this does not happen, and lack of interest in football does not automatically place a boy in a secondary or marginal position. Furthermore, the practice of football is not exclusive to the boys. It is more and more common for the girls to mix with the boys when playing football in the schools. However these girls abandon this practice at around 11–12 years of age.

The second space we examined is that of parks and public spaces. In the small and medium-sized cities, as well as in the parks and streets of certain neighbourhoods of large Spanish cities, it is common to find boys playing football on improvised playing fields. This practice has lessened in the past few decades, due to the process of urbanizing and modernizing Spanish society, but it is still fairly common. In these open spaces, the practice of football re-creates the attitudes and behaviours of adult sports to a greater degree than when it is played in schools under the guidance of the educators. Observation of the interactions and interchanges that are established between the boys in parks and public spaces reveals the adoption of a large number of behaviours and attitudes coming from professional football: the way they fight for the ball, the intensity and aggressiveness that reign in the plays, the instructions and shouting to each other, or the way of celebrating the goals or victories of their team. The participation of the girls is, in these spaces, even less frequent than in the schools.

However, in the younger categories of the professional football teams is where we observed a true contrast with the practice of this sport in schools and public parks. In the lower categories of football teams, the children and adolescents exhibit much more aggressive and competitive behaviours, and the professional footballer appears as the reference group to look up to. This phenomenon is clearly visible in the football matches of the cadet and junior categories (15–16 and 17–18 years of age, respectively), and the interviews with young people of these ages strongly confirm it.

Two actors have a special influence on these youths who participate in lower categories: the coaches and the parents. The former plays a crucial role in the construction of the masculinity of the young footballers. The interviews and the field observation allowed us to verify that more than one coach transmitted the idea that any recourse is valid to prevent a goal from being made, to dodge an opponent, or to be able to score a goal: pushing, physical collisions or verbal aggressions. The majority of coaches encourage their players to behave in an aggressive way on the playing field. According to them, this aggressiveness makes them men and strengthens them as footballers.

But the coaches are not alone in their efforts to shape the boys with the norms of a hegemonic masculinity. The majority of the fathers of these players transmit to their sons a message that is quite similar to the one transmitted by the coaches, oriented toward reinforcing competitive and aggressive behaviours and attitudes. In our field observations we could see how the parents who accompanied their sons encouraged them to demonstrate their manliness on the playing field and face the opposing team with aggressiveness and hostility.

In short, football plays a relevant role in the construction of the masculinity of boys. When this sport is practiced in the school setting, the supervision of the physical education teachers keeps it from becoming a mechanism for constructing hegemonic masculinity. However, as we move away from these initial stages and the formal education setting to enter into the sports practice that takes place in inferior categories of football clubs, we begin to detect the activation of numerous stereotypes related to hegemonic masculinity, such as virility, physical aggressiveness, emotional control and competitiveness. In the inferior categories in football there is a permanent reinforcement of this masculinity by parents and coaches, and the boys are oriented toward physically aggressive, competitive and bellicose models of behaviour. Furthermore, the lack of demonstration of virile behaviour arouses misogynist suspicions: the worst thing you can say to a footballer is that 'he acts like a girl'.

Definitively, playing football in school would not serve as an occasion for reproducing hegemonic masculinity due to the role of the physical education teachers and the growing presence of some girls in the practice of this sport in schools. This situation changes radically when the boys begin to play in inferior categories of professional football teams. In these cases, the expectations of fathers and coaches are activated, and they begin to orient the boys toward the development of a hegemonic masculinity. Their role, therefore, is not one of accomplices, but rather one of inductors: they exalt the hegemonic masculinity, and they make the young people see that this is an indispensable tool for success in football. Taking advantage of their superior position in the heart of the family and the heart of the club (as fathers and as coaches, respectively), they orient the young men toward the interiorization of attitudes and behaviours typical of hegemonic masculinity.

4. Representing the hegemonic masculinity

The behaviours that induce the hegemonic masculinity are even more manifest in two other settings: the football stadiums and the headquarters of the *peñas* of fans. In the section above, we saw how fathers and coaches of young footballers induced the acquisition of a hegemonic masculinity by taking ad-

vantage of their superior positions in the family and the organization. In this section, we will see that in the football stadiums and the headquarters of the *peñas*, the fans, as followers or consumers of football, are going to induce the players toward a representation of hegemonic masculinity.

In the stadium, the fans watch the 'at home' matches of the teams they follow. Our observation work showed us that in the stadiums there are numerous episodes of exaltation of hegemonic masculinity by means of which the players are pressured and induced to use it. Paraphrasing Messner [1992], it could be said that the stadiums constitute homosocial spaces created to counteract the fear of a feminisation of men in the industrial society. This author maintains that the development and consolidation of sports with a strong violent component, like football, could be interpreted as a reaction to the change in gender relations demanded by the feminist movements. The stadiums have been converted, then, into a social space of celebration and exaltation of this challenged *hegemonic masculinity*. The fans demand that the players exhibit a high level of physical effort, with no fear of contact with players from the rival team, and giving themselves passionately to the game. The players must feel a strong team spirit and sweat for the team. In exchange, they receive economic rewards that are completely out of line. The fans require strength and effort from the players. They demand a bellicose character that is justified by the high competitive level of the game. This is so much the case that those players who embody this warlike prototype are converted into icons of masculinity. Any footballer whose performance does not meet the demands of physical effort, devotion and virility will be booed by the fans, who will also protest when they think a player has not run enough to control the ball or has avoided crashing into a rival player for fear of being injured. The only players who are exempt from these demands are the goal makers, the players who compensate for a possible lack of effort or devotion with doses of creativity or effectiveness.

However, in the football stadiums, not only the players represent hegemonic masculinity. It is also represented by the way the fans express themselves from the stands when they demand more manliness from the players. And these demands for masculinity are witnessed by the smallest fans. In Spain, very young boys often accompany their fathers to the stadium. In the stadium, the boys have the opportunity to view an entire repertoire of paternal behaviours unheard of in other areas of family life. There they see their fathers get mad, disagree with the referee, insult the players from the other team or demand more toughness from the players on their own team. This 'school of masculinity' culminates in many cases with a veiled invitation to an initiation. The fathers often positively reinforce the initiation of their sons into this type of behaviours, about which they come to feel satisfied and proud.

5. Avoiding the hegemonic masculinity

Hegemonic masculinity, however, is not only a matter of learning and representation; it is also something which is avoided. This third section of results is based on the empirical data obtained with the twelve interviews carried out with women interested in football and involved in what in Spain are called *peñas*: supporter's communities [Llopis-Goig 2007, 2009].

Women sometimes feel uncomfortable among men who do not always accept them as football supporters. So, even in their role as spectators, women sometimes remain excluded as 'real' football supporters. Often they are seen to have the only legitimate female role, that is, 'spectate, support and admire' [Scruton 1995: 122]. Secondly, they would like to be involved in male football by joining *peñas* which would allow them to meet and watch their teams' away-matches among fellow supporters or meet on other occasions to talk about their teams. However, women feel denied of this participation, as they feel uncomfortable in traditional *peñas* due to the strong male ethos and masculine undertones associated with them.

Peñas are groups of friends and supporters who meet in order to watch matches of their football teams and discuss the fortunes of their team when matches are not being played. Some *peñas* have an office in the club facilities but most are located in a bar that subsequently becomes their headquarters. *Peñas* meet regularly, sometimes three times a week, and are a well established and important feature of Spanish football culture and Spanish football fandom. Considering the constitution of Spanish clubs and the importance of elected members to positions of power, it is possible for members of *peñas* to be elected to official positions within their respective clubs.

Justifying the reasons for the formation of these *peñas*, women assert that their role as a football spectator is not one of a simple 'companion' to men. Instead, they go to football matches because they like them, and one member stated that "we enjoy football as much as men do". They express their interest in football as a sport and declare themselves to be 'real' fans of their teams, which is difficult for Spanish men to understand. It is a common occurrence for men to reject the views of women about football matches. The reluctance of some men to accept opinions and comments of women about football is, without doubt, one reason that encourages women to find a space of their own to enjoy football. The idea emerged in the interviews that some men are willing to allow women to be present at football matches, whether on the ground or in a bar, but as soon as women dare to give an opinion about the match under way, a player's performance or the team's tactics, they are derided by their male counterparts.

These findings support the results obtained by Woodhouse and Williams [1999] in their study in England suggesting that female followers of male mass sport events often find their patterns of support and 'authenticity' as 'real' fans

questioned by other, mainly male, supporters. Since the development of a football fan's identity is primarily driven by social interaction, female fans of mass sport events, such as football, may find obstacles when trying to rise to the highest levels of the fan club structures [Crawford 2004, p. 47]. This perception of a limited 'career' as a football fan seems to be behind the reluctance of many of the women interviewed to create or belong to a female *peña*. Clearly, expressing views but not having them treated seriously by men is a frustration faced by women with an interest in football, and one of the key motivating factors for the emergence of female *peñas*.

Nonetheless, not all the women interviewed got involved in *peñas* for the same reasons. Some joined because their husbands, boyfriends or friends do not like football the way they do, and the *peña* provided an outlet for their interest. Others joined because they disliked the idea of being surrounded by so many men in the stadium, while a different reason offered was that some women felt it unsafe to venture out alone to the stadium. Finally, there are groups of women who do not feel at ease with their husbands regarding football because either they are not allowed to express themselves freely or they feel inhibited by their husband's presence in the stadium.

This view stresses the importance of the sense of 'community' within female *peñas*, as members are not faced with the overriding sense of masculinity that dominates male *peñas* and subsequently influences the behaviour of women or their commitment to their club. Individuals may form football loyalties for many different reasons, and it is increasingly common for fans to connect with each other on the basis of more 'individual' reasons. Further, supporters' communities are not just defined by a common sense of belonging, but also by patterns of exclusion and even by opposition to others [Crawford 2004: 53]. In this sense, the creation of separate *peñas* for women could be considered an attempt to fight against the exclusion they suffer in the stadium, as well as an attempt to oppose the strong male ethos which characterizes the world of football in Spain, and particularly in male *peñas*.

While male membership in female *peñas* is not completely prohibited, most do not allow men to join, as one member explained who said that "our *peña* is only for women. We have often talked about it, and we are convinced that it is going to remain the way it is now". Traditional *peñas* do not formally prohibit access to women, but there is an insurmountable cultural barrier that women do not dare to cross by joining. It is absolutely unimaginable, both for men and women, for a woman to come into a bar where the traditional *peña* meets and sits down to chat.

On the other hand, it should be made clear that their rejection of male membership does not make their *peñas* feminist. Most women interviewed rejected the word 'feminist' as a term to describe the purpose of the *peñas* they belong to. Therefore, the women interviewed insist on the fact that their *peñas* are just like men's – that is,

they are based on a deep passion for football, for their club, and for generating a pleasant environment in which to enjoy football among like-minded people.

As well as men, teenage girls are also discouraged from joining female *peñas*. The reason for this is that such girls are not considered 'true' football fans, as they are interested in football because of the men who play it rather than the sport itself. Thus, they are regarded as having merely changed their interest from male music and film stars to football stars, and allowing these girls to join would bring criticism that *peñas* permit 'hangers on' to join for cosmetic reasons.

A key issue for women who join *peñas* is that their commitment has to be fitted around their domestic 'duties'. Female *peñas* simply cannot perform the same activities or schedules as the men's *peñas*, as women fans must accommodate their fandom within domestic constraints that simply do not apply to men. It seems that even though *peñas* exist for women and point toward some form of equality, women are still restrained by traditional / domestic duties which affect their membership and experience in their *peñas*.

Back, Crabbe and Solomos [2001] have pointed out in their work on football supporters' associations that an 'entry ticket' to a supporters' community always involves much more than a financial transaction. Boundaries of inclusion and exclusion within a given community are mediated through cultural terms and, in this sense, possession of the right 'cultural ticket' may be achieved for those who can easily adapt to the norms of the existing community. However, for those who have less 'flexible' differences, such as gender (and also, for instance, ethnicity), access and progress within the group may prove difficult to achieve [Crawford 2004: 55]. This is the key consideration regarding access to membership in *peñas* in Spain.

6. Summary and conclusions

In Spain, football has traditionally been a space where men felt like men and could re-create their masculinity. The purpose of this study was to examine to what extent it can be said that the great economic, social and cultural transformations that Spanish society has experienced during the past three decades have had an equivalent effect in the world of football. More specifically, the purpose was to analyze whether the greater pluralism and heterogeneity that characterize the construction of the masculinities in Spanish social life are also present in the world of football. For this purpose, we based our study on the information obtained from qualitative research. Interviews were carried out of fans, coaches, physical education teachers and professional and youth footballers, along with numerous hours of field observations.

The study showed, on the one hand, that Spanish football continues to be a macho social space, far from the tendencies toward 'redefining masculinity'

identified in other sports modalities [Mosquera, Puig 2002]. On the other hand, we have verified that the hegemonic masculinity is reproduced through learning and representation processes. The processes for learning hegemonic masculinity take place in the inferior categories of football clubs. There, a large number of coaches and fathers of players orient the young people toward virile, aggressive and competitive behaviours. Both act, then, as facilitating agents of a hegemonic masculinity. For this reason, we propose that they may be considered as inductors of masculinity. The research has shown that this induction of virile and competitive behaviours does not occur in the practice of football that takes place in primary and secondary schools, where the action of the physical education teachers, as well as the low but growing number of girls participating, lends the game a different dynamic. The processes of representation of the hegemonic masculinity take place in the football stadiums and their 'appendages', the places where the *peñas* of fans meet. In the stadiums, the fans demand from their players a constant demonstration of masculinity, virile behaviour and complete physical dedication. The footballers will have to embody this hegemonic masculinity in order to avoid being booed by the fans in the stands. The fans act, therefore, as inductors of these hegemonic masculinities. The hegemonic masculinity is reproduced in the world of football thanks to processes of learning and representation. Both processes are induced. The first is induced by fathers and coaches, and the second by fans and spectators. It is obvious that not all fathers, coaches, fans and spectators behave in this way, but the study shows that many do. In any case, the analysis has allowed us to understand why in Spanish football there has not been an evolution of the dynamics of the construction of masculinity equivalent to what has occurred in other settings in Spanish social life. The analysis, furthermore, has served to add one more type of masculinity to the theoretical model by Connell [1997]: the *inductor masculinities*, those that actively facilitate the reproduction of hegemonic masculinity. This is not, therefore, a type of masculinity that limits itself to living off of its 'patriarchal dividend', as Connell says the complicity masculinities do. The masculinities that we saw in action in the stadiums and football fields act as inductors of the social development and reproduction of the hegemonic masculinity: they facilitate learning it, and they demand its representation [Llopis-Goig 2007, 2009].

On the other hand, in Spain those women who are 'interested' in football and follow their teams passionately are pressed to create strictly female *peñas* in order to engage with the professional male game. They find a space of liberation from masculine domination of football and the possibility there to develop a kind of 'gender individualization' [Ortega 1996; Puig 2000] in these *peñas*. Belonging to a *peña* lets women assert their particular interest in football, and it allows them to create their own cultural spaces around football, spaces that cannot be found in the traditional *peñas* that are defined by the kind of strong masculine ethos that has become a barrier to the entry of women. Women's *peñas* are 'sociability

spaces' with a playful component that, in some cases, has emerged to 'gather' women together who otherwise would have nobody to go to the stadium with. Furthermore, there are those women for whom joining a female *peña* means that their husbands will agree to their attendance at football matches without suspicion. Other women join *peñas* because they do not want to attend matches with their husbands, as they do not enjoy their partners' behaviour or feel restricted by their presence. These women experience their membership in the *peña* as something of a 'liberation' that allows them to enjoy their favourite sport on their own terms. Women's *peñas* allow female fans to oppose the male stereotypes that define female fans in Spain as being incapable of understanding football [Llopis-Goig 2008].

References

- Back L., Crabbe T., Solomos J. (2001), *The Changing Face of Football: Racism, Identity and Multiculture in the English Game*, Berg, Oxford.
- Buñuel A. (1996), *Mujer, machismo y deporte*, "Temas para el Debate", 23.
- Connell R.W. (1997), *La Organización Social de la Masculinidad* [in:] T. Valdés, J. Olavarria [eds.], *Masculinidad/es: Poder y Crisis*, Isis and Flacso-Chile, Santiago, pp. 31–43.
- Crawford G. (2004), *Consuming Sport: Fans, Sport and Culture*, Routledge, London.
- Gil Calvo E. (2006), *Máscaras Masculinas*, Anagrama Barcelona.
- Llopis-Goig R. (2007), *Female football supporters' communities in Spain: A focus on women's peñas* [en:] J. Magee, J. Caudwell, K. Liston, Sh. Scraton [eds.], *Women, Football and Europe: Histories, Equity and Experiences*. Meyer and Meyer Sport, Oxford, pp. 175–189.
- Llopis-Goig R. (2008), *Learning and representation – The construction of masculinity in football: An analysis of the situation in Spain*, "Sport in Society", 11 (6), pp. 685–695.
- Llopis-Goig R. (2009), *¿Fuera de juego? Las peñas de mujeres en el fútbol español*, "Sistema. Revista de Ciencias Sociales", núm. 210, pp. 113–126.
- Messner M.A. (1992), *Power at Play: Sports and the Problem of Masculinity*, Beacon Books, Boston.
- Mosquera M.J., Puig N. (2002), *Género y Edad en el Deporte* [in:] M. García Ferrando, N. Puig, F. Lagardera [comp.], *Sociología del Deporte*, Alianza, Madrid.
- Ortega F. (1996), *La esquivada igualdad: el género y sus representaciones sociales* [in:] M.A. García de León, M. García de Cortázar, F. Ortega, *Sociología de las mujeres españolas*. Editorial Complutense, Madrid, pp. 309–324.
- Orúe E., Gutiérrez S. (2001), *Locas por el Fútbol. De las Gradas al Vestuario*, Temas de Hoy, Madrid.
- Puig N. (2000), *Proceso de individualización, género y deporte*, "Apunts. Educación Física y Deportes", 59, pp. 99–102.
- Scraton S. (1995), *Boys Muscle in Where Angels Fear to Tread: Girl's Sub-Culture and Physical Activities* [in:] C. Critcher, P. Bramham, A. Tomlinson [eds.], *Sociology of Leisure: A Reader*, E and FN Spon, London.
- Scraton S., Fasting K., Pfister G., Buñuel A. (1999), *It's still a Man's Game?: The experiences of Top-Level European Women Footballers*, "International Review for the Sociology of Sport", 34 (2), pp. 99–111.
- Woodhouse D., Williams J. (1999), *Offside? The Position of Women in Football*, South Street, Reading.

Key words: *identification, gender, hegemonic masculinity, football*

Nikolaos Patsantaras, Irene Kamberidou

Faculty of Physical Education and Sport Science, University of Athens, Greece

Contact: npatsant@phed.uoa.gr; ikamper@phed.uoa.gr

Chapter 2.3.

IS OLYMPIC COMMUNICATION-ACTIVITY A MEANS FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF COSMOPOLITAN IDENTITIES?

Cultural Identity and Olympic Sports

In the last decades accelerated and unrestrained structural changes – on an institutional level – have been shattering significant cultural spheres such as class, gender, nationality, nation, and so forth. Today, due to social transformations, individual/personal identities are changing and “undermining our sense of self as complete subjects. Namely, the social subject is losing his/her autonomy and self-sufficiency. Identity is no longer formulated on the basis of the social subject’s inner nucleus but is constructed in the interrelations of the *self* with the values, meanings and symbols (culture) of the world in which we live and act in [Hall, Held, McGrew 1992]. Social identity is no longer focused on the *self* as the centre but on the social-cultural environment and identities are being transformed due structural and institutional changes. The postmodern social subject, in this framework and as a rule, cannot have a stable, static essential or permanent identity. The social subject, the athletes, the individuals, as well as diverse social groups, are confronted with different representations according to socio-cultural conditions. Olympic sports, as a relatively autonomous socio-cultural system, exercise a dynamic influence on the social subject – who acts and communicates within its structures – in the construction of personal/individual identities and collective identities. For example, since 1981 the changes that came about with the official recognition/acceptance of the commercialization of Olympic activity, for some have meant deviance and for others adaptation to transforming-evolving social processes.

Significant here are the changes regarding Olympic social reality – the material and structural conditions that influence the formation of identity – which affect the active participants as well as the passive ones. In our postmodern pe-

riod, identities are continuously formed, transformed and reconstructed in relation to the ways that we are represented or addressed in the cultural system that surrounds us [Donnelly, Young 1988]. Additionally, the influence exercised by one specific socio-cultural environment is not the same as that of individuals or groups. For instance, for some participants sport builds character for other this is not the case [Horne 2007]. This means that the Olympic value system has different effects, results and meanings on all participants in relation to time, place and social location. Whereas the Olympic movement – and Coubertin with his conception of *Olympism* which strove for cosmopolitanism – attempted to create a sense of solidarity that is independent of time, place, social location or national and political boundaries [Patsantaras, Kamberidou 2006, p. 370]. As Coubertin repeatedly pointed out cosmopolitanism was the only effective measure for the peaceful coexistence of the peoples of the world [Coubertin 1903, p.12]. In the Fundamental Principles of the Olympic Charter the official statement concerning the philosophy, goals and rules for the Olympic Games are clear, simple and straightforward. They emphasize that the Olympics should provide equal opportunities for the peoples of the world, for individuals from different nations and diverse cultural backgrounds so that they are able to connect and learn about each other [Olympic Charter, par. 2, 18/07/1996].

Undeniably such ideals, significant for the future of our planet, require that we work together as global citizens [Patsantaras *et al.* 2005, p. 40]. The Olympic movement advocates the empowerment of ethnic self-definition and the peaceful coexistence of diverse ethnic identities in the international scene [Kamberidou 2008]. As an international phenomenon Olympic sports encompass, in their value system, tolerance and respect for cultural diversity and ethnic identities. The institutional framework of Olympic sports includes declarations that are accepted by all nations with regard to respect and the promotion of national identities, as well as conditions of empowerment and ethnic self-definition. Consequently, the Olympic *topos* (social sphere) appears as a space in which a sense of cosmopolitanism could be cultivated, developed and reproduced. In other words, cosmopolitanism means that identity “can no longer be located nationally or locally, but only globally” [Beck 2002, p. 29].

However, in view of the fact that the Olympic Games clearly fall short of meeting these ideals, it is critical today for the Olympic movement to take steps to preserve and safeguard these advocated social values. The IOC is dependent on commercialization and the goal of global understanding and togetherness receives only token attention, since commercialization exerts a greater influence on how the Olympic Games are planned, played, promoted and presented. Moreover, the modern market creates temporary employment that leads to a corrosion of character [Sennet 1988]. Current discussions characterize Olympic sports as a means that serves the globalization processes, namely the western model of cultural-societal globalization [Young 1996].

Cosmopolitanization and the Olympics

Globalization is not only an economic phenomenon, namely a product of economic changes and market processes [Kamberidou 2007]. The Olympic phenomenon has always been subject to or influenced by the trends of development on an international level, and today on a global level, in other words that of the globalization processes. As a result, the Olympic sports phenomenon is consigned a negative dimension. Specifically, the globalization processes encompass – as a constituent element, as a condition for integration and inclusion – the elimination or rather the undermining of diverse cultural and ethnic identities. Beck [2002] argues that we cannot even begin to think about globalization-cosmopolitanism without referring to specific locations, places or nations. Globalization changes not only the relation between and beyond national states and societies but this process changes “the inner quality of the social and political itself” [Beck 2002, p. 23]. Beck calls this mode of change the “cosmopolitanization of nation-state societies” and argues that there is an interrelation or inter-dependence between globalization and cosmopolitanism [Beck 2002]. Explicitly, globalization seems to be a prerequisite for the appearance of those elements that reflect cosmopolitanism.

International dialogue indicates that globalization, as a process, is primarily a result of power-dominance: dominant economic or political power on a world level and usually beyond/outside international principles (ethics or laws) which disregard cultural diversity. [Grosby 2005; Beck 2002; Bryan 2002], whereas cosmopolitanization/cosmopolitanism as a process could exist only as a result of the respect and acceptance for the cultural diversity (law and ethics). The Olympics, however, as a global event, do not seem to be the result of a dialectic process in which the global and the local can coexist, in other words, exist as combined and mutually implicating principles [Beck 2002, p. 17]. For example, Coubertin’s goal and that of the Olympic movement was cultural uniformity, sameness or homogeneity. Coubertin never attempted to incorporate other kinetic cultures into Olympic sports, but instead he imposed the western example, the western model, western sports. Colonialism had played a catalytic role in the internationalization of this goal, a target that was not based on justice or ethics but on force, power and domination. This is what Coubertin called cosmopolitanism. Consequently, cosmopolitanism has been associated with the western European elite of the colonial empires. The English model that Coubertin adopted in order to internationalize his ideas includes abstract elements of structural rationalism such as Individualism, Tolerance, Universality, Contract, and Equality – the products of bourgeois capitalism that had come to maturity in the Age of Enlightenment [Goldmann 1973]. If we agree that the cosmopolitanization process means “internal globalization, globalization from within the national societies that transforms everyday consciousness and identities significantly”

[Beck 2002, p. 17], then it seems that the globalization process is a prerequisite-precondition for cosmopolitanism. In other words, modern cosmopolitanism is a result of specific social changes that are associated with globalization and the vision that globalization could lead to a cosmopolitan democracy.

Coubertin's Cosmopolitan Vision

The central mission of the Olympic movement was the construction of a new ethos, according to which the social subject must consider not only his/her own social progress, but that of the *cosmos* (entire world). The term and concept of cosmopolitanism was repeatedly used by Coubertin, who aspired through Olympic activity-communication to achieve interconnections across boundaries as well as transformations in the quality of social life inside the nation-state societies in order to elevate the *moral life* of the peoples of the world. The English perception of sport/athleticism – formulated by *fair play* as a central moral rule in the public schools of the 19th century and adopted by Coubertin – stressed that students should be taught through sports «to govern others and to control themselves» [Holt 1989, p. 76]. In this context the exercise of power was perceived as a game. This is evident today in Olympic ceremonies, etiquette and activities that provoke theoretical dialogue of a political, and economic character. Olympic activities, in accordance to prevailing socio-cultural conditions, are used as a means for the revival of political and economic power, thereby exercising great influence in the construction of individual identities and collective identities. One need point out that in the framework of sport *semasiologia*, any form of exercise of power must be connected to ethical/moral sport rules (eg. fair-play), including the obligation of taking into consideration and respecting all participants – active or passive – of Olympic activity and not only the athletes.

Coubertin's cosmopolitanism was not perceived as a result of a dialectic process between western societies and non-western societies. According to Coubertin, a cosmopolitan was a citizen of the world, however, he meant only the western world! In the 19th century England was witnessing the rise of an Evangelical Muscular Christianity in its public school system and in its universities, including the development of Christian missions, such as the YMCA. Undeniably this was a form of cultural imperialism, cultural homogenization or as Beck [2002] argues an “internal globalization”. In the 20th century the production of an institutional framework for international sport events created an international sport culture and identities that replaced regional and sub-national sport-cultures. Was this a process of cultural imperialism or an effort for the formulation of a cosmopolitan culture? During the colonial period, sports in general were a means for the westernization of cultures around the world. When we say that sport was a means for the westernization of societies, we mean that

there was no dialectic method in which the 'global' (western kinetic culture) and the local kinetic cultures (non-western) existed as combined and mutually implicating principles. It was a monologic process and concept which provided the opportunity for the manifestation of national identities in a global reality. This manifestation of the local or the national through international processes such as the Olympics usually leads to a cosmopolitan fallacy (imagination). Thus cosmopolitanism, as it was constructed in the framework of the Olympic movement, seems to be a vague and abstract concept. Coexistence during the Olympics does not necessarily stimulate a feeling of cosmopolitan responsibility. If we argue that cosmopolitanism means a reflexive globalization, a daily global experience then coexistence during the Olympics is something beyond daily life. It is a world sport celebration. This is not a real dialectic between local and international/global but an experience that surpasses daily life, even though it can help all Olympic participants (active and passive) and not only the athletes, to imagine a cosmopolitan society.

Olympic communication-activity is a social experience that assists the social subject to envision or dream of a cosmopolitan society. It is a social experience that is linked to the imaginary/fantasy. It seems that Coubertin strove to achieve a new order that would be applicable to the entire world by creating a symbiotic (a consensus) between the peoples of the world, a symbiotic that could be achieved through mutual acceptance of specific rules, regulations, rights and obligations. In this spirit, at least rhetorically, we can agree that Olympic activities can generate cosmopolitan perceptions as a basis for the construction of a cosmopolitan identity. We can argue that the Olympic *topos* is a special *topos* (social space/sphere) where athletes exercise their imagination since Olympic values are abstract elements. Namely, they exercise their imagination about *in-cosmopolitanism*, a cosmopolitanism within the boundaries of Olympic time and space in its confrontation with the outside world. The notion of "a citizen of the world" has long been part of the western utopian imaginary. It was implicit in Augustine's idea of "the City of God" and in Kant's vision of "perpetual peace" in 1796 during the Age of Enlightenment, namely, the vision of a world free from irrational social prejudice [Bryan 2002] that re-emerges in Coubertin's dialogue.

How can individual and national identities be integrated into the cosmopolitan vision in the Olympic *topos*

Current discussions focus on the deconstruction of national identities due to the globalization processes, emphasizing the need for cultural empowerment. The Olympic *topos* (social space) is recognized as a space for the declaration of national identities and many times as a space for the empowerment of ethnic-

state identities. One need point out that a primary source of cultural identity is ethnicity or the culture into which we are born [Hall, Held, McGrew 1992]. Although in the beginning Olympic sports had been perceived as a means to cultural imperialism, they are now perceived as a means for the empowerment of cultural identities through victory. In order to understand this, one need point out that initially the construction of a national-state framework of membership was required to establish Olympic institutions. Coubertin had structured his ideas on cosmopolitanism and on citizenship, which in order to exist required a *nation-building*. In this spirit Coubertin understood that local identities and national identities were prerequisites for cosmopolitanism and the construction of a cosmopolitan identity. Olympic sports were closely connected to political activities which focused on the creation of a state and its identification with ethnicity. Inevitably Olympic sports were connected to activities that pursued the construction of state-national identities. Access into Olympic sports requires a *state identity* that ignores the national origins of the participants. On the other hand, the Olympic topos, as a space of social communication-activity also leaves open room for the development and declaration of national identities, a factor that is compatible with democratic political cultures. It is also well-suited for the development of nationalism which distinguishes faith and dedication to the nation as a superior/moral/ethical source and as a means to political-social prosperity.

As a result, Olympic sports are distinguished as a topos for cultural empowerment and the expression of national identities, although they have frequently been associated with a nationalism that embraces negative images of *outsiders* or *the other* with regard to nation or national identity [Grosby 2005; Hastings 1997]. The social Olympic topos is susceptible and vulnerable to such forms of differentiation, capable of transgressing or violating the conventional boundaries of democratic civilizations (e.g. nationalism).

The Olympic movement and Coubertin had aspired to promote the concept of patriotism in order to build a framework that would eliminate nationalism and move towards cosmopolitanism. At this point we need to make the distinction between patriotic commitments and nationalist commitments – between identity which is related to homeland (*patris*) and identity which is related to nation (*ethnos*). Patriotism means emotional commitment to a place or patriotic love of country, and not commitment to a nation. A love of one's country does not rule out respect for other cultures and places. Love of one's country is merely a preparation for respect of diversity. «Cosmopolitanism does not mean that one does not have a country or a homeland, but one has to have a certain reflexive distance from that homeland» [Bryan 2002, p. 57]. Consequently, the reflexive distance from the homeland constitutes a cosmopolitan virtue and in this framework patriotism seems to be a precondition for understanding and respecting other cultures. In this context patriotism is compatible with cosmopolitanism. The republican tradition regards patriotism as a training ground for cosmopolitanism

[Bryan 2002, p. 59] and Coubertin, as a republican, attempted to promote his ideas on cosmopolitanism on the basis of the meaning *patris* (homeland). He believed that there could be no cosmopolitanism without localism (patriotism). In this spirit patriotism seems to be a precondition for understanding and respecting cultural diversity.

Olympic sports, as seen in the historicity of the phenomenon, have been used by all political systems, all ideological currents for specific political goals. Olympic sports have frequently been identified as political tools/means – not only in today's western neo-liberal societies – in the urban societies of the 19th century, in the ideologies of fascism and in those of communism and socialism [Epsy 1981]. Even republicanism and Marxism evolved on the basis of an “enlightened ecumenism” [Hall, Held, McGrew 1992] which aspired to create a global society, a global community in which super-ethnic social ties and catholically accepted views and values on peace, justice and freedom would determine the conditions of human existence, especially the foundations for a global civilization and culture and not those of imperialism. The Olympic Charter has been essentially based on this tradition since the 19th century [Πατσαντάρας 2007].

Olympic sports – and competitive sports in general – fulfill political functions and operations since they promote national prestige and advocate or assist in the revival and construction of national identity. For example, even though Olympic victory is an individual or group accomplishment, that of the athlete or that of the team, the success/victory is bestowed on the nation. Moreover, universal principles of democracy and personal liberties are included in the Olympic Charter. We can theoretically argue that the Olympic symbols, such as the Olympic flame, are distinguished by societies as a means for the promotion of global rights – that we believe are the basis for the cultivation of cosmopolitan identities. The Olympics as a mean of internationalization, globalization and also *cosmopolitanization* are also used for the internalization of conflicts between states. For instance, these conflicts can be political issues like those in Tibet. The reactions concerning the recent Olympic relay reveal that the Olympic symbols stimulated a feeling of cosmopolitan responsibility. Specifically, during the Olympic relay protesters around the world demanded that the Olympic organizers denounce China's policies against human rights in Tibet as well as the communist government's backing of the Sudanese military regime responsible for the killings in Darfur. However, we need point out that the International Olympic Committee (IOC) is not a global government with the authority or the political power to enforce human rights or punish the violators. The IOC is not a global government that can enforce the rights and obligations of citizens, but it is only a *means* to internationalize national and local social problems.

Undeniably, athletes as role models can promote examples of peaceful co-existence and world peace. The Olympic topos could also be perceived as a cultural space that cultivates patriotic, national or cosmopolitan identities, depending on

the relations between the participating countries in Olympic communication. When national citizens participate in ecumenically accepted events they become “citizens of the world” and this is made possible not because they follow specific national values, but because they have committed themselves to higher-superior values which are ecumenical. The multiple declaration of identities in Olympic sports reflects a complex symbolic reality which not only includes sport components, but political, social and cultural ones as well. For example, active participants in Olympic competitions acquire an identity of the Olympic athlete, however, the social subject who has this sport identity also has other identities, multiple identities: national, racial, gender and so forth [Kamperidou 2007].

Coubertin’s goal and that of the Olympic movement – as expressed in the Olympic Charter – was to establish the preconditions for the formation of an international democratic society in which national members would distinguish as a prerequisite for their own viability, respect for the viability of other nations. The international character of the Olympics is perceived as an exceptionally important means and tool for viable experiences of a cosmopolitan character. The Olympic Charter endeavored to combine universal democratic principles and personal liberties in order to create the basis for the construction of a cosmopolitan identity.

Conclusion: Olympic social reality

Olympic social reality, in order to promote social cohesion, incorporates diverse identities according to time and place. The Olympics are a means for the construction of national identities and global-cosmopolitan identities. However, the identities that are constructed and empowered do not exclusively depend on Olympic communication-activity, but on political and social conditions as well.

Olympic identity is a means towards cosmopolitanism. It can function as a unifying force with other identities. The identity of the Olympic athlete, for example, seems to function as a link for the coexistence of diverse identities with the epicentre being the *self* and the social subject. The Olympic athlete in this framework is defined not only nationally or locally but globally or *cosmopolitically*. Unquestionably Olympic sports, the Olympic environment can move toward cosmopolitanism and the construction of a cosmopolitan identity, without eliminating other identities. The Olympic environment can function catalytically in the unification of different identities. Under certain conditions, Olympic identity (the athlete or the audience/spectator) can unite and bring together other identities.

On the other hand, this unification of diverse identities includes elements from the sphere of the imaginary/fantasy/illusion. That is to say, identity remains incomplete and is constantly under reconstruction and transformation in

accordance to cultural representations. Thus Olympic communication is a social experience that can touch on the *imaginary* of cosmopolitanism in a limited space and time. The Olympic system is a social entity that consistently produces meanings. It is a system of evolving cultural representations. Olympic culture is comprised not only of Olympic institutions but also of Olympic symbols, ceremonies and representations that have the power to create a sense of identity. In Olympic sports it seems that the national (or patriotism) can be combined with universalism. When national citizens participate in an ecumenically accepted event they become «citizens of the world» and this is made possible not because they follow specific national values, but because they have committed themselves to higher ecumenically accepted values.

References

- Beck U. (2002), *The Cosmopolitan Society and its Enemies*, "Theory, Culture & Society", vol. 19 (1–2), pp. 17–44.
- Bryan S.T. (2002), *Cosmopolitan Virtue, Globalization and Patriotism*. "Theory, Culture & Society", vol. 19 (1–2): 45–63.
- Coubertin P. de (1903), *L'oeuvre de paix*, "Le Figaro", issue 23, p. 12.
- Coubertin P. de (1967), *Der olympische Gedanke*, Reden und Aufsätze, Hrsg. V. Carl Diem Institut, Schorndorf.
- Donnelly P., Young K. (1988), *The Construction and Confirmation of Identity in Sport Subcultures*, "Sociology of Sport Journal", vol. 3, pp. 223–240.
- Epsy R. (1981), *The Politics of the Olympic Games*, University of California Press, Los Angeles.
- Goldmann L. (1973), *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment: The Christian Burges and The Enlightenment*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- Grosby S. (2005), *Nationalism. A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Hall S., Held D., McGrew T. [eds.] (1992), *Modernity and its Futures*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Hastings A. (1997), *The Constitution of Nationalhood*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Holt R. (1989), *Sport and the British: a Modern History*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Horne J. (2007), *Sport, Socialization and the Social Construction of Identities* [in:] B. Kratzmüller, M. Marschik et al., *Sport and the Construction of Identities*. Published in Proceedings of the 11th International CESH-Congress, Vienna, September 17–20 2006. Verlag Turia & Kant, A-1-10 Schottengasse, Vienna.
- Kamberidou I. (2008), *Promoting a Culture of Peacemaking: Peace Games and Peace Education*, "International Journal of Physical Education" (IJPE), no. 4, pp. 176–188.
- Kamberidou I. (2007), "The Social Gender and Sport Identity: a bio-socio-cultural interpretation". *Sport and the Construction of Identities*. Published in Proceedings of the XIth International CESH-Congress, Vienna, September 17–20 2006. Verlag Turia & Kant, A-1-10 Schottengasse, pp. 584–501.
- Olympic Charter*, 18/07/1996.
- Patsantaras N., Kamberidou I. (2006), *Gender Equity in Olympic Sports: Absenteeism and "Invisibility"*, "Pandektis International Sports Law Review", 3–4, pp. 361–375.

- Patsantaras N. *et al.* (2005), *Sinndimensionen des olympischen Wettkampfs. Eine systemtheoretische Betrachtung*, “Das Wissenschaftsmagazin der Deutschen Sporthochschule Köln”, vol. 2, pp. 38–46.
- Πατσανταρας [Patsantaras] N. (2007), *Το Ολυμπιακό Φαινόμενο* [the Olympic Phenomenon], Νομική Βιβλιοθήκη [Legal Library Publications], Athens.
- Sennet R. (1988), *The Corrosion of Character: The Personal Consequences of Work in the New Capitalism*, W.W. Norton, New York.
- Young D. (1996), *The Modern Olympics. A Struggle for Revival*. Baltimore and London.

Key words: *globalization, cosmopolitanism, ecumenical values, collective identity, diverse identities, sport identity*

Silke Vagt-Keßler

Institute of Sport Sociology at German Sport University Cologne, Germany
Contact: *vagt-kessler@dshs-koeln.de*

Chapter 2.4.

FEELINGS OF SALSA DANCERS IN GERMANY. AN EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS OF GENDER AND INTERCULTURAL ASPECTS

1. Introduction

Research on salsa focuses on a dance culture with Afro-Cuban roots. With respect to salsa there has grown a new dancing scene in Germany within the last ten years. But although Salsa is an increasing pastime in Germany, a very interesting scene within an intercultural context, little research about this social phenomenon is published up to now [Eksi 2004; Klein & Haller 2006; Klein & Haller 2008; Wieschiolek 2003].

The results that are discussed in this article¹ are part of a doctoral thesis that collected empirical data of the German salsa scene with a mixed-method-design (both qualitative and quantitative). The aim of the research was to understand the salsa scene in Germany with respect to the attitudes, motives, feelings and behaviour of salsa dancers. This article focuses on the feelings of salsa dancers because they seem to push on the development of the scene.

Why do feelings of salsa-dancers seem to be so relevant? Feelings are crucial for all kinds of activities because they show if needs are satisfied or unsatisfied. They are the affective part of experiences and they can be noticed not only in psychological but also in physical reactions [Klima 1988]. Looking at the feelings related to body practices like salsa, it has to be taken into consideration that body practices as well as feelings are a social phenomenon [Bourdieu 1982] and that they vary in relation to gender aspects [Alfermann 2006] and to the cultural background [Bröskamp 1994].

In regard to this theoretical basis, three hypothesis will be discussed in this article:

H 1. Salsa satisfies physical, psychological and social needs.

¹ I would like to thank Catie Keßler for helpful review and Miriam Tschada for correction.

H 2. The feelings depend on gender aspects.

H 3. The feelings depend on cultural socialisation.

2. Research methods

The data of the study was collected from several interviews with experts and dancers and from observations at salsa parties. Based on this qualitative part, an online-survey was designed and conducted in 2008. The salsa dancers were activated via homepages of salsa clubs and dance schools and via email-newsletters in all parts of Germany. This article focuses on the results of the online-survey.

The first question in the questionnaire that was related to feelings in the salsa scene was a closed one. The dancers were asked: *“When you dance Salsa, how often do you feel...?”* The dancers could differentiate different kinds of feelings like euphoria, pride and anger. The scale ranges from very often to often, sometimes, seldom and never. The answers can be arranged to positive and negative feelings although in the strict sense, feelings never are simply ‘negative’. They just indicate that central needs are not satisfied and for this can accelerate activity.

Table 1. Different kinds of feelings while dancing

positive feelings	negative feelings
– euphoric	– nervous
– happy	– angry
– satisfied	– anxious
– relaxed	– sad
– bright	
– proud	

In a second question the dancers were asked whether they would like to add any information about these feelings or the situations when these feelings emerged. Thus an open question was used to give an imagination of vitally situations referring salsa.

3. Results

3.1. Feelings and motives of salsa dancers

The sample of the online survey consists of 2.416 dancers. 63% of them are female and 37% are male, the average age is 36 years. Almost 80% are highly educated people, roughly a quarter are migrants.

In the majority of cases the feelings of salsa dancers are positive. Very often they feel happy, satisfied and relaxed while enjoying the moves, the music and the social ambience. Sometimes the dancers feel euphoric and proud when they perform successfully. ‘Negative’ feelings like sadness or anger arise when the dancers do not find a suitable dancing partner. Moreover, they get nervous or anxious if they have the feeling of being insecure or a bad dancer. But in general the dancers feel seldom nervous, angry, anxious or sad.

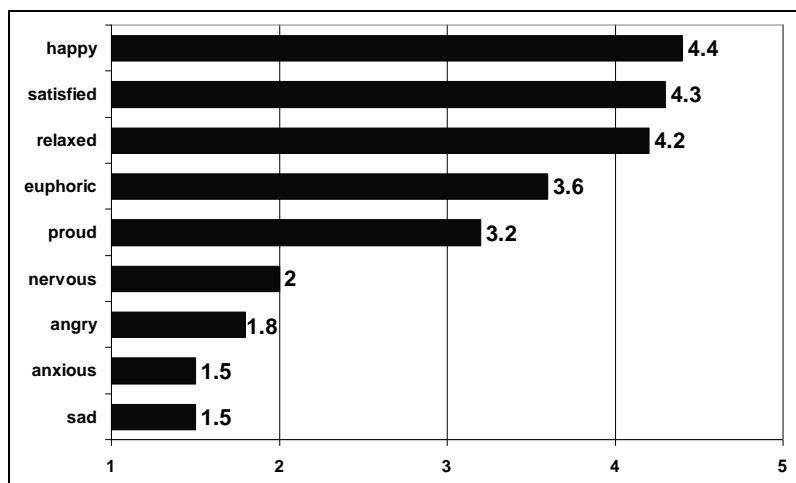


Figure 1. Frequency of feelings while dancing (mean)

Source: own study (scale: 1 = never to 5 = very often)

The mostly positive feelings show that the dancers cope with the tasks of dancing and that the needs of the dancers are satisfied very often. While staying at salsa parties, the dancers look for distraction and vitality. A lot of them can forget their daily job-related or private problems. This approves the analysis of the motives: Having fun is the most important one (mean 4.8; scale: 1 = I completely disagree to 5 = I completely agree), the music and its positive impact on the mood is the second one (mean 4.5) and the third one is the harmony with the dancing partner (mean 4.1).

In relation to the last point most the dancers especially enjoy the body contact with the dancing partner. They are totally happy when they get into a collective flow (mean 3.7):

„Sometimes I was lucky having met a dancing partner in the evening, and with whom I felt as a whole. We did not belong to this world any longer. This was an incredible feeling that I cannot describe. Two individuals, that do not know each other but who harmonise absolutely within the rhythm of music.“
(female salsa dancer, 37 years)

A lot of dancers get addicted to this feeling of flow and harmony. They are looking for “*perfect moments*” that arise when the music, the movements and the dancing partners merge.

A further motive is related to the performance orientation of the dancers: they want to improve their technical skills (mean 3.8). In order to reach this aim a lot of dancers take dancing lessons and practise ambitiously. Their greatest wish is to be and to get the best dancers at the party, so they sometimes even forget to relax (Vagt-Keßler 2009_a).

In addition to the mentioned motives the dancers search social contacts (meet friends: mean 3.3; meet new people: mean: 3.3) and erotic stimulation (mean 3.3) in the salsa scene. Only some are looking for a new, serious relationship (mean 2.0).

3.2. Feelings in comparison with judo

The feelings of salsa dancers can be compared with other kind of dances or sports. In this case the data of Judo is taken from a study with 205 persons (Teipel, Heinemann & Kemper 2001). Although both activities are implemented in partnership, differences are obviously both in the positive as well as in the negative feelings.

Table 2. Feelings of salsa dancers in comparison with judo (means)

	Salsa		Judo	
	♂	♀	♂	♀
happy	4.2	4.5	4.1	4.1
satisfied	4.1	4.4	3.6	3.6
relaxed	4.0	4.2	3.0	2.6
euphoric	3.4	3.7	3.1	2.9
proud	3.1	3.3	3.4	3.2
nervous	2.0	2.0	3.6	4.0
angry	1.8	1.8	3.0	3.2
anxious	1.6	1.5	2.3	2.6
sad	1.5	1.6	2.7	3.1

Sources: salsa: own study; judo: Teipel, Heinemann, Kemper (2001); n=205 (scale: 1 = never to 5 = very often).

The salsa dancers feel more often happy, satisfied, relaxed and euphoric and a lot less nervous, angry, anxious and sad than athletes of Judo. These results especially apply to the case of women. In order to explain these good feelings, the social context has to be taken into consideration: In most cases, salsa is not a competitive sport that is placed in a sports complex. Furthermore, it has not serious implications like the risk of defeat or relegation. On the contrary: salsa activities take place in a relaxed party atmosphere at night: Small talk with a lot of different people, listening to music and having a drink are basics of a salsa party.

3.3. Feelings in gender perception

Feelings of male and female salsa dancers differ. In relation to all positive feelings the means of women are significantly higher. Thus, female dancers feel more satisfied while dancing.

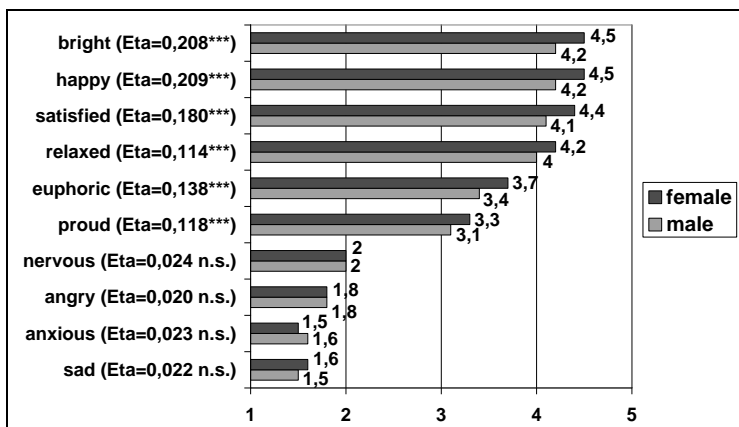


Figure 2. Feelings of salsa dancers in gender perspective (means)

Source: own study (scale: 1 = never to 5 = very often).

One reason for that could be the easier dancing parts for women. They do not have to learn the movements systematically if they know how to follow the signals of dancing. Moreover, many female dancers have experiences in gymnastics and other dancing cultures. As a consequence they have better body conditions than men with regard to movements and rhythm. Another reason could be that women enjoy dancing because it is a part of a female identity that cannot be demonstrated in normal contexts.

One question concerned the issue if women feel more feminine and men more masculine than usual while dancing salsa.

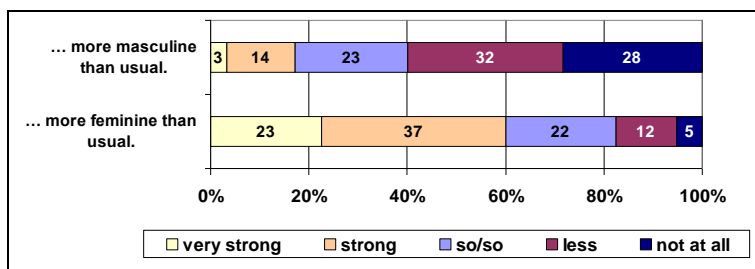


Figure 3. How strong do you agree? „When I dance salsa, I feel...”

Source: own study.

The results show that 60% of women agree, in the case of male dancers only a percentage of 17% assume this statement. This result confirms the difference of self-perception and interpretation of women and men. In salsa, a feminine identity can be expressed by attractiveness, elastic movements and by alluring the dancing partner. It is linked to the wish of admiration and conquest. The open statements approve this conclusion, for example, the following expression:

„I have got the feeling of being free and being able to fly. I feel beautiful and alive...” Dancing is nothing, but the attempt of a man to let the woman appear as beautiful as possible. To inflame her, to get her to shine. I am a star. When I feel like this, then I am totally happy.“ (female salsa dancer, 38 years)

On the other hand, not all women feel well in the salsa scene because there are some male dancers who exploit the situation of contact and closeness as it is expressed in the following statement:

„I feel very angry if I can't find a man, who won't pick me if I simply give the signal of only wanting to dance.“ (female salsa dancer, 27 years)

We can see conflicts in these cases when there are different expectations especially in the case of erotic contact.

3.4. Feelings in intercultural perception

The feelings of the salsa dancers differ in relation to the cultural background although the differences are less than in gender perspective. For example, in comparison of Latin-Americans (n=102) with Non-Latins (n=2,313), the Latins appear more satisfied and happier. Moreover, the Latins feel less angry than the others.

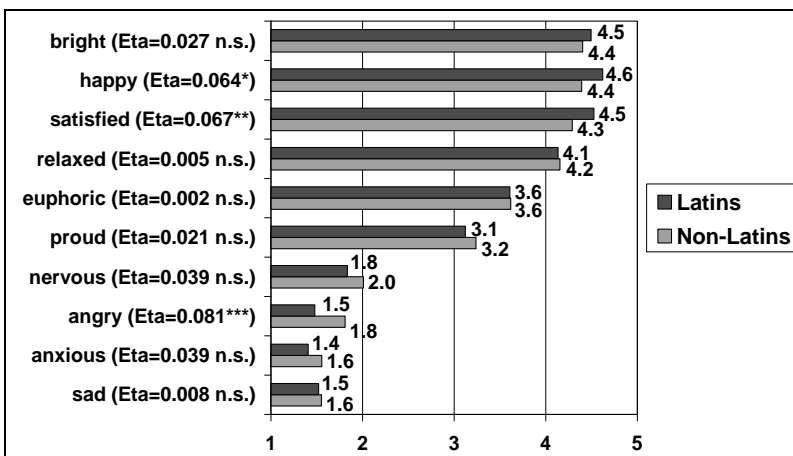


Figure 4. Feelings in relation to cultural background (means)

Source: own study (scale: 1 = never to 5 = very often).

After having passed the notes in the open questions, relevant intercultural aspects in the salsa scene can be noted. Firstly, the atmosphere at salsa parties is perceived differently from German lifestyle. It is recognized as a grooving Cuban atmosphere, as it is expressed by this salsa dancer: „When I enter a Salsa party, I note a different, more casual and southern atmosphere. You can merge with another culture and language. You're infected immediately by the Cuban vitality and forget your problems.“ (female salsa dancer, 22 years)

Secondly, there are some differences in the performance and perception of dancing. The German way of dancing is noted as a *“rational way of dancing”*: „The main reason why I don't like dancing so much any longer is that the German dancers want to dance in a perfect way, with more and more figures. It is the way of German dancing.“ (male salsa dancer, 30 years)

All in all, the Latin dancers seem to show up a bit less ambitious concerning dancing. By contrast, the German dancers often express anger in relation to themselves or to the dancing partner if they cannot cope with the figures. In consequence of different attitudes in relation to perfectionism we can see conflicts in the scene.

3.5. Feelings in respect to the level of competence

As it was shown above the feelings of salsa dancers differ in relation to gender and cultural aspects. But feelings also differ in another perspective namely in relation of the level of competence (scale: 1=very low; 5=very high). Highly significant differences can be noted between the professionals (level of competence: very high) and the beginners (level of competence: very low): The good dancers feel a lot more satisfied, relaxed and proud than the beginners. This result shows that self-confidence and feelings of recognition grow with the level of competence because they get a lot of body skills and they accumulate social capital.

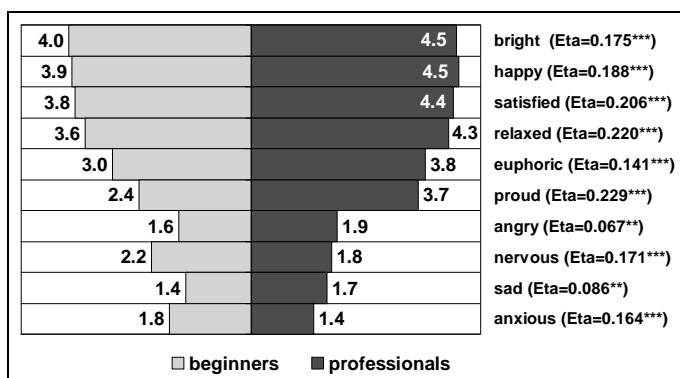


Figure 5. Feelings in relation to the level of dance (means)

Source: own study (scale: 1 = never to 5 = very often).

Regarding the negative feelings one can notice a surprise: the professionals are more often angry and/or sad. We have to interpret this result with respect to the background of the prospects of the good dancers: As they perform at a very high level they need a very good dancing partner to be satisfied and to get into flow [cf. Csikszentmihalyi, Jackson 2000]. In conclusion, they feel angry or sad if they cannot get the most outstanding condition.

4. Conclusions

In conclusion, salsa satisfies relevant physical, psychological and social needs as feeling the own body, getting away from the workaday life and staying in contact with other persons. The social context of a party atmosphere supports relaxation and the sense of well-being. Frequently salsa generates deep positive feelings, especially for women and a bit less for Latin dancers.

In the first case salsa makes a contribution to the female identity and gives the opportunity to play with gender roles. In the second case Latin-American dancers appear more relaxed and less ambitious than German dancers and thus enjoy the situation more. At times there are conflicts about the performance of dancing: Irritations sometimes arise about the erotic component or the number and demand of figures. These results confirm the hypothesis that the experience of dance is formed by gender and culture influence. But the feelings of Salsa dancers do not depend automatically on these aspects but on the expectations and understanding of dancing and the own body.

A further influence of the feelings of salsa dancers is the level of competence. As self-esteem and social recognition prosper with dance competences and possibilities of body expression, a lot of dancers are very ambitious and actually feel better than beginners. However, the expectations of good dancers increase and therefore feelings like sadness and anger and unhappiness between dancing partners rise as well.

To sum up, salsa very often comes across as a resource of vitality and amusement. Seldom forms a field of conflicts about suitable partners, the interaction and style of dancing.

References

- Alfermann D. (2006), *Psychosoziale Entwicklung und ihre Bedeutung für die Geschlechterordnung im Sport* [Psychosocial Development and its Meaning for the Order of Sexes in Sports] [in:] I. Hartmann-Tews, B. Rulofs [eds.], *Handbuch Sport und Geschlecht* [Handbook Sport and Gender], Hofmann, Schorndorf, pp. 68–77.
- Bourdieu P. (1982), *Die feinen Unterschiede. Kritik der gesellschaftlichen Urteilskraft* [Fine Differences. Critique of the Corporative Power of Judgement], Suhrkamp, Frankfurt/Main.

- Bröskamp B. (1994), *Körperliche Fremdheit – Zum Problem der interkulturellen Begegnung im Sport* [*Bodily Foreignness – the Problem of the Intercultural Encounter in Sports*], Academia Verlag, Sankt Augustin.
- Csikszentmihalyi M., Jackson S.A. (2000). *Flow im Sport. Der Schlüssel zur optimalen Erfahrung und Leistung* [*Flow in Sport. The Key to Optimal Experience and Performance*], BLV Verlagsgesellschaft, München.
- Ekşi H. (2004), *Motivation zum Salsa-Tanzen* [*Motivation to Salsa-Dancing*], Diplomarbeit Deutsche Sporthochschule Köln, Köln.
- Klein G., Haller M. (2006), *Präsenzeffekte. Zum Verhältnis von Bewegung und Sprache am Beispiel lateinamerikanischer Tänze* [*Effects of Presence. To the Proportion of Movement and Language with the Help of the Example of Latin-American Dances*] [in:] R. Gugutzer [eds.], *body turn. Perspektiven der Soziologie des Körpers und des Sports* [*Body Turn. Perspectives of the Sociology of the Body and Sports*], Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, pp. 233–247.
- Klein G., Haller, M. (2008), *Café Buenos Aires und Galeria del Latino. Zur Translokalität und Hybridität städtischer Tanzkulturen* [*Café Buenos Aires und Galeria del Latino. Hybridity of Urban Dancing Cultures*] [in:] J. Funke-Wieneke, G. Klein [eds.], *Bewegungsraum und Stadtkultur. Sozial- und kulturwissenschaftliche Perspektiven* [*Space of Movement and Urban Culture. Social and Cultural Perspectives*], Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, pp. 51–74.
- Klima R. (1988), *Gefühl* [*Feeling*] [in:] W. Fuchs, R. Klima, R. Lautmann, O. Rammstedt, H. Wienold [eds.], *Lexikon zur Soziologie* [*Encyclopaedia of Sociology*], Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, p. 255.
- Teipel D., Heinemann D., Kemper R. (2001), *Emotionserleben und Freudeausdruck bei männlichen und weiblichen Judoka* [*Experience of Emotion and Expression of Enjoyment on Male and Female Judoka*] [in:] J.R. Nitsch, J. Allmer [eds.], *Denken, Sprechen, Bewegen. Bericht über die 32. Tagung der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Sportpsychologie (asp) vom 1. bis 3. Juni 2000 in Köln* [*Thinking, Talking, Moving. Report on 32th Congress of the Consortium for Psychology of Sports from the 1–3/6/2000 at Cologne*], bps-Verlag, Köln, pp. 261–265.
- Vagt-Keßler S. (2008), *Gefühle der Un-/ Sicherheit beim Salsa-Tanzen. Ergebnisse eines Online-Surveys, Poster-Vortrag auf dem 34. Kongress der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie "Unsichere Zeiten" vom 6. bis 10. Oktober 2008 in Jena* [*Feelings of Insecurity and Security while Salsa-Dancing. Results of an Online-Survey, Poster-Presentation on 34th Congress of the German Society for Sociology "Uncertain Times" from 6-10/10/2008*].
- Download on 11/12/2009:
http://dgs2008.de/wp-content/uploads/2008/09/poster_sohtag_vagt_end_a4_2.pdf
- Vagt-Keßler S. (2009_a), "Acrobatic Salsa" in Germany – Adoption Process and Body Norms. [in:] D.H. Jütting, B. Schulze & U. Müller (eds.), *Local sport in Europe. Proceedings of the 4th Eass Donference 31/5-3/6/2007 in Münster*, Waxmann, Münster, pp. 134–144.
- Vagt-Keßler S. (2009_b), *Senses and Salsa-Dancing: the Role of Body Contact in Gender and Intercultural Perception* [in:] G. Bizzaglia, P. Ogliotti [eds.], *Sports, Bodies, Identities: 6th Eass Conference. Book of Abstracts*, Lancillotto e Nausica, Rom, p. 83.
- Wieschiolek H. (2003), «Ladies, Just Follow His Lead!»: *Salsa, Gender and Identity* [in:] N. Dyck, E.P. Archetti [eds.], *Sport, Dance and Embodied Identities*, Berg, Oxford and New York, pp. 115–137.

Key words: dance culture, social phenomenon, cultural socialisation, online-survey

Stefania Manzo, Lavinia Falese

Faculty of Sport Sciences, Department of Sport and Health Sciences, University of Cassino, Italy

Contact: *s.manzo@unicas.it; l.falese@unicas.it*

Chapter 2.5.

PARKOUR. FROM THE NO-INTENTIONAL DIDACTICS TO THE SPECTACULARIZATION

A new form of postmodern Physical Activity has spread during last fifteen years in Europe: the Parkour. Parkour emerged in Paris' suburb, in Lisse, thanks to David Belle, a son of a soldier practicing the Natural Method of Georges Hebert¹ at the beginning of 1900. In Belle's mind, the Parkour is based on this Natural Method. Parkour was born from the need to better live the environment that today is no comfortable and is full of obstacles and barriers.

The bound body revives and decides to trace a new way; this is the reason why the discipline is named Parkour adding the letter K in the french word for way. "Traceurs" are people practicing Parkour, people that letterally charts courses. They chart a course and move in the time/space environment using elements from the urban habitat, challenging themselves and the city architecture.

Training halls move to the street and training halls...become streets. Everyone can practice Parkour, there aren't limitations because the difficulty of the way is decided by each one.

Talking about Parkour today is not something new; a lot of newspapers and magazines deepen this topic and several videos and interviews are often spread on television and internet. The new message wants to highlight the importance of living actively in the cities, reading the cities, changing points of view and using fantasy.

Urban space cannot be separated from the body; it is not just a container of the body but it is extremerey linked with the frames of mind of people living in. It means that we don't have to think of the city as a jungle full of dangers but as a place full of possibilities and occasions. It is known that cities are not easy to live in and it is difficult to understand if what is available is to adapt to the different kind of people: it is not exactly in that way.

¹ Georges Hébert (Paris 1875 – Tourgéville 1957) was a French teacher experienced in physical education from theory to practice.

People have a special instrument to assess the urban space: the body. Body is an instrument to assess the quality of life and in this new vision it represents no more an obstacle of the space, it is not more obliged to move in fixed times and in limited environments without the possibility to communicate and to gain confidence. Body can, in this way, gain new confidence, the confidence to carry meanings, to spread emotions, to communicate, but overall the confidence of movement in different contests.

This is what the Parkour community decides to do, living the city as an expressive mean of the body, considering the city as a mean to express. The city, as confirmed by David Belle in an interview, becomes an instrument. He adds "it needs to feel the city more than let the city use you"².

The "crew" is a group of Parkour practicers and is constituted by traceurs; it is spread in France, England, Spain, Portugal, Romania, Germany, Poland, Russia, Finland and Italy. Its quickly diffusion mostly depends on internet; is in fact possible to share information and suggestion about the practice, technics and training methods through forum, links and chats.

Trying to know better Italian traceurs, especially the most active group founding the first Italian website on this theme (www.parkour.it), a questionnaire has been administered on occasion of a crew's special meeting in Pescara-Italy. All the collected data have been analyzed in specific theses in Sport Sciences³. From these data appears that Parkour practicers are mainly 15–35-year-old men. They are joined by individualism, membership, extreme sensations, self-assertion.

The greater motivation for the Parkour practice seems to be the rebellion to the strict rules of the body, the need of aggregation, exploration, the wish of new experiences and emotions, the wish of improving own skills.

The data show that parkour is not only a discipline, a sport, it is a philosophy, a way of life. Traceurs move in the urban environment with respect and with their body's respect, they don't challenge each other, they don't want to beat someone. Their aim is not to imitate the others, but to look at the availability of the urban space, the aim is to decide a point of start and a point of arrival, to establish a fluid and efficient track. It doesn't exist an only way, everyone can interpret the urban space surround, the elements like stairs, walls, guardrails, barriers.

Traceurs, as Sebastien Foucan⁴ highlights, look at every structure as a way to move, as a way to improve the personality using movements from the human

² This topic has been discussed in an interview available on line on <http://www.youtube.com/user/ParkourApki>, 2009.

³ The mentioned thesis has been carried out by the Department of Sport and Health Sciences, University of Cassino, Italy, in cooperation with Antonio Borgogni, Assistant Professor.

⁴ In a first moment Foucan focused his interest on Parkour then he moved his attention to FreeRunning, similar to Parkour but more focused on spectacularization and performance.

background: to walk, to run, to jump, to crawl, to climb, to throw, to defend in every situation and landscape.

These principles are all from Natural Methods, training techniques and life philosophy born thanks to a French naval officer Georges Hebert at the beginning of 1900. Hebert deducted that the better way to strengthen and to train during the military training was to combine physical and athletic skills with bravery and altruism. He was impressed by the physical development and body-environmental oneness of the “indigenous people” he encountered in the African continent. He came to believe that the pursuit of physical perfection and communion with the environmental surroundings is a technique for developing one’s sense of place in the physical and social environment and as a vehicle for bringing forth the underlying essence of one’s own humanity [Delaplace 2005].

Herbert believed that individuals should train in open environments as an unfettered animal species across a variety of landscapes and obstacles. Moreover, he thought that inciting his students/soldiers to learn movements across a track in a natural environment, could let them be able to walk, to jump, to run in any difficult environmental condition with bravery and will-power [Atkinson 2009].

According to Micheal Atkinson in last decade three forms of Parkour have developed: for the first one, the one from purists, the principles to follow are the ones from the Natural Method, without the possibility of evolution. The second one is based on the Natural Method but it plans openness to the society. To learn across the Parkour’s bases permits to transfer the same principles to other contests: control, self-respect, health control. They eschew the idea that one needs to train “in the wild” to reap the social and psychological benefits of Parkour. They see their own neighborhoods and cityscapes as important physical environments to explore, experience, understand, and deconstruct through athletic movement.

Finally, in the last form, the spectacularization of the practice is promoted, a competitive free runner generation has emerged. Elements of Parkour’s spiritual and moral essence are understood but the interest in the spectacular physical aspect and commodification of the practice is predominant.

All the three forms grasp a new and big interest from the studious community, from the sport sociologists to the sport experts, architects and town planners: traceurs use urban spaces, select places and let them become comfortable to their needs; they live these places and appropriate them.

Even Parkour, as every discipline, has its basic elements that everyone respects. They are defined “the five elements” and they live each according to the other: philosophy, community, security, trick and flow.

Table 1. Basic Elements of Parkour

PHYLOSOPHY	Each traceur decides to face the urban space and the chosen track according to his/her body feelings. It is not important what he/she finds on the track, the obstacle will not be moved around, it will be exploited. Track to track, obstacle after obstacle, it is possible to gain new self control, self confidence. The traceur changes his/her point of view looking at things in a different way. Parkour practicers want to show to other people the deep side of the discipline. A jump is not only what we see, it is hard work, and it is the result of a long observation.
COMMUNITY	The word “community” means for the majority of people a group of people linked by something. Even parkour are communities, thanks to the internet contacts. But overall parkour is a community because practicers share everything: every trick, every suggestion is for all the members, no competition is accepted.
SECURITY	In the parkour philosophy extreme situations don’t exist. A traceur doesn’t risk without having tried the movement in a smaller scale: it is not used to risk without a specific training. It is very important to consult a doctor before starting practicing this activity, to take cure of the pain as an alarm, to heal after an injury, to have comfortable clothes.
TRICK	Trick is the creativity of every practicer, is the personal improvement, the self-capacity to face obstacles and different situations.
FLOW	The flow is the physical power not in the literally meaning. Alone in fact is not enough. The flow involves sensations, feelings, movement’s quality from the body and naturalness.

To respect these elements means do not underestimate dangers, do not give in to obstacles, do not compete but only to move in the urban space using the own body naturally and in a fluid way. It allows a gradual improvement of own skills across the difficulty evolution depending on the attention to own body sensations. Usually traceurs have some favorite courses that practice in the years until the course becomes fluid and efficient. But, even if we said that in Parkour philosophy the street becomes a training gym, it is not possible to say that a teacher does exist. In Parkour a traditional teaching is not contemplated, there is not a teacher and a student. The teaching process for Parkour includes in fact long learning times: less exercises repeated a lot of times, slowness and patience.

The training can be divided into two moments: the physical exercises, and the track’s location. The first one can take place in whatever way, it is only important to improve strength, speed and balance. The track’s location is based on the location of the starting and the ending point and on the specification of all the obstacles characterizing the track.

Over the years traceurs decided to classify some basic movements labeling them with names and definitions as for technics even if in the maximum respect of the Parkour philosophy, it is not correct.

In Parkour, in fact, there are not the techniques making the motion, but it is the motion, the body expression caused by the fantasy and the creativity of every traceur, which makes the course: “techniques are not the starting point, they are the ending point”⁵. Therefore, the traceur is a self-taught learning from other traceurs observation and from their suggestions.

This kind of didactics is known as no intentional because there is an adaptation of already existing skills and even the learning of new one without a specific planning. Nevertheless, since last years in some European countries it has been possible to find Parkour practicers even in real training gym trying to simulate with machines the urban scenery.

Over the 1900 the sport world has changed a lot. Raffaella Ferrero Camoletto deals with the sport, the sport culture evolution and its meaning, in a clear and brief way. She achieves it defining the postmodern sport as the sport practices that are no more addressed to the winning or to break a record. The Postmodern sport is addressed to the talent, creativity and style valorization, the body experience, the passion, the individual rhythm become central [Ferrero Camoletto 2005].

Parkour can be included in the expressive recreational physical activity [Lipovetsky 1983] where the individual or collective recreational nature is predominant on the result achievement.

Considering all the three forms of parkour it is possible to assert that parkour has instrumental, expressive, entertainment and spectacularization characteristics. Heinemann and Puig in their classification for the new sport practices of 20th century would consider parkour as sport X (like eXtreme) and glisse sport [Heinemann, Puig 1996].

According to Ferrero Camoletto, sports X and glisse sports are often confused because they were born in the same period but then they take different attitudes: X practices are stronger, the risk exposition and the overcoming of physical and psychological body limits are on the basis of these practices (base-jump; hydro-speed; extreme ski); glisse sports are softer and are considered as light activities, where the felt sensation and the intensity of the choreography is very important [Ferrero Camoletto 2005].

Although Belle’s purist idea of Parkour, the “sportization process” [Dunning 1999] is started even for Parkour, sportization is the process by which subaltern or alternative forms of sport, leisure and play are co-opted and incorporated into mainstream sports cultures. They become formalized, institutionalized, hierarchical, and rule-bound types of sport that are organized and operated on the basis of intense competition, social exclusion, and domination of others [Atkinson 2009].

⁵ Topic deepened by Alessandro Mezzetti, expert of expressive and physical activities, in 2005 during a round table in Rome Hip Hop Parade Festival.

Conclusion

Finally, it is possible to assert that Parkour is a discipline open to everyone who wants to feel the city across the own body. No dangers more than the ones imposed by own self are contemplated, everyone practices in their own level even if using the same track of others, there is no competition except in relation with the own improvement.

In 2007 David Belle wrote an official text telling what is and what is not Parkour. Nevertheless, a lot of sport associations today are trying to give rules, to categorize, to define with standard words that were born from feelings and emotions.

It seems paradoxical but maybe it happens because this kind of activity is not commercial and marketing would try to exploit its spectacularization selling it to global audiences through television commercials and documentaries, movies, clothing lines, training schools, video games and even international competitions with the risk of death for the original discipline.

References

- Atkinson M. (2009), *Parkour; anarcho-Environmentalism, and Poesis*, „Journal of Sport and Social Issues”, vol. 33, no. 2, pp. 169–134.
- Delaplace J. (2005), *George Herbert: Sculpteur du corps [George Herbert: Body sculpture]*, Vulbert, Paris.
- Dunning E. (1999), *Sport Matters: Sociological studies of sport, violence, and civilization*, Routledge, London.
- Ferrero Camoletto R. (2005), *Oltre il limite. Il corpo tra sport estremi e fitness*, Il Mulino.
- Heinemann K., Puig N. (1996), *Lo sport verso il 2000. Trasformazioni dei modelli sportivi nelle società sviluppate*, in *Sport & Loisir*, SEAM, Roma.
- Lipovetsky G. (1983), *L'ère du vide. Essais sur l'individualisme contemporain*, Gallimard, Paris.
<http://www.parkour.it>
<http://www.youtube.com/user/ParkourApki> (2009).

Key words: *youth culture, body, urban space, physical activity, community*

Oktay Aktan

University of Potsdam, Department of General Sociology, Germany

Chapter 2.6.

THE ROLE OF *HOCAS* IN THE SOCIAL INTEGRATION OF FOOTBALL PLAYERS OF TURKISH ORIGIN IN BERLIN

This article is a part of an empirical research project which examines the Turkish football world¹ in Berlin. The football clubs are considered in this study as the institutions generating *social spacer* [Simmel 1992] to bring the players and the other club members together both in and outside the clubs.

As a method of data collection, *Gruppendiskussionen* [Mangold 1960] – Focus Groups are conducted with the football players. Main intention is to re-construct common perceptions, values and priorities of the participants, by emphasizing inner group relations, the roles of the team members, and the subjectively constructed system of typifications [Nohl 2009] established by the players.

The transcribed interviews are the main texts which are interpreted based on the social scientific hermeneutics [Soeffner 2004] principles. The transcriptions are attached in the article in order to illustrate the reconstruction phase to the reader. The aim is to discover the *implicit meanings* [Douglas 1979] hidden in the texts and profoundly interpret or *thickly describe* the contents of the manuscripts [Geertz 1987].

The theoretical background of the study covers the reconstruction of the subjective and objective presentation patterns in order to analyze *the structures of everyday life* [Schutz, Luckmann 1979] of football players. The *Goffman's Frame Analysis* [Goffman 1974] is utilized to interpret the social relations in a sport context where the role players in this social world [Strauss 1978] are presented in a dramatic scene. Mainly the social capital formations are concerned in this article and their impacts on the social integration of young generation with Turkish origin in Berlin.

¹ Currently, there are thirty football clubs in Berlin which were founded by immigrants of Turkish origin. The history of these clubs begins with the history of the workforce migration to Germany, starting in the 1960s.

The social capital formed in the clubs is analyzed according to the Putnam's *bonding social capital* [Putnam 2002] theory which he explains as "bringing together people who are like one another in important respects (ethnicity, age, gender, social class, and so on)" [Putnam, 2002:10]. In a migration context, these respects seem to be the primary elements of social solidarity mechanisms. Putnam concluded his sociological research, *Bowling Alone*, that the social capital is declining in the USA [Putnam 1995]. It is the reverse case when we consider the Turkish football clubs in Berlin. The social relations in the clubs illustrate that the associations under these migrant organizations generate social capital for their members.

Cultural respect patterns and their reflections in a football team

In order to analyze the social capital patterns in football teams, the cultural respect relations in the everyday life of players will firstly be introduced. In Turkish culture it is customary to address Rother individuals with designations of kinship in everyday life conversations, even upon meeting one another for the first time. The main determinant of the exact address is the individual's age: those who are older than the other ones in the conversation are often called "elder brothers" and "elder sisters". Those who are significantly older are called "uncles" and "aunts". To illustrate this, a stranger at the bus stop could be called "elder brother", while a friend's father could be called "uncle", for example. These designations can be completed with other kinship titles, such as "brothers" or "sisters" for someone of the same age group as the individual using the term.

Naming someone with a kinship title is of utmost importance to the social relation between the individuals, as it determines the level of intimacy or respect. Regardless of real kinship ties, already in the greeting phase of communication, calling "the other" in a culturally constructed, genuine form, sets up a peculiar form of relation between two individuals or group of individuals and generates a certain amount of respect. For the studied case of football players this phenomenon is interpreted as an expectancy pattern of communication between the players and their trainers.

The Hoca: A Peculiar Type of Club Member

In this article, mainly the trainers' roles in both teams and the football clubs will be reconstructed. In Turkish football teams both in Turkey and in Berlin, trainers are called *hocas*. The word *hoca* is originally used as the synonym for

the religious title of *Imam*. The contemporary usage of this term in Turkey differs depending on the social conjuncture of the conversation. For instance, professors in universities are called *hocas* by their students. In this context, *hocas* are perceived as the agents of knowledge who transmit knowledge to their students. This social agency has a similar symbolic function to the religious title of *Imam* who transmits religious teachings to the religious practicers. With this subjective value given to the knowledge received, *hocas* occupy a certain social status in some social groups.

The social phenomenon of calling the trainers as *hoca*, constitutes a symbolic reflection of social respect in a titular form towards an individual who transmits the “knowledge” to another. In other words, the elements of this social interaction are the appraisal of the acquired knowledge with a social respect pattern symbolically represented in a titular form.

The Social Cohesion in a Football Team and the role of Hocas

In some teams, the players stayed permanently in a team or played with temporary pauses when they were transferred to other clubs, played there for a while and finally returned to the initial team again. The friendship ties constructed in these football teams is the major determinant of togetherness which generates the continuation of social relations among the players even if they play in different teams. The collective recognition of members of the group allows the independent moves, in other words transfers of the players from one team to another. This notion is discussed in a group discussion as below:

A²: they have been with us for a long time, (B) has been with us for more than 10 years, (F) joined to us when he was (2)³ 17 years old.

B: I came when I was 17

F: It has been eight years

A: Almost 7–8 years

F: It has been six years

A: (D) was with us then he left us

F: ↳ six years

A: He was in Hürriyetspor (.) now he has come back to us, (C) has always been with us (2) he went and came back again (.) the ones who went from us came back to us, it is of course something(good) for us

F: ↳ Energie @(2)@

² Participant (A) is the *hoca* of the team and the other participants: (B), (C), (F) are the team players.

³ (2) means two seconds of pause during the interview. Refer the transcription guidelines (p.10) for other notations.

All of the participants @ (2) @

A: Coming back to us I mean (.) when some players went from us and came back to us again (.) I, as the trainer of the team, think that it is something good for us

F: I mean, it is good in this sense (.) for instance, we have young (team) friends, they are going and coming back, nobody restrains them. Contrarily, the elder people in the team support them, I mean “go and try yourself there”, for example, our friend (C) went from us and he has played there (in upper leagues) for a long time, two-three years.

C: I have played

F: He has tried, he has played (.) some particular things are related with fate

C: ^L the ambiance is different there (.) everything has become indexed to money there

F: Other than that, it is the fate

A: ^L it is a bit of luck (.) some of them, I mean all of them have the capacity to play in upper leagues (.)

they have gone already, (D) has played in Verbandsliga (a semi-professional league) (.) (C) has played in Verbandsliga, these leagues are the highest leagues in Berlin but when you have not been in this environment previously (.) when you are paid and played, it is not perhaps always the thing that you want (.) when they could not find the environment there that they want to come back again. We wanted them, of course, to come back (.) because I mean as a result-

B: ^L When they leave here, they know that and are sure that

A: ^L already habituated

B: [they know that] there exists a team called Burgundbirlik, whenever I go there nobody says “no” to me (they accept me) (2) they surely have these feelings.

The *hoca* and the players identify themselves as part of an amateur team. The players have the possibility to leave the team easily whenever they like, try their chances in upper leagues and can still return to their former team. In fact, the players always do have the possibilities of moving away from a team. The presentation of a player transfer as a given opportunity implicitly gives the initial sign that a high solidarity established in the group exists there that makes it necessary for the player to take permission from his/her trainer for his/her transfer. The *hoca*, (A), who is also one of the committee members of the club, allows successful players to leave the team and re-accepts them if they cannot perform successfully in the upper leagues.

(C) was a player in *Burgund Birlik* (A football club from Wedding-Berlin) who has now played in upper leagues for some time. He described the social environments in upper leagues with his own statement that “Everything has become indexed to money there”. He implicitly meant that only the incomes and the player performances are significant in these teams. Perversely the social

relations and friendship ties, as Lazarsfeld and Merton postulate as *homophobic relations* [Lazarsfeld, Merton 1954], are presented as more crucial at *Burgund Birlik*. According to (C)'s interpretation, social relations and financial, in other words, professional relations contradict with each other. He experienced the Lack of financial support in *Burgund Birlik* and the lack of strong social relations in the upper leagues.

Belongingness to a Social Group and the Movements of Players

Representation of *Burgund Birlik* as a sport club which re-accepts their players, signifies that there is a particular social group characteristic which can be conceptualized as the *permanent*

belonging to a social group. This idea creates a movement space for the players, giving them the chance to experience playing football in other teams. The confidence of being accepted when they return to their initial team induces a feeling of security for the players. It lowers the players' uncertainty in their career decisions. They have the opportunity to experience other teams and have the chance to experience the (semi-)professional⁴ football life. In this way, football players have the possibility to prove the reality of the *attractive world of professional football life* with their own experiences. Afterwards they can decide which social group they belong to or which one is suitable for them.

Amateur football clubs can not usually offer their players incomes, which may induce a threat to lose some of their players. It seems that the trainer in *Burgund Birlik* has less doubts of losing Any players, because he believes that they have already constructed a certain level of confidence in the team. They give the players the opportunity to move flexibly. This offer can be interpreted as a reimbursement mechanism in amateur clubs corresponding to the payment system in semiprofessional leagues. The reliance pattern developed in *Burgund Birlik* is described by (B):

B: [they know that] there exists a team called Burgundbirlik, whenever I go there nobody says "no" to me (they akcept me) (2) they surely have these feelings.

The social relations established in *Burgund Birlik* provide the players a trustful environment. Even if the players do not succeed in a match, the attitudes to-

⁴ The subjective construction of semi-professional life is considered here as the basis of interpretation. The reflection of indirectly constructed "professional football life" can be reflected to the semiprofessional football life in Berlin. This means, imagination of semi-professional football in semi-professional leagues resembles the actual professional football life, which seems to be the "common dream" of the players. The reflections of imagined professional football life in semi-professional life in Berlin generates a new interpretation of the „professional football life“ for (C) which he formulates in his sentence: „Everything has become indexed to money there“.

wards them in the club never change. The reactions of the other members, for instance of spectators, is illustrated below:

A: we have good relations with our spectators (.) our social atmosphere is beautiful, we, for instance, (.) our players (.) we have been defeated six weeks long in every match, we did not hear any disapproving words from any spectator, I mean, when we have matches at the opponent teams' field, we also see their spectators. When they were defeated (these players are taking money from the club) then the ones outside the field (the spectators) are saying to players "God damn it" and other things like that (.) there is nothing similar to this in our club, the reactions of our spectators are always the same when our players win or lose the match. In this respect, the value of our players is different for us, we see them differently (.) I mean, we recognise them not only as football players (5) other than that, they have been with us for a long time.

The trainer here describes a typical football team with its established social relation patterns. The *hoca*, players and spectators have been together for a long time and form *pseudo kinship* [Parkin 1998] ties which hold the club together. Next, the reactions of the spectators are significant for the players. The spectators tolerate the fluctuations in team performance, seen as normal, which is not the case in the clubs where the players are paid.

Lastly the *hoca* signified that the football players in the club should "not only be recognised as football players". With the representation of this collective perception pattern in the club, he implicitly distinguished themselves from other semi-professional clubs where the players are seen only as "football players". He mentioned that the social ties are weaker in the clubs where the players are paid. There they are only perceived as football players without any emotional connections and they can easily be replaced with others. In this perception pattern, social cohesion to a single player diminishes and another player can replace an existing player in case of his low performance. Thus professionalism in football is interpreted by this trainer at the amateur level as a potential element of disturbance to the cohesion in the group.

Players are not financially supported in most of the amateur teams but rather through some social solidarity mechanisms. For instance, finding a job for players seems to be another significant compensation mechanism compared to financial support:

A: We try to help them in the social sense, when they need it, we try to find them jobs, they can come to me or Rother friends in the (club) management when they are stressed [...] they can trust us, that's why we support them, we try not to leave them alone, these are things that we can afford to give them, it means that we give them everything except money

@(4)@

Hocas and other members of the football club initiate this kind of commonality tie, which induces a certain amount of confidence in the club. The *hoca*

implicitly mentions that a strong solidarity has already been established in this club by saying “We try not to leave them alone”. Social environments in amateur and semi-professional teams are compared by the players. Consequently, the financial support and the enthusiasm in football are represented as contrary to each other. A part of a group discussion is introduced below:

F: Which team was it in the other group (league)? Normannia or something like that (4) but they all get money (2) I mean, they are paid each match (.) there is nothing like this in our club (.) we are brothers (2)

B: We are playing like brothers @ (5)@

All of the participants: @ (5)@

F: Although it is so, there is always excitement, an ambition in each match

C: Our environment is really good (.) our ambience is beautiful, the friendship ties are very good, our spectators are coming (.) they are always coming, we thank them.

The match primes are given as an example of financial support. (F) mentioned once again that they play for free and he added that “they play like brothers”. This phrase has a socio-cultural connotation, referring to “playing like children“, which is uttered in a humorous manner. He implicitly meant that unless the players are paid then football is like a children's game. (F) stated: “Although they are not paid, they keep their enthusiasm and competition”. The perception of football at *Burgund Birlik* in this way shows that the income of the players and their enthusiasm in playing football are not always positively correlated. Although, it means that the lack of payments for the players may dwindle their enthusiasm, it is not the case in *Burgund Birlik* as (C) represented. “The beautiful ambience” in the club is appreciated which seems to compensate the lack of income for the players.

Pedagogical Role: Perception of Football from Different Perspectives

In a group discussion, a *hoca* stated: “Football is a sport of emotions”. The actions and the reactions during a football match create the exchange of emotions among the players. Excitement and enthusiasm, provocation and anger, calmness and discouragement can be given as some of the emotions experienced.

Erdal *hoca*, who is a trainer-player, means that he also takes part in the praxis of football and not only in its theoretical part, thinks that emotions cannot be disregarded in football. He explained further the relation between emotional and professional behaviours below:

E: I mean, there is something in football, I mean, you should play with your heart as well, I mean, it is really difficult to distinguish. You are competing in the field, you want to win but you should prepare yourself for a defeat as well.

I mean, if you are defeated, you should learn that it is not the end of the world. You can also learn something from every defeat, it is difficult to explain it to the players [...] this year I have told the players that the most important thing for me is to have less red cards and less undisciplined incidents as much as possible during the season. This is success, Rather than that, everybody in lower leagues forgets, we are not doing the most important thing in the world. [...] I mean, we should explain (teach) it to the players, sometimes I see in the fields that even the trainer forgets it [...] I mean, when we can explain it to young (players) then they can play more relaxed and they can more easily accept their defeat, I mean, we should learn to be defeated, no way out, we are not doing the most important work in the world. We should perceive it like this, sometimes I see the young players in the fields, they play for their life, I mean, they are stressed, we should learn it (to be calm).

Erdal *hoca* criticized the players who exaggerate the value of football. They identify themselves totally with their role in the field and perceive the other players' actions personally. They react emotionally, meaning with spontaneous anger in this case, which results in some undisciplined behaviours. These actions are interpreted as intolerable and sentenced by the referees with red cards. Erdal *hoca* mentioned that the players should control their reactions. However, the players usually receive red cards not only in *Burgund Birlik* but also in other amateur teams. The *hoca* tries to teach the players to be calm. For him, playing football in a disciplined manner is more significant than winning the match. He defines success in football as receiving less red cards. The *hoca*, with his "calm behaviours", should become the model for other players and try to persuade them to play with calm minds.

In this case, red cards received by the players are interpreted as being caused by the players' "aggressive" behaviours, which originate from their emotional behaviours. This situation in the amateur leagues shows that the emotional and professional perceptions of football overlap with each other. *Hocas* are the role models managing this conflict in amateur football.

Responsibilities of Hocas After the Matches

An excerpt from a group discussion is given here to illustrate players' emotions on the field and their sustainment after the matches as well:

B: we dispute during the matches but it is not insulting

F: \perp we do not insult each other during the matches

B: \perp during the matches

F: The things during the matches like "why did you do like this?" The things like this

B: For instance, after the match the disputes are terminated as well, it is like this for me

F: After the match, everything is over for me, I mean it is normal

A: We eat and drink something after the matches

B: ^L I mean, after the matches

A: We learned something from Germans @ (2) @ [...] we learned something from Germans (.) Germans shout at each other during the match but they go out to drink Beer together “Biertrinken”

F: ^L @ (2) @

A: @ We go out to eat Döner (a traditional Turkish fast food) together @

B: @ Or we go out to drink Ayran (a traditional Turkish Drink with Yoghurt) @

A: I mean, we learn something from Germans (.) the disputes do not continue after the matches. They quarrel during the matches, I do not want to interfere, I leave them on their own, but they sometimes continue to fight with each other, then they forget the match then I should intervene and shout to them to end it up (2) but they calm down in general on their own.

Players in the same team may have disputes during the matches as well. In this part of the group discussion, two social spheres were presented: social relations during and after the matches. Unless the players insult each other during the matches, the simple disputes or some tensions among the players are interpreted as normal. The players mentioned that the quarrels are kept in the football field and they try to end disputes after the matches. The *hoca* mentioned that they learned from Germans how to terminate the quarrels after the matches. It shows that *Burgund Birlik* had difficulties keeping the tensions in the field. In order to reduce the effect of arguments during the matches and ameliorate the relations among the players, they mentioned that German teams spend some time together after matches. The club tradition of “drinking beer” in German teams corresponds to “eating döner and drinking ayran” rituals in Turkish teams. These activities let the players spend some more time together outside the football field, where they can get to know each other more individually.

The football field generates a social space [Simmel 1992] with its own particular rule system. Football field includes the reciprocal tension of establishing common tasks that have to be accomplished by the players within a limited time period. Social relations in the football field should in ideal case be kept within the physical lines of the football field. Thus it is expected of the players that they recognize the distinction of being in and out of the football field. In other words, it is expected of the players that they notice the transition within the *frame* [Goffman 1974] of the football game and differentiate it from outside. The consciousness of being inside the space of the football match generates the recognition of the particularity of relation patterns in this space as well.

After the matches the team players have the possibility to spend some leisure time together without having any tasks to accomplish together as it is the

case in the matches. Through the common activities, the players, in the long term, can develop the ability to interpret the conflicts in the matches as context-oriented temporary tensions. Subsequently, the players can evaluate others in the team in two different perspectives: as team *players* and team *friends*.

The collective activities after the matches are examples showing the trainer's attempt to amplify friendship ties in the team. Such friendship ties have already been formed in amateur teams in which most of the players have been playing together for a long time. Their accumulated common experiences generate social capital in the group as seen in the case of *Burgund Birlik*. This social capital produces a group solidarity among the players. Similarly, the interviews with the players in semi-professional teams also show that the players have a certain amount of a feeling of belongingness to the team. The only difference is the level of cohesiveness in the team. It is observed in amateur teams that the cohesiveness is at the individual level as compared to the collectivity in semi-professional teams which is at the team level.

In amateur leagues, friendship and brotherhood ties are the major motives generating togetherness in the group. Although the significance of the value of friendship ties for the team members seem to descend in semi-professional teams due to the frequent player transfers.

The Local Roles of the Trainers as a Contribution to Integration of Immigrant Youth

Erdal *hoca*'s efforts of generating "familial bonds", or *bonding social capital* [Putnam 2002], in amateur football teams it is shown that some familial relations are established in Turkish amateur football clubs in Berlin. These solidarity patterns generated in the club are reproduced in the social environment of the city district as well.

Another trainer, Ramazan *hoca*, mentioned that they, as a football club, try to include the "unemployed" or "outsider" youth from Kreuzberg⁵ to their football teams. A quotation from his interview is presented below in order to discuss this role of football clubs:

R: [...] every player who wants to come to our team should have a profession. [...] We are facing with big problems when we work with the players who walk around and have nothing to do. I know that there are four to five million unemployed people. There is a lot, a lot of unemployment in Berlin. These people unbearable, they have private problems. There are people who can not arrange time for football. There are many good football players, friends, but when

⁵ A city district in Berlin is known with its high migrant population. A part of Kreuzberg called Kottbusser Tor which is named as "Little İstanbul-Küçük İstanbul".

they are unemployed, they can not play sufficiently. They have other things in mind, they have problems in life. We, with other hocas as well, decided to accept the players who go to school or who learn some professions or who have jobs. Then we can do it (play) more relaxed. [...] But it is not always the case. For instance, we have a Yugoslavian player, he is *Arbeitslos* – unemployed, I mean, he has a thousand problems [...] I mean, it is a big problem. I mean, they are like that, of course, it won't be good to push them away. They go to a bad route (they will choose a bad life). We are a Kreuzberg club, we take care of these kinds of people because, the unemployment rate in Kreuzberg is really high. We do not only have our first team, we have our second team as well. [...] But then the question is, if we accept these players to the first team. For the first team, I prefer to take the ones who are employed.

Ramazan *hoca* defined two types of football players; employed and unemployed. He experienced that the unemployed individuals often have psychological problems in their everyday life. Their private problems are reflected in their football life as well. According to Ramazan *hoca*, these players are remarkably undisciplined and have difficulties of concentration. He, as the trainer of the first team, does not actually prefer to include these players in his team. However, his club, *Umutspor* is a local football club in a city district called *Kreuzberg*, where the unemployment rate is relatively high as the trainer mentioned. Ramazan *hoca* stated that they, as a football club, have to take part in the social integration of this group in the neighbourhood. On the other hand, he has already experienced that they could not achieve success with these problematic players who can not play in a “disciplined way”. In order to overcome this conflict between the social responsibilities of the football club and its professional responsibilities, Ramazan *hoca* and the others in the club management have decided to include these players in their second team. According to him, the success of the first team is at the first place and has priority over the social institutional role of the amateur football club. In this construction, the second team takes this role where the new players initially get used to the disciplinary behaviour patterns in football. In this sense, the phenomenon of “being disciplined in a team” is interpreted as the primary requirement of football where the players learn to, or should, behave according to the certain respect patterns both in technical and social senses.

The second team generates a phase for the tentative integration of the “outsider” into the football team. (A) described the social environment in their district as “outside” which is potentially “dangerous” for the young population where they can get used to “dirty habits”, do “bad things” and consequently have “bad behaviours”. The football club induces the transformation from the *wild body into habitulised body* [Wacquant 2000]. The participant (A) signified like his *hoca* that they, as the football club, endeavour to integrate these young players to the team.

However, he added that it is a risky attempt for the club. He experienced that they could not have always succeeded in integrating them and sometimes they had to exclude the new comers from the team. The *hoca*, is the major decision maker in this process. He decides which player will be accepted to the team and who will be dismissed. He mentioned that they almost know every Young individual in the milieu. Even though the young individuals with “dirty habits” have already been recognized by the *hoca*, he gives them a chance to “save this young friend from the streets”. In this way, as the team captain stated in the following parts of the interview: “This friend can be purified here and get rid of the dirt of the streets.”

The phenomenon of “saving the friend” generates a social responsibility for the superior group. In this case the integrated group, to “rescue” the inferior subgroup⁶. This can be named *avail mechanism* constructed in the milieu around the football club. In this case, the football club functions as an institution supporting the integration of the young generation into an environment where the social relations in everyday life are regulated by the disciplined patterns of sport.

In order to reconstruct the social functions of football clubs, another quotation is presented below:

B: The youngsters are getting out of the way (.) [...] you protect them, while you are dealing with them, you lose your other friends (.) I mean, there are many conflicts (.) football is like a small family here (2) [...] Most of the players in Berlin know each other (2) when you have played for several years (.) you meet many players (.) you will have a social environment (.) if you have already changed couple of teams then – (3) Turkish football in Berlin is very good (2).

(B) has been playing football in various football clubs in Berlin since his childhood. He stated that most of the players in Berlin know each other and are a part of a social environment where the relations are relatively familial. He implicitly meant that this familial social environment generates social responsibilities for the football clubs where they try to rehabilitate the “outsider” in the football environment.

Conclusion

Football clubs create social spaces for the young generation with migrant background where they collectively establish common goals. *Hocas*, as the trainer of the teams, take significant roles in building social cohesions in football clubs. The social belongingness to a football club and the mutual trust developed among the players improve the friendship ties which stimulate the social integration of the youth in the society. The *hoca*'s efforts to influence his

⁶ In this context, the football players describe themselves as an integrated group and perceive “the outsiders” as a subgroup.

players on the perceptor of football and his attempt to convince them to interpret football from a more rational perspective than an emotional one will render long term consequences in the players' social life. In this sense, the players are taught by the *hocas* to be less aggressive and to become calm during the matches. The football clubs are the local associations where the *hocas* take part in integrating the youth from the streets into the disciplined social world of football.

References

- Bohnsack R. (2003), *Rekonstruktive Sozialforschung – Einführung in Methodologie und Praxis qualitativer Forschung*, Leske und Budrich, Opladen.
- Douglas M. (1979), *Implicit Meanings: Essays in Anthropology*, Routledge, London.
- Geertz C. (1987), *Dichte Beschreibung*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt a.M.
- Goffman E. (1974), *Frame Analysis, An Essay on the Organization of Experience*, Harper & Row, New York.
- Lazarsfeld P., Merton R.K. (1954), *Friendship as a social process: a substantive and methodological analysis* [in:] M. Berger, T. Abel, C.H. Page [eds.], *Freedom and control in modern society*, Van Nostrand, New York, pp. 18–66.
- Mangold W. (1960), *Gruppendiskussionsverfahren*, Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Frankfurt a.M.
- Nohl A.M. (2009), *Interview und dokumentarische Methode*, VS, Wiesbaden.
- Parkin R. (1998), *Kinship: an introduction to basic concepts*, Blackwell, Oxford.
- Putnam R. [eds.] (2002), *Democracies in Flux: The evolution of social capital in contemporary society*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Putnam R.E. (2000), *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, Simon & Schuster, New York.
- Schutz A., Luckmann T. (1979), *Strukturen der Lebenswelt I*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt a.M.
- Simmel G. (1992), *Soziologie*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt a.M., pp. 687–790.
- Soeffner H. (2004), *Sozialwissenschaftliche Hermeneutik* [in:] U. Flick, E. Kardoff, I. Steinke, [eds.], *Qualitative Forschung*, Rowolhts, Hamburg, pp. 164–175.
- Strauss A.L. (1978), *A Social World Perspective*, „Studies in Symbolic Interaction”, vol. 1, pp. 119–128.
- Wacquant L. (2000), *Corps et âme. Carnets ethnographiques d'un apprenti boxeur*, Agone, Marseille.

Guidelines for the Transcription Rules:

(3) example (.) : duration of a short pause during the interview (in seconds).

exempl– : incomplete articulation of a word.

@example@ : spoken in laughter.

@(.)@ : short laughter, numbers in paranthesis signify the duration of a pause in seconds.

⌞ : overlapping of statements.

Source:

Bohnsack R. (2003), *Rekonstruktive Sozialforschung-Einführung in Methodologie und Praxis qualitativer Forschung*, Leske und Budrich, Opladen, p. 235.

Key words: *social space, respect patterns, social cohesion*

Giulio Bizzaglia

Faculty of Sport Sciences, University of Cassino, Roma, Italia

Contact: *g.bizzaglia@libero.it*

Chapter 2.7.

THE MEASURE OF THE RESULT. AN EDUCATIONAL ISSUE

1. Strong, fast, resistant. Capable

In the educational work we usually get positive results when a social-cultural context pursues the educational project addressed to body/individual: children and teenagers become stronger, faster, more resistant and above all capable. Increasing capability is extremely important because it represents an everlasting asset: learning to ride a bike is forever.

Do we have this scenario in Italy? Unfortunately we don't. Starting from the 1980s, the quantity and quality of physical education programs in Italian secondary schools (students between the ages of 11 and 18) have dramatically decreased. In parallel, sedentary life, sport drop-out and young people obesity have registered a remarkable increase causing weakness, low resistance and speed, lack of capacity, in other words, a general drop of somatic and psychological health.

What about younger students? Is there any socio-cultural organization responsible for the relation between childhood-teenage and sport? How is sport education taught in Italy? In which manner is sport socialization carried out starting from childhood? Which structures are in charge of encouraging the healthy growing that educators, decision-makers and parents invoke upon?

Most of those questions remain unanswered. It looks easier to follow common places such as: our teenagers are lazy and spoiled, they skip any distress and sacrifice... John Locke's lesson Locke [Postman 1999, p. 169] seems to be forgotten, in particular when he says that an uneducated, shameless and undisciplined child represents a failure for adults not for the child himself/herself.

Intolerable deficiencies and embarrassing comparisons are continuously registered. We are concerned about the decline of sport practicing among young people. There seems to exist no solution to cope with the problem of violence in football support, which keeps on attracting more and more young people by offering them identities at bargain prices. But how could things be different?

This is a list of the most common problems in Italian schools:

- *more than half of the schools have no areas for sport;*
- *if existing, those areas are poorly maintained, obsolete, inadequate to sport activities;*
- *the physical education is not a compulsory subject; yet, it is undertaken by some willing teachers who have acquired their competences on a voluntary basis;*
- *the average time spent for sport at school is only 480 hours: more or less 4 minutes each day [Coccia 2004].*

It is a cultural matter. Gianni Mura (an influential journalist) has been stressing many times that the only sport culture is the fans' one. There's nothing else. Yet, "fan-journalists" participate in Mediaset and Sky TV channels sport programs: a perfect oxymoron! The task to teach sensitive disciplines (like physical education), the experience of the physical approach and the respect of other individuals is assigned to ridiculous organizations. Instead, it is important to properly instruct children and teenagers on body experience. The quality of teaching is extremely significant for the reason that the body doesn't lie and always shows what it is and what we are, to what extent and how we have learned and the quality of our knowledge.

2. Tin tricycle

Over the past decades, children learned to walk first and then to ride a rudimentary tin tricycle. Two pedals on the fore-wheel were the kinetic challenge for 2-year-old children. Muscle propelling, kinetic capabilities quickly developed, movements becoming more and more natural day by day, home and playground exploration.

Tricycle not only trained to bike but also to recover after a fall. Scratched knees were the symbol of childhood and game, in which children engaged with transfixed seriousness and total freedom. Sweating, getting dirty, screaming were still permitted, without any condominium restrictions, mother reproaches or outstanding misknowledge.

The tin tricycle, the bike, the ball; the playground, the street, the park; climbing, running, throwing, jumping. Through those simple circumstances, means, places, children could (can) experience many forms of motion and body capabilities. Thanks to unrestricted and free-of-charge play, emotions could spontaneously emerge facilitating the consolidation of the relationship experiences.

Nowadays, things are different. Playgrounds have become parking areas, streets are overcrowded and unsafe, lawns and trees appear distant realities. Common activities such as running or walking look out-of-fashion, especially to young people. It is easier to let them sit in front of the TV trying to break the

American pre-primary school children record of 5.000 hours spent watching TV before reaching primary school age [Postman 2003]. Other significant data: after secondary schools, a 17-year-old American student has spent 19.000 hours watching TV, by 20 years of age he has watched 600.000 television commercials. Time spent in front of TV screen is remarkably more than time spent at school: TV beats school 4 to 3.

3. Electric tricycle. The micro-car

Italy. A one or two-year-old little boy is sitting in a big, plastic toy with the wheel: an electric tricycle! The little boy pushes a small button and the big toy moves meowing. Parent's satisfaction: "look at him: he's driving". "Pilot's" perplexity. They last a short time, they are neglected after rare, tiring experiences: they are heavy and bulky, batteries run down quickly. The experience of budding motorist has been done, the seed of the future tinned consumer queuing has been thrown. Motor experience, at least from a thermodynamic point of view, equals zero.

Just some years later the hypo-kinetic campaign goes on with other means. Taking advantage from the legislator's short-sight, who considers them like mopeds, micro cars – expensive, polluting and unsafe vehicles – have been wide-spreading in many Italian cities. In Rome you can see a "belt" of micro-cars around an increasing number of secondary schools. Italian way of life!

Electric tricycle, micro-car, scooter are parts of the paradoxical answer to the problems of movement in our cities.

4. The measure of the result

The appeal of athletics – but it is not the only sport to suffer – has decreased, strongly played down to the young people in relation to a lot of aspects referred to their daily life. If even walking is outdated, how can we expect that they run? But this is not the only question: we have to ask ourselves about the ways and the aims of sport practice.

It is a consideration rich of heuristic, really interesting implications to refer to the whole line of thinking about sport and young people's health. If sport, above all young people's one, is and has to be a pedagogical and educational process, then all the scholastic and extra-scholastic system about the body has to support all those processes that make expression, relation and sociality, gestural expressiveness, self-confidence of young people better. If it is necessary, changing techniques and tools, restricting the performance anxiety that, very often,

risers like a wall before the competition: it is childhood itself and its nature that makes us aware of the inadequacy of our educational proposals. Especially school has to compete on the basis of the quality of the educational offer and not on the basis of the measurement of the "product". The principles of wide participation and of the right to move, to do sport do not get along with the perspective of the championship, so loved by too many teachers and managers.

We have to make the technique and the set of rules flexible to the needs, and not untouchable moloch. We need courageous innovations, we have to go beyond the industrialist perspective of the eighteenth century that still inspires too much sport. The activities need to be modified, to become attractive in relation to the expected effects.

Let's consider the data about overweight and obesity, the cultural distortions, the gaps in education, the drop-out high incidence, the search of identity committed to supporter memberships that address against rather than with. Let's consider that our cities are often hostile to the natural body motion. The necessity to enlarge the former relation, that is sport and health, it's clear, up to include the way of life, as the material culture, the city planning legislation. But also to keep on wondering, incessantly, which forms of sport movement has to have in order to answer to the need of health in the widest meaning of young people psycho-physical and social health. As we have already seen, movement is denied in our cities. In schools, it is confined to the poor physical education lessons. In the other hours of the day, when there is, it is often within a fixed timetable: the swimming, football, tennis hour. Often nothing at all: the way towards hypo-kinesis slopes down.

But there are some healthy reactions, paradoxically, coming from young people themselves. Don't people who practice *parkour* go along the city considering the barriers as chances? What does parkour suggest? It is the spirit of BMX, of skating, of the boys that use the urban context as it is an absolute reappropriation of places otherwise forbidden, an objective protest against the lack of sense that we adult people have consolidated transforming the suburbs between cities and countryside in *non-lieu* (no-place) [Augé 1992]. The parkour boys call significantly themselves *traceurs*, that is creators of pathways (and of sense, we add). A postmodernism coming back to street games?

Regarding the teachers, the question is in the problematic relationship between the youngsters and sport in the traditional forms we keep proposing them. We must try to focus the troubles, to define the needs, to intercept the trends, the news. The perspective, as afore-mentioned, is to increase body intelligence, therefore wellness. Then, keeping our attention on this goal, using the game as main strategy, we can evaluate the results, the products, the success or not of what we have proposed according to a double key: the **sport meaning** and the **environmental meaning**.

If we favour the sport meaning, the most known, usual and codified sense according to which we say, for example, “she/he’s a good smasher” or “she/he can achieve good results in middle-distance race”, we will have, as measure of the result, the improvement of the performance resulting from a widening of skills, knowledge and sport abilities.

If we favour the environmental meaning – interpreting, broadly speaking, the environment as the place we live in, where the sport practice can set aside from the places dedicated to sport, from the codified places; a meaning in which **the body is always in action** – the measure of performance is the result of the widening of the heritage regarding the experiences, the movement and the expressiveness of the subject, her/his increased capability to make good use of the body that becomes more skilful and expert, that relates better.

The two goals don’t come into conflict with healthy aims, but they perfectly complement each other, because the same intelligence express itself in the gym, doing gymnastics, but also in the park or running along the street with a skateboard.

Regarding the environmental meaning, a problem of citizenship and of cultural and didactical acknowledgement is still open. To what extent it is important and healthy that all the kids can swim, learn to ride a bike? To what extent it is important and healthy that all the boys and girls, aged 15, 16 race ten minutes of jogging without collapsing? The question is just this. Starting from here we can increase also the skills, the abilities and the knowledge in the sport meaning, and not the contrary.

5. Sailing tricycle. Conclusion

The environmental meaning implies a series of important redefinitions, starting from the necessary reconsideration of the sports facilities, nothing extraordinary, if we consider that, in a recent survey, Finnish identify the pavement as the first sport facility. More difficult, but indispensable in the same measure, is changing the way of thinking about results in order to recognize the same dignity to the 80 cm jumped by Pedro and *one meter ninety* jumped by Mario. The identical value has to be recognized to a vaulting on the horse and to a climbing on a tree or on a frame in a park. The environmental meaning goes beyond the industrialist fragmentation of space and time: a time for studying or working, a time for amusement, a time for the rest. One for the rights: a place to live in, a place to work, a place to learn, a place to do sport, a life in pieces, a fragmented person. We should instead live and learn to live the experiences all the time, not a scheduled time, starting from the body experiences.

Young people’s wellness and health is built step by step, day after day, considering a wide horizon, not a narrow one, linked just to a specific sport, to this

or that sport course, even if a very good one. On the wide beaches of Normandy a lot of kids run sitting on simple tricycle pushed by small sails, very easy, ecological, cheap means, but with a very high motor experience. In Stockholm you can easily walk in the city, because they have considered the problem, have studied it and solved. In Lyon, Barcelona, Hamburg, Berlin, Copenhagen – and Holland of course – the bike-sharing is an important reality. In Paris, the project *Velib* (bike and freedom) has started, 21,000 bikes for everybody, really cheap, in 1,451 automatic dispenser all over *Ville Lumière*. In Rotterdam Westblaak skate-park is a large, nice structure for the lovers of skating, where people of all ages go, a place, that by now, is a part of the social and cultural identity of the city.

References

- Augé M. (1992), *Non-Lieux. Introduction à une anthropologie de la surmodernité*, Seuil, Paris.
- Caillois R. (1958), *Les Jeux et les hommes. Le masque et le vertige*, Gallimard, Paris.
- Coccia P. (2004), *Educazione fisica e sport nelle scuole d'Europa*, Carabà, Milano.
- European Commission (2007), *White paper on sport*, Bruxelles.
- Elias N., Dunning E. (1986), *Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
- Galimberti U. (2003, ed. or. 1983), *Il corpo*, Feltrinelli, Milano.
- Gardner H. (1983), *Frames of mind, the theory of multiple intelligences*, Basic Books, New York.
- Goffman E. (1961) *Encounters: who studies in the sociology of interaction*, Bobbs-Merill, Indianapolis.
- Istat, 20 giugno 2007, *La pratica sportiva in Italia. Anno 2006*, www.istat.it/salastampa/comunicati/non_calendario/20070620_00/testointegrale.pdf
- Lasch C. (1979), *The Culture of Narcissism: American Life in an Age of Diminishing Expectations*, Norton, New York.
- Le Breton D. (2000), *Eloge de la marche*, Éditions Métailié, Paris.
- Missaglia G. (2002), *Green sport. Un altro sport è possibile*, La Meridiana, Molfetta.
- Porro N. (2007), *Lineamenti di sociologia dello sport*, Carocci, Roma.
- Porro N. (2005), *Cittadini in movimento*, La Meridiana, Molfetta.
- Postman N. (1999), *Building a Bridge to the 18th Century. How the Past Can Improve Our Future*, Vintage Books (Random House), New York.
- Pivato S. (1994), *L'era dello sport*, Giunti, Firenze.
- Rigatti E. (2004), *Minima pedalia. Viaggi quotidiani su due ruote e manuale di diserzione automobilistica*, Ediciclo Editore, Portogruaro.
- Weber R. (2007), *Perché corriamo*, Einaudi, Torino.
- Solnit R. (2002), *Wanderlust. A History of Walking*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- http://ec.europa.eu/sport/information/addresses/c_sportforall_en.html
- www.coe.int/T/E/cultural_co-operation/Sport/Sport_for_all/Eurof

Key words: *cultural matter, sport meaning, environmental meaning, body in action*

Part 3

SPORTS AND ORGANIZATIONS

Charlotte Van Tuyckom

Department of Sociology, Ghent University, Ghent, Belgium

Contact: *Charlotte.VanTuyckom@ugent.be*

Chapter 3.1.

SIX SPORTING WORLDS. A CLUSTER ANALYSIS OF SPORTS PARTICIPATION IN THE EU-25¹

Introduction

There is growing interest in inequalities in health status within and between member states of the European Union [see: European Commission 2003]. Much attention goes thereby to cross-national differences with respect to life expectancy, morbidity, (premature) mortality and disablement [Day, Pearce, Dorling 2008; Murray *et al.* 2006; Ruger, Kim 2008; Shelton, Birkin, Dorling 2006]. However, also behavior-related risk factors such as tobacco smoking, alcohol consumption, drug abuse, inadequate diet, sexual behaviors and (lack of) physical activity should be taken into account. In the present article, special attention goes to this last factor. Physical activity is a fundamental means of improving physical as well as mental health. Unfortunately, for many people it has been removed from everyday life, with dramatic consequences for health and well-being. Physical inactivity is estimated to account for approximately 600 000 deaths per year in the European region [Cavill, Kahlmeier, Racioppi 2006]. Tackling this leading risk factor would reduce the risks of cardiovascular diseases, hypertension, non-insulin-dependent diabetes, some forms of cancer, musculoskeletal diseases, and even psychological disorders [Inchley *et al.* 2005; Kafatos *et al.* 1999]. Additionally, physical activity is one of the keys to counteract the current epidemic of overweight and obesity that is posing a new global challenge to public health.

As a tool for health-enhancing physical activity (HEPA), although not enough recognized, the sports movement has a greater influence than every other movement. Sport is an area of human activity that greatly interests citizens of all over the European Union and has enormous potential for bringing them to-

¹ The present paper has won the 1st prize EASS Young Researcher Award 2009 'Alberto Madello', Rome, May 2009.

gether, reaching out to all, regardless of age, gender or social origin [Van Tuyckom, Scheerder 2008]. However, it is less clear what activities should be considered as 'sporting'. Until the mid-twentieth century, sport in Europe took almost exclusively place in the context of sports clubs. However, from then on the practice of sport has changed considerably in character. Apart from the organized competitive sport, which remains an important cornerstone, people increasingly began to practice sports in a more informal, spontaneous and individualized fashion, like jogging in the streets, badminton in the parks and volleyball on the beach; later followed by fitness and aerobics at home or in the gyms [Van Bottenburg, Rijnen, Van Sterkenburg 2005]. Sport has thus become a strongly differentiated and diffuse phenomenon, practiced for many different ends, in diverse ways and in divergent contexts and organizational forms [Crum 1991; Dietrich, Heinemann 1989]. It encompasses a broad spectrum with the Olympic Games as the ultimate manifestation of organized competitive sport at one extreme, and all kinds of physical activity that people, in contrast to fifty years ago, perceive as sporting behavior at the other extreme [Coakley, Donnelly 1999].

Over the last 30 years, the Council of Europe has been active in promoting participation in sport. The Sport for All Charter, ratified in 1975 by the then 10 members, was one of the first policy initiatives of the Council of Europe. Sport for all relates to a comprehensive sports policy which attempts to extend the beneficial effect of sport on health, social, educational and cultural development to all sections of the community. With this document, the Council of Europe expressed the belief that all its member states should foster inclusion of people into the sports system [Council of Europe 1975; 1980]. This concept of sport for all is strongly in opposition to the achievement concept of sport – aimed at competition, physical improvement and performance – which was the impetus for shaping a social system during the 18th and 19th century. In contrast to this achievement focus, the European Charter sees sport from a human-centered point of view, and states that “it is to be understood in the modern sense of free, spontaneous physical activity engaged in during leisure time; its functions (...) being recreation, amusement and relaxation. Sport in this sense includes sports proper and various other physical activities provided they demand some effort” [Council of Europe 1993]. Whereas in North America, the term 'sport' is generally used to refer to physical activity that is governed, structured and competitive, the central idea of sport for all in the European Charter includes not only sport as such, but also and especially multiple forms of recreational physical activities – or leisure-time physical activity as opposed to occupational physical activity – [Hartmann-Tews 2006; Van Tuyckom, Scheerder *in press*]. However, structural formation and modification of the sports system proceeded at different rates and in different directions. Consequently, the above idea of sport for all is differently reflected in the participation profiles of the different EU member states [Houlihan 1997; Petry, Steinbach, Tokarski 2004; Tokarski *et al.* 2004].

The aim of this article is not to gain understanding of the social processes which lie behind these general trends [see therefore: Hartmann-Tews 1996], but instead to give a clear view of this international variation in sports participation.

When (policy) researchers want to compare these differences in sports participation between European countries, nations are often placed in traditional groupings, based on, for instance, proximity or population size [Day, Pearce, Dorling 2008]. As such, Belgium is often compared with the Netherlands [Scheerder, Breedveld 2004], Germany with France [Hartmann-Tews 1996], Portugal with Spain [Marivoet 2002], and so on. Others view cross-national differentiation in sports participation from a broader historical framework, referring to the history of 'national physical cultures' from the end of the 19th century onwards [Elias, Dunning 1986; Guttmann 1996; Mandell 1984] and subdivided into the following: (i) a *Nordic* physical culture, predominantly found in Scandinavian countries – such as Finland, Sweden and Denmark – with a strong health and voluntary aspect and expressed by a strong relationship with nature; (ii) a *British* physical culture, present throughout Europe but predominantly in the Netherlands and Ireland, based on sports and competition in the context of associations; (iii) a *Germanic* physical culture, found in nearly all the central European countries – such as Austria, Germany, France, Belgium –, descending from the 'Turnen' tradition and anchored strongly within the local communities; and (iv) a *Mediterranean* physical culture, found around the Mediterranean – Portugal, Italy, Spain, Cyprus, Greece, Malta, conserving collective ceremonies celebrating the physical body and represented in contemporary events where sport serves as entertainment.

However, the question is whether these groups of nations based on traditional parameters or historical national physical cultures are nowadays really still the most comparable as far as sports participation is concerned. In a recent report, Camy and colleagues [2004] tried to update these above mentioned classifications by identifying four main 'configurations' [see: Elias 1970] that *current* national sport systems can take within the European Union: (i) the *bureaucratic configuration* – comprising Belgium, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, France, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Spain – characterized by the active role of public authorities in regulating the system; (ii) the *missionary configuration* – comprising Austria, Denmark, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and Sweden – characterized by the dominant presence of a voluntary sports movement with autonomy to make decisions; (iii) the *entrepreneurial configuration* – comprising Ireland and the United Kingdom – characterized by the regulation of the system arising from the social/economic 'demand' for sport; and (iv) the *social configuration* – comprising only the Netherlands – characterized by the presence of social partners within a multi-faceted system.

However, when looking at recent studies on sports participation from a European, cross-national perspective [Hartmann-Tews 2006; Van Tuyckom, Scheerder 2008], Camy's configurations based on current sports systems do not seem very applicable. For example, the United Kingdom and Ireland seem to score very differently with regard to sports participation, as do Italy and Sweden or Portugal and Lithuania [European Commission 2005; Van Tuyckom, Scheerder 2008]. But what countries should then be compared with each other? To answer this question, nations should be grouped independently of any presumed association to identify those that appear to be the most comparable in some self-determining way. In the present article, we seek to show the extent to which such a view of European sporting differences governed by sports systems or historical and geographical constructs of nations may actually be misplaced when we instead group countries by their actual sports participation outcomes.

Novel approaches to country classification using cluster techniques have only recently started to emerge in the study of global health inequalities [Day, Pearce, Dorling 2008; Ruger, Kim 2006; see also: Shelton, Birkin, Dorling 2006]. However, there are only few studies of this kind and as previously mentioned, they consider predominantly factors such as life expectancy, morbidity, and (premature) mortality. Moreover, there is no single study exploring cross-national differences in sports participation using clustering techniques. A study such as the present one does not place nations into preconceived categories, but instead attempts to show how the European Union appears when classified by sports participation outcomes, if the outcomes themselves are used to group the nations. We utilize two separate indicators of sports participation, one referring to the organizational context and one referring to the intensity of sports participation.

With the availability of sports participation data for 25 European member states for the year 2004, it was possible to undertake a cluster analysis of sports participation measures to identify what transpired to be six sporting clusters, defined here as the 'six sporting worlds', each consisting of countries that are broadly homogeneous in terms of organizational context and sporting intensity. These sporting worlds are a novel structured representation of European differences in sports participation. Next, we clarify the data used, then we explain how the clusters were derived and describe each of them. We end by discussing the results.

Data and methods

Data

Within the European Union member states, surveys on sport are generally developed and conducted independently of one another, which can lead to differences in questionnaires, research designs, methodology and definition of terms. Such disparities render the comparison of research results problematic.

Even within a single year, research conducted in one and the same country can result to significant differences in the recorded figures for sports participation to up to forty percent [Hartmann-Tews 1996]. Various factors play a role in this: the description and definition of the notions of sport and physical activity, the interview method, the sample size, the period of reference, the use of a prompt card, the number of sports mentioned and their wording, the nature of questions about the frequency, duration and intensity of the activity, and so on [COMPASS 1999]. In contrast, on a Europe-wide level, the Eurobarometer surveys apply standardised measurement instruments – asking the same question in all EU countries, which allow for cross-national comparisons between the different European member states. In particular, data regarding both the organizational context and the intensity of sports participation for 25 European member states were extracted from Eurobarometer 62.0: Standard European Trend Questions and Sport [European Commission 2004; Soufflot de Magny 2004]. This survey was carried out between October and November 2004 at the request of the European Commission, Directorate-General Press and Communication Polls and covers the population of each of the 25 European member states aged 15 years and older (N=24791). A multistage random sample design was applied in all countries, and all interviews were conducted face-to-face in people's homes, in the appropriate language. With respect to the data capture, CAPI (Computer Assisted Personal Interview) was used in those countries where that technique was available. In each member state, at least 500 (Malta) and at most 1310 (United Kingdom) interviews were conducted. In each country, the intensity of sports participation was assessed by means of the question "How often do you exercise or play sport?" Answer categories were divided between (i) very active in sports (i.e. 3 times a week or more), (ii) active in sports (i.e. 1 to 2 times a week; 1 to 3 times a month), and (iii) not to little active in sports (i.e. less often; never). With respect to the organizational context of sports participation, the respondents could choose between (i) fitness center, (ii) club, (iii) sports center, (iv) school/university, (v) elsewhere (which means outside of any structured organizational framework). Unfortunately, however, only one answer could be marked and only the organizational context of the most played sport has been taken into account. To obtain indicators of both the intensity and organizational context of sports participation on a national level, the above-mentioned individual level data has been aggregated.

Cluster Analysis

Cluster analysis measures the distance between cases on the basis of a combination of predetermined selection criteria (here: organizational context and intensity of sports participation). This distance is consequently used to identify groups of cases within which there is considerable homogeneity and between which there are clear boundaries [Aldenderfer, Blashfield 1984; Everitt, Lan-

dau, Leese 2001]. Despite being a longstanding strand within the comparative social policy literature and having many obvious benefits for the classification of 'welfare regimes' [see: Bamba 2004; Esping-Andersen 1990, 1999; Ferrera 1996; Korpi 2000 among others], surprisingly, it has never been applied to cross-national data on sports participation. Therefore, in this article we would like to analyze whether there exist different sporting typologies within the European Union, thereby applying the clustering method.

Two forms of cluster analysis are commonly used: hierarchical cluster analysis and K-means cluster analysis [Aldenderfer, Blashfield 1984; Everitt, Landau, Leese 2001; Gough 2001]. Hierarchical cluster analysis is the simplest technique. It locates the closest pair of countries (usually based on the squared Euclidean distance) and combines them to form a cluster. This algorithm proceeds one step at a time, joining pairs of countries, pairs of clusters or a country with a cluster, and continues until all cases are in one cluster. This method is called hierarchical because once countries are joined in a cluster, they remain joined throughout the rest of the analysis. In this way, the clusters emerge from the data, facilitating the emergence of sporting typologies. However, since hierarchical cluster analysis is rather a-theoretical, it is often conducted alongside K-means cluster analysis which permits the recombination of countries and clusters over repeated iterations. It requires the a priori specification of the number of clusters (k) to be formed. The clustering begins by using the values of the first n cases as temporary estimates of the k cluster means. Initial cluster centers form by assigning each case in turn to the cluster with the closest center and consequently updating the center until the final cluster centers are identified. At each step, cases are grouped into the cluster with the closest center, then the centers are recomputed, and so on until no further change occurs in the centers [Aldenderfer, Blashfield 1984; Everitt, Landau, Leese 2001; Gough 2001]. All calculations in this article used squared Euclidean distance

($d_{ij} = \sqrt{\sum_{k=1}^K (X_{ik} - X_{jk})^2}$) and standardized versions of the sporting context and –intensity variables. All analyses were carried out using SPSS version 17.0.

Table 1. Data on intensity and organizational context of sports participation

	Intensity of sports participation			Organizational context of sports participation				
	not to little active	active	very active	club	fitness center	sports center	school/university	other
<i>I</i>	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Austria	52,45	37,26	10,29	20,03	19,11	9,48	3,98	47,40
Belgium	49,95	32,27	17,78	21,74	10,54	9,20	4,18	54,35
Cyprus	57,00	15,00	28,00	4,07	17,07	5,28	7,32	66,26
Czech Republic	64,83	24,79	10,38	15,46	11,51	14,31	3,13	55,59

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Denmark	30,76	41,41	27,83	27,98	11,07	8,33	5,24	47,38
Estonia	63,29	25,46	11,26	14,10	8,46	8,83	11,47	57,14
Finland	16,93	36,75	46,31	14,23	10,64	6,53	1,69	66,91
France	46,76	33,79	19,45	21,48	3,40	9,43	6,49	59,20
Germany	53,47	32,27	14,26	24,00	12,10	2,97	4,31	56,62
Great Britain	48,77	30,55	20,67	12,93	19,34	15,42	5,46	46,86
Greece	68,20	16,30	15,50	6,87	36,02	11,61	6,16	39,34
Hungary	80,85	12,80	6,35	5,05	9,15	9,46	12,62	63,72
Ireland	44,96	28,93	26,11	20,46	14,35	7,79	2,90	54,50
Italy	66,21	24,73	9,06	9,05	31,22	24,89	3,85	31,00
Latvia	69,18	19,43	11,39	17,02	2,84	11,11	20,57	48,46
Lithuania	69,75	17,09	13,17	7,17	4,13	8,26	19,35	61,09
Luxembourg	52,99	28,88	18,13	17,99	14,53	9,69	4,84	52,94
Malta	55,40	17,00	27,60	3,32	9,59	7,38	4,43	75,28
Netherlands	42,86	40,97	16,17	33,03	15,40	11,06	2,24	38,27
Poland	63,19	21,77	15,05	5,35	6,58	5,35	16,67	66,05
Portugal	77,98	15,32	6,71	11,36	27,84	11,72	7,33	41,76
Slovakia	72,13	20,52	7,35	11,52	14,18	11,08	6,79	56,43
Slovenia	51,50	31,96	16,53	6,34	4,83	10,07	8,28	70,48
Spain	59,39	20,84	19,77	8,07	19,29	16,54	4,33	51,77
Sweden	18,40	42,50	39,10	5,60	24,54	8,93	3,55	57,37

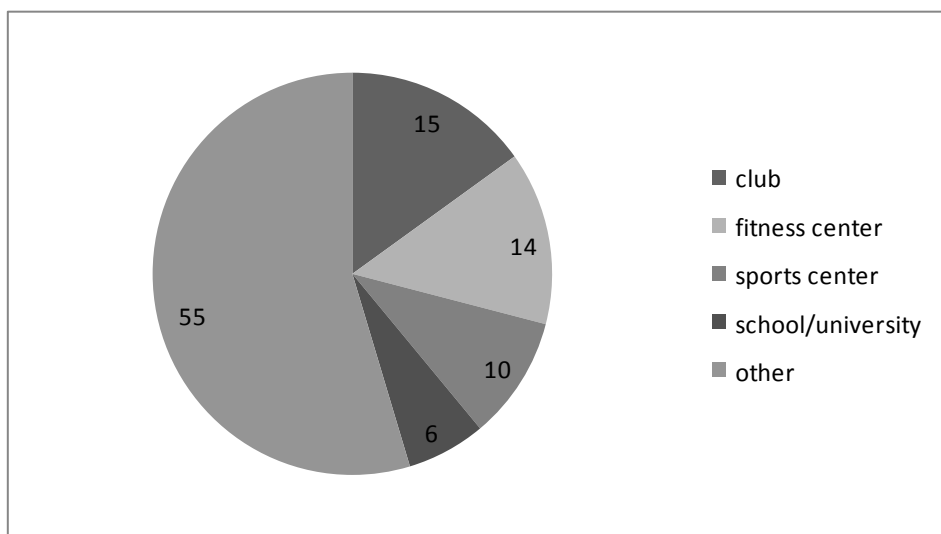


Figure 1. Organizational context of sports participation within the EU, in percentage of sports participants

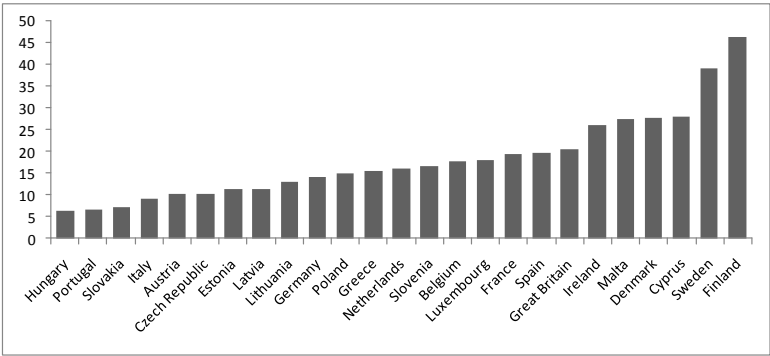


Figure 2. Intensity of sports participation, percentage very active in 25 European countries

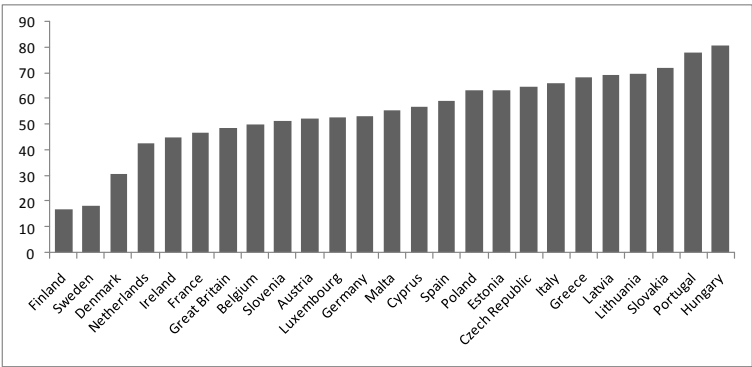


Figure 3. Intensity of sports participation, percentage not to little actives in 25 European countries

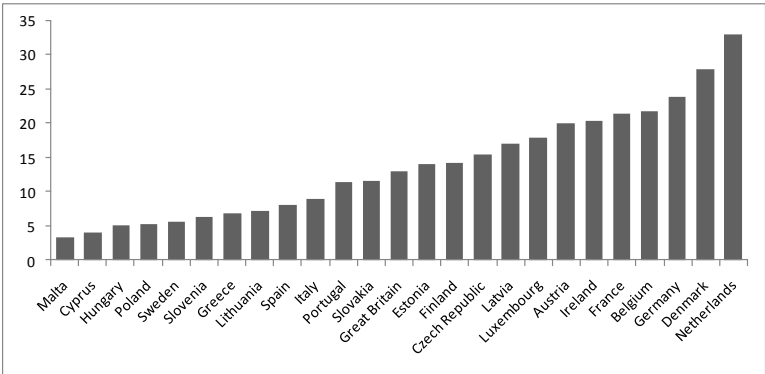


Figure 4. Organizational context of sports participation, percentage club members in 25 European countries

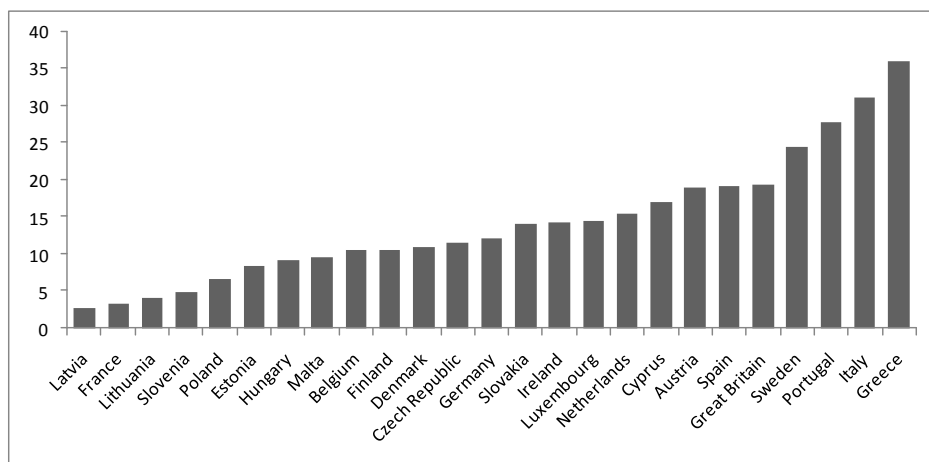


Figure 5. Organizational context of sports participation, percentage fitness center members in 25 European countries

Results

Participation in sport in Europe has reached high levels. In particular, the 2004 Eurobarometer survey shows that 60% (or approximately 271 million) of the inhabitants of the 25 EU member states stated that they participated in sport or exercise every so often. Of course, the downside is that 40% of the European population indicated that they never exercise or play sport at all. Moreover, the percentage of the European population doing exercise or sport falls sharply if one focuses on a regular or intensive sports participation level; only around one in six Europeans participates in sport intensively. Additionally, Figure 1 shows that throughout the EU, fitness centers are nearly as popular as sports clubs. Of all the Europeans who participate in sport and exercise, 15% (or approximately 70 million) did so mainly at sports clubs, 14% in fitness centers and 10% in sports centers. Schools or universities provided a setting where only 6% generally played their sports. The rest, and that is more than half of all participants in sports, said that they did their exercise or sport elsewhere, this is, outside of any structured organizational framework. However, in spite of the popularization and democratization of sport within the EU, the differences in sports participation – both in intensity as in organizational context – are so great that it is almost pointless to speak of ‘average’ sports participation in the EU. A lot of disparities occur between (and within as well) the European member states. Consequently, in this article our focus lies on the cross-national differences regarding intensity and organizational context of sports participation. Therefore, the un-

standardized country data for each of the sports participation measures are outlined in Table 1. Figures 2 to 5 show the spread of country scores for four of the measures (not to little active in sports; very active in sports; club as sporting context; fitness center as sporting context). Even in these univariate graphics, some geographical structure can already be derived. For example, the Nordic countries Finland and Sweden score highest in terms of very active sports participation (Figure 2); Portugal and Hungary, on the other hand, score highest in terms of none to little active sports participation (Figure 3). Denmark, the Netherlands and some other countries from the north-western part of Europe score highest in terms of sports club membership (Figure 4). The Southern countries Portugal, Italy, Greece as well as Sweden score high in terms of sports participation in fitness centers (Figure 5). The results (not shown here) also show that in the new member states, sport takes place more frequently outside of an organizational framework than in the other EU countries. In Malta, Slovenia and Poland, for example, between 60% and 70% of those who participate in sport do so in an informal, unorganized way. Although the above is interesting in its own regard, the present article wants to go a step further by using cluster analysis to empirically analyze the combination of organizational context and intensity of sports participation within 25 European member states.

The results of the hierarchical cluster analysis are shown in the proximity matrix (Table 2) and the first dendrogram (Figure 6). The proximity matrix reveals the distances between the countries when they are clustered using the different organizational context and sporting intensity measures. Table 2 shows that certain countries are closely located and quickly clustered to one another. For example, Belgium and respectively Ireland, France and Luxembourg are less than 1.5 in distance from one another, which suggests that these countries are more similar in terms of the sports participation measures. Other countries are clearly more separate from one another. For example, Finland and Portugal are 48.5 away from each other, Finland and Italy are even 61.2 apart. Perhaps most notably, is that the proximity matrix reveals that the pairings of Finland and Sweden, and Portugal, Italy and Greece are very distant from the other countries. Sweden and Finland are 6.0 away from one another, but they are very much more distant from the other countries. Aside from Finland, the country closest to Sweden is Ireland, at a distance of 11.7, and Denmark at a distance of 13.2. Similarly, Portugal, Greece and Italy are close to each other and more distant from the other countries. These two pairings represent the extremes of the proximity matrix, as they are most distant from one another: Finland is 43.5 away from Greece, 48.5 from Portugal and 61.2 from Italy. The distance between Sweden and respectively Greece, Portugal and Italy is 29.0, 37.3 and 42.6.

Table 2. Hierarchical cluster analysis proximity matrix (squared Euclidian distance)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
1. Belgium																									
2. Denmark	4,6																								
3. Germany	2,4	7,5																							
4. Greece	19,2	31,2	23,1																						
5. Spain	8,9	19,9	16,8	7,4																					
6. Finland	15,7	11,5	19,3	43,5	26,5																				
7. France	1,2	5,2	4,1	27,2	12,3	14,3																			
8. Ireland	1,3	4,4	3,5	17,7	9,0	10,3	3,2																		
9. Italy	28,9	40,1	41,6	12,0	11,1	61,2	36,6	31,5																	
10. Luxembourg	0,7	6,9	3,5	13,0	5,4	17,0	2,8	1,4	23,5																
11. Netherlands	6,1	4,1	9,5	26,9	19,4	26,3	9,5	8,2	29,0	8,0															
12. Austria	2,4	7,2	4,4	14,2	9,5	23,7	6,0	4,6	21,7	2,1	4,7														
13. Portugal	15,7	30,7	18,7	2,5	7,1	48,5	22,3	17,1	12,7	10,7	24,2	11,7													
14. Sweden	16,6	13,2	21,6	29,0	19,9	6,0	18,4	11,7	42,6	15,4	24,1	17,9	37,3												
15. UK	5,0	10,4	12,4	9,9	2,3	20,5	8,1	5,5	12,3	3,0	10,2	4,5	10,2	13,4											
16. Cyprus	12,8	24,4	13,6	15,8	10,4	18,9	14,1	9,5	40,4	9,4	33,3	17,9	16,3	19,0	14,1										
17. Czech Rep	4,2	16,1	9,4	13,6	3,3	28,3	6,4	7,1	17,3	2,9	13,7	5,5	8,5	26,0	4,4	13,1									
18. Estonia	4,7	15,4	6,5	16,7	8,6	27,3	4,8	7,7	29,6	3,6	17,7	7,2	10,7	26,3	8,3	9,0	4,4								
19. Hungary	17,5	37,1	19,2	18,6	12,5	45,5	17,9	20,7	34,7	13,9	38,9	20,6	11,1	43,5	18,7	10,0	9,9	5,1							
20. Latvia	15,6	26,4	19,1	25,4	17,6	45,2	14,1	20,3	35,8	14,0	28,3	19,3	16,8	44,6	17,6	20,3	14,0	5,2	8,7						
21. Lithuania	17,5	31,8	19,3	25,3	17,1	40,3	15,4	20,6	42,9	15,0	38,0	22,5	18,1	40,2	20,0	11,5	14,9	4,6	3,4	3,5					
22. Malta	13,3	26,1	15,6	24,4	11,9	16,9	12,7	11,0	45,5	11,1	36,2	20,9	23,3	20,7	16,3	2,1	12,6	10,6	11,3	24,0	13,8				
23. Poland	14,4	27,2	14,4	24,9	16,9	31,0	12,4	16,2	46,6	12,3	35,5	19,2	19,5	31,1	18,6	7,2	14,5	3,9	4,6	7,7	1,5	8,9			
24. Slovakia	7,0	21,8	9,8	10,4	4,8	33,9	9,5	9,7	20,7	4,5	20,1	7,6	4,9	30,0	7,4	9,3	1,9	2,4	3,9	10,1	8,7	10,9	8,6		
25. Slovenia	7,1	17,1	10,6	26,2	10,7	17,8	5,1	9,2	38,0	6,7	24,5	11,9	22,2	18,5	10,6	8,5	7,5	4,5	10,3	15,3	9,7	5,7	5,9	7,6	

The dendrogram (Figure 6) also highlights the separation of Sweden and Finland, and Greece, Portugal and Italy from the other countries. They do not combine with any of the other countries or clusters until a later stage of the combination process. The graphical presentation of the dendrogram also suggests – off course this is debatable since it is a subjective decision- that the hierarchical analysis of sports participation produces a typology of six sporting clusters (four broader clusters plus the two before mentioned outlying pairs). The largest cluster consists of Belgium, Luxembourg, Germany, Ireland and France, which are later joined by the pairing of Austria and the UK. The second largest cluster starts with the combination of the Czech Republic, Estonia, Slovakia and Spain, and is later combined with Lithuania, Poland, Hungary and Latvia. Cluster three consists of Cyprus, Malta and Slovenia, cluster four of Denmark and the Netherlands. The fifth cluster consists of the pairing of Finland and Sweden, and the final cluster is that of Greece, Portugal and Italy. Interestingly, when the hierarchical analysis is rerun omitting the cases of Finland, Sweden, Greece, Portugal and Italy, the four other clusters remain fairly static (Figure 7). This reinforces the fact that in the analysis of all 21 countries, the five cases (Finland, Sweden, Greece, Portugal, Italy) are very distant from the others, but it also suggests that they are not overly influencing the nature of the other clusters.

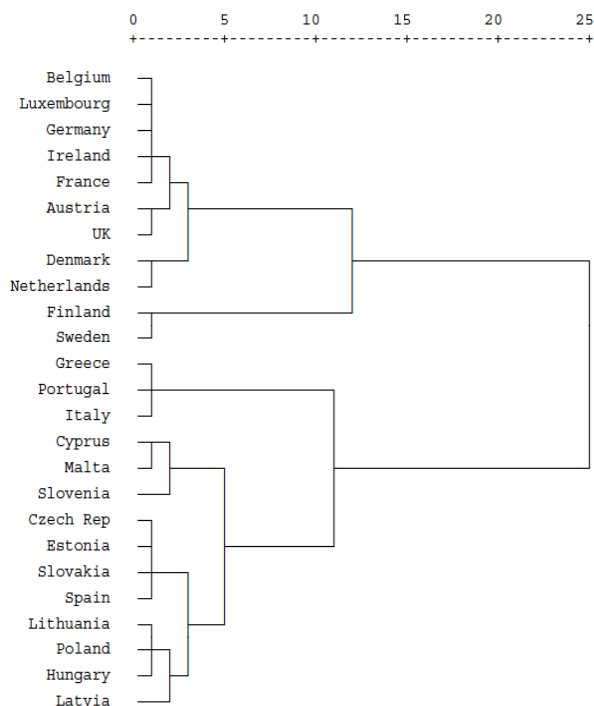


Figure 6. Hierarchical cluster analysis dendrogram (25 countries)

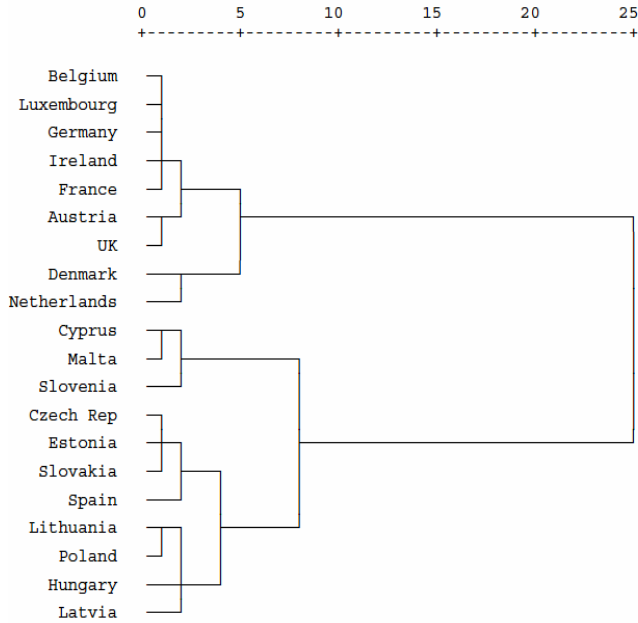


Figure 7. Hierarchical cluster analysis dendrogram (19 countries; omitting Finland, Sweden, Greece, Portugal and Italy)

The K-means cluster analysis (Table 3) is used to examine further the six-fold typology produced by the hierarchical cluster analysis. Overall, the clusters very closely resemble those produced by the hierarchical analysis. For example, Finland and Sweden are again together in one cluster (cluster 6), as well as Greece, Italy and Portugal (cluster 1), Slovenia, Malta and Cyprus (cluster 3) and Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland (cluster 4). However, the largest cluster identified by the hierarchical analysis does not remain intact in the K-means analysis. Table 3 shows that Denmark, the Netherlands and Austria fall apart into a separate cluster (cluster 2). The cluster with the Czech Republic, Estonia, Slovakia and Spain in the hierarchical analysis joins the largest cluster in the K-means analysis (cluster 5). This means that there are actually seven countries with different cluster memberships under the K-means analysis than that found in the hierarchical analysis: on the one hand the Netherlands, Denmark, Austria, and on the other hand the Czech Republic, Estonia, Slovakia and Spain.

Apart from providing support for the existence of a six-fold sporting typology in Europe, the K-means analysis also provides other useful information about the clusters, as an examination of the distances between countries and the five cluster centers shows that some cases form the basis of a particular cluster, whilst others are less closely identified with it. Countries rather central to a cluster are: Lithuania (distance from center: 0.53) in cluster four, Malta (0.88) in

cluster three, and Belgium (0.99) and Luxembourg (0.45) in cluster five. Other countries are less closely associated with the cluster in which they end up, for instance Germany (2.07) and Spain (2.14) in cluster five, and Italy (2.28) in cluster one. This suggests that some countries are harder to classify than others and that their cluster membership is more fluid. It also suggests that certain core countries are fundamentally different from one another in terms of sporting typology and therefore form the basis of distinct clusters.

Table 3. Results K-means clustering

cluster	country	distance
1	Greece	1,34
	Italy	2,28
	Portugal	1,43
2	Denmark	1,41
	Netherlands	1,07
	Austria	1,48
3	Slovenia	1,71
	Malta	0,88
	Cyprus	1,32
4	Hungary	1,53
	Latvia	1,77
	Lithuania	0,53
	Poland	1,28
5	Belgium	0,99
	Germany	2,07
	Spain	2,14
	France	1,63
	Ireland	1,51
	Luxembourg	0,45
	UK	1,75
	Czech Rep	1,36
	Estonia	1,60
	Slovakia	1,77
6	Finland	1,22
	Sweden	1,22

Table 4 shows the final cluster centers and how each of the sporting typology measures contributes to discrimination between the clusters. The F-statistic is calculated using analysis of variance and shows which of these measures contributes the most to discriminating between the six clusters. The larger the F-statistic, the larger the discriminating power of the variable. For example, in cluster 1 there is a clear positive influence from fitness centre and not to average active in sports (*non to average fitness sporting countries*). In cluster 2 there is

a clear positive influence of club membership as well as from active participation in sports (*active club sporting countries*). In cluster 3, there is on the one hand a clear negative influence of club membership but on the other hand a positive influence of sporting in another context (*average non-organized sporting countries*). In cluster 4, there is a clear positive influence of school/university and not to average active in sports (*average school sporting countries*). In cluster 5, there are no clear influences of the organizational context and intensity variables (*active centipede sporting countries*). In cluster 6, there is a clear negative influence of not to average active in sports and a clear positive one of very active in sports (*very active sporting countries*). The sports centre context variable contributed the least to discriminating between the clusters ($F=1.90$).

Table 5 shows the distances between the final cluster centers and thereby indicates the extent to which they are similar or different from one another. In our six-fold typology, it seems that clusters three (Slovenia, Malta, Cyprus) and five (Belgium, Germany, France, etc.) are the most similar to one another (2.52). In accordance with our expectations, the two most distant clusters are one (Greece, Italy, Portugal) and six (Finland and Sweden), at a distance of 6.26.

Table 4. K-means final cluster centers (z-scores)

	Organizational context					Sporting intensity		
	club	fitness centre	sports centre	school/ university	other context	not to average active	active	very active
Cluster 1	-0,58	2,03	1,36	-0,25	-1,63	0,97	-0,88	-0,79
Cluster 2	1,65	0,10	-0,13	-0,63	-0,97	-0,81	1,45	-0,01
Cluster 3	-1,15	-0,44	-0,60	-0,08	1,51	-0,03	-0,60	0,60
Cluster 4	-0,64	-1,01	-0,38	1,98	0,49	0,97	-0,99	-0,68
Cluster 5	0,37	-0,18	0,08	-0,33	-0,01	0,04	0,12	-0,17
Cluster 6	-0,48	0,38	-0,57	-0,87	0,71	-2,32	1,43	2,49
F	8.56	10.50	1.90	17.57	16.84	15.84	11.15	10.15

Table 5. Distances between final cluster centers

	1	2	3	4	5
1					
2	4,55				
3	4,81	4,47			
4	4,67	5,01	2,95		
5	3,51	2,30	2,52	3,15	
6	6,26	4,02	3,92	6,07	4,07

Discussion

A majority of the European population takes part in sports now and then, and around one in six persons participates in sports intensively. Sport predomi-

nantly takes place in a non-organized context and, besides this, mainly in the context of club associations and fitness centers. Evidently, the situation in each member state is the product of its own sport tradition and sporting identity. On the one hand, this has led to a fascinating cultural diversity, but on the other, it has created structural differences in sports participation between European countries. Our 'six sporting worlds' follow a classification of organizational context and intensity of sports participation for 25 European member states. Hereby, we offer a new perspective on comparing cross-national sporting activity differences using actual sporting outcomes rather than preconceived notions of the comparability of countries. Our model questions the rationale for traditional groupings or comparisons of countries that are considered to have similar sporting outcomes based on historical, political (policy) or geographical determinants. As such, our analysis is the first to offer an empirically validated stratification of countries based on the organizational context and intensity of sports participation. Moreover, the geography of sporting inequalities shown by our cluster classification presents homogeneous sub-regional groupings of countries. The results of the hierarchical and K-means cluster analysis produce a six-fold sporting typology of European countries. A first cluster comprises the *non to average fitness* countries (Greece, Italy and Portugal) where sport is more often practiced in a commercial context; a second the *active club* countries (Denmark, Netherlands and Austria) where sport occurs more in a club-related context; a third the *average non-organized* countries (Slovenia, Malta and Cyprus) where sport takes place more frequently in a non-organized context; a fourth the *average school* countries (Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland) where sport takes often place in a school context; a fifth the *active centipede* countries (Belgium, Germany, Spain, France, Ireland, Luxembourg, UK, Czech Republic, Estonia and Slovakia) where sport takes place in different organizational contexts; and a sixth the *very active* countries (Finland and Sweden) which stand out as the countries with the largest and most wide-ranging sports movements.

The disparities between these 'six sporting worlds' are quite large, and European institutional policies and interventions to reduce these disparities can benefit through more meaningful summaries of inequality based on these actual sporting outcomes. Given the above cross-national differences, the policy strategies to increase participation in sports and physical activity need to be manifold in nature and find expression at different levels. They have to take account for the fact that the provision and intensity of sport is at a quite different level in all six sporting worlds. Consequently, sports policy interventions have to take account of these differences and thus need a differentiated approach. This means, each sporting cluster has its own problems to deal with. In the active club and active centipede countries – and to a lesser degree in the very active countries –, the drop-out rate among adolescents and young adults is the biggest concern, which again must be differentiated according to educational level, and

probably also to living environment [Van Bottenburg, Rijnen, Van Sterkenburg 2005]. The question here is whether sports associations can be sufficiently modernized in order for club life to be made more attractive to young people, or whether the future lies with new structures that stimulate young people to innovate and disseminate sporting behavior. In the non- to average fitness countries, the greatest sticking point is the fact that the group of women and elderly lie behind with regard to sports participation. The task here is to gain a greater understanding of the way in which sporting behavior is influenced by socially imposed gender and class cultures and how these in turn may be influenced. In the average school and the average non-organized countries, there seems to be a need for the reinforcement of the sport structure, namely the advancement and support for the establishment of sports associations, school sport clubs and an innovative commercial provision of sport with all the necessary facilities.

Evidently, the analysis in this article is subject to a number of limitations. First, although the Eurobarometer data were the best available, the self-reported registration of sports participation has many problems and often provides inaccurate information [Boothby 1987]. Second, the whole analysis rests on data for the year 2004. Although much has changed since then, much has remained the same as well. However, it is possible that the same analysis may produce different results if repeated for other years. In addition, it is not possible to make assertions regarding trends in European sporting disparities. Given that cluster membership is dynamic, the methodology has potential for the monitoring of European sporting inequalities over time where, for instance, once similar countries become more disparate, and vice versa. Fourth, the data is constrained to 25 European member states. It would be very interesting to include data for other (non-European) countries as well. Fifth, the analysis is centered on the organizational context and intensity of sports participation. If other indicators, or more indicators, had been used the conclusions may have been different. For instance, it would be interesting to have information about the differences in popularity of sports, seen within an international comparative perspective. However, data on the differential popularization of the various branches of sports and the nature of exercise are scarce to non-existent. Sixth, cluster analysis and other statistical techniques of typology construction could be viewed as overly quantifying to the detriment of more theoretical aspects. More 'qualitative' measures that may have been able to encapsulate aspects of institutional arrangements relevant to sports participation (such as the cross-national differences in Sport for All policies) could not be included in the analysis. The resulting sporting clusters are therefore unable to reflect such institutional matters. Subsequently, caution should be applied to the results and their interpretation. Seventh, the optimal number of clusters was derived from the set of nested clusters visualized on the dendrogram. Since this is a largely subjective method, there were other possible country groupings that could have been derived. None-

theless, we have identified six broad and meaningful clusters that represent a more sensible taxonomy of European sporting differences than other, more ad hoc, classifications. Above all, this article has demonstrated the benefits of utilizing a more methodologically robust approach to typology modeling. Future attempts at classification should therefore build upon this approach and develop a more holistic means of comparing sports participation across European countries, one which takes into account not only the intensity of sports participation, but also the organizational context, and does so in a methodologically mature way.

Conclusion

Traditional ad hoc comparisons of countries considered as similar such as Belgium and the Netherlands, Spain and Portugal, or Denmark and Finland can be misleading as these have been shown here to be rather dissimilar when grouped together by concrete sporting outcomes. Our analysis has instead shown that Denmark is more similar to the Netherlands, and Spain more similar to Belgium. In total, we discovered six sporting clusters: (i) non to average fitness countries (comprising Greece, Italy and Portugal); (ii) active club countries (comprising Denmark, Netherlands and Austria); (iii) average non-organized countries (comprising Slovenia, Malta and Cyprus); (iv) average school countries (comprising Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland); (v) active centipede countries (comprising Belgium, Germany, Spain, France, Ireland, Luxembourg, UK, Czech Republic, Estonia and Slovakia); and (vi) very active countries (comprising Finland and Sweden). Based on previous cross-national [Hartmann-Tews 2006; Van Tuyckom, Scheerder 2008] and national research [Alexandris 1998; Alexandris, Carroll 1997; COMPASS 1999; Marivoet 2002; Vögel *et al.* 2003], there are no surprises of the place of Finland and Sweden in the *very active* cluster and Greece, Italy and Portugal being included in the *non to average fitness* cluster. The present cluster classification method facilitates the comparison of cross-national differences in sports participation and creates a more sensible rationale for international comparisons based on concrete sporting outcomes, i.e. organizational context and intensity.

References

- Aldenderfer M., Blashfield R. (1984), *Cluster Analysis*. (Sage University Papers series on Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences, series no. 07-044), Sage, Beverly Hills, CA.
- Alexandris K., Carroll B. (1997), *Demographic differences in the perception of constraints on recreational sports participation: Results from a study in Greece*, "Leisure Studies", vol. 116, pp. 107–125.

- Alexandris K. (1998), *Patterns of recreational sports participation within the adult population in Greece*, "The Cyber-Journal of Sport Marketing", vol. 2, no. 2.
- Bambra C. (2004), *The worlds of welfare: Illusory and genderblind?*, "Social Policy and Society", vol. 3, pp. 201–212.
- Boothby J. (1987), *Self-reported participation rates: Further comment*, "Leisure Studies", vol. 6, pp. 99–104.
- Camy J., Clijisen L., Madella A., Pilkington A. (2004), *Vocasport: Vocational education and training in the field of sport in the European Union: situation, trends and outlook*, European Commission, DG Education and Culture, Brussels.
- Cavill N., Kahlmeier S., Racioppi F. (2006), *Physical activity and health in Europe: Evidence for action*, World Health Organization, Copenhagen.
- Coakley J., Donnelly P. (1999), *Inside sports*, Routledge, London & New York.
- COMPASS (1999), *Sports participation in Europe. A project seeking the co-ordinated monitoring of participation in sport in Europe*, UK Sport, London.
- Council of Europe (1975), *The European Sport for All Charter*, Council of Europe/Committee for the Development of Sport, Strasbourg.
- Council of Europe (1980), *The European Sport for All Charter. Text and background*, Council of Europe/Committee for the Development of Sport, Strasbourg.
- Council of Europe (1993), *European Sports Charter*, Sports Council, London.
- Council of Europe (2006), *Council conclusions on common values and principles in European Union health systems*, Council of Europe, Brussels.
- Crum B. (1991), *Over versporting van de samenleving. Reflecties over de bewegingsculturele ontwikkelingen met het oog op sportbeleid [Sportization of society]*, Ministerie van Welzijn, Volksgezondheid & Cultuur, Rijswijk.
- Day P., Pearce J., Dorling D. (2008), *Twelve worlds: A geo-demographic comparison of global inequalities in mortality*, "Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health", vol. 62, pp. 1002–1010.
- Dietrich K., Heinemann K. (1989), *Der nicht-sportliche Sport*, Hofmann, Schorndorf.
- Elias N., Dunning E. (1986), *Quest for excitement: Sport and leisure in the civilizing process*, Blackwell, Oxford.
- Elias N. (1970), *Was ist Soziologie? (Grundfragen der Soziologie, vol. 1) [What is sociology?]*, Juventa, München.
- Esping-Andersen G. (1990), *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*, Polity, London.
- Esping-Andersen G. (1999), *Social foundations of post-industrial economies*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- European Commission (2003), *The health status of the European Union. Narrowing the health gap*, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, Luxembourg.
- European Commission (2004), *The citizens of the European Union and sport*, European Commission/Directorate General for Education & Culture (EC/DGEC), Brussels.
- European Commission (2005), *Health and Food*, European Commission/Health and Consumer Protection Directorate General (EC/DGEC), Brussels.
- Everitt B., Landau S., Leese M. (2001), *Cluster Analysis (4th ed.)*, Arnold and Oxford University Press, London & New York.
- Ferrera M. (1996), *The southern model of welfare in social Europe*, "Journal of European Social Policy", vol. 6, pp. 17–37.
- Guttmann A. (1996), *Games and Empires: Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism*, Columbia University Press, New York.
- Hartmann-Tews I. (1996), *Sport für Alle!? Strukturwandel europäischer Sportsysteme im Vergleich: Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Frankreich, Großbritannien*, Karl Hofmann, Schorndorf.

- Hartmann-Tews I. (2006), *Social stratification in sport and sport policy in the European Union*, "European Journal for Sport and Society", vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 109–124.
- Houlihan B. (1997), *Sport, policy and politics: A comparative analysis*, Londen & New York, Routledge.
- Inchley J., Currie D., Todd J., Akhtar P., Currie C. (2005), *Persistent socio-demographic differences in physical activity among Scottish schoolchildren 1990–2002*, "European Journal of Public Health", vol. 15, pp. 386–388.
- Kafatos A., Manios Y., Markatji I., Giachetti I., Daniel Vaz de Almeida M., Magnus Engstrom L. (1999), *Regional, demographic and national influences on attitudes and beliefs with regard to physical activity, body weight and health in a nationally representative sample in the European Union*, "Public Health Nutrition", vol. 2, no. 1a, pp. 87–95.
- Korpi W. (2000), *Faces of inequality: Gender, class and patterns of inequalities in different types of welfare states*, "Social Politics", vol. 7, pp. 127–191.
- Mandell R. (1984), *Sport: A cultural history*, Columbia University Press, New York.
- Marivoet S. (2002), *Asymétries dans la participation sportive. Les cas du Portugal et de l'Espagne dans le contexte Européen*, "Sud-Ouest Européen", vol. 13, pp. 105–112.
- Murray C., Kulkarni S., Michaud C., Tomijima N., Bulzacchelli M., et al. (2006), *Eight Americas: Investigating Mortality Disparities across Races, Counties, and Race-Counties in the United States*, "PLoS Medicine", vol. 3, no. 9, e260. doi:10.1371/journal.pmed.0030260.
- Petry K., Steinbach D., Tokarski W. (2004), *Sport systems in the countries of the European Union. Similarities and differences*, "European Journal for Sport & Society", vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 15–21.
- Ruger J., Kim H. (2006), *Global health inequalities: An international comparison*, "Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health", vol. 60, pp. 928–936.
- Scheerder J., Breedveld K. (2004), *Incomplete democratisation and signs of individualisation. An analysis of trends and differences in sports participation in the Low Countries*, "European Journal of Sport & Society", vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 115–134.
- Shelton N., Birkin M., Dorling D. (2006), *Where not to live: A geo-demographic classification of mortality for England and Wales, 1981–2000*, "Health and Place", vol. 12, no. 4, pp. 557–569.
- Soufflot de Magny R. (2004), *Eurobarometer 62.0. Standard European Trend Questions and Sport – Codebook (ICPSR 4289)*, Ann Arbor, Michigan, Inter-University Consortium for Political & Social Research.
- Tokarski W., Steinbach D., Petry K., Jesse B. (2004), *Two players one goal? Sport in the European Union*, Meyer & Meyer, Oxford.
- Van Bottenburg M., Rijnen B., Van Sterkenburg J. (2005), *Sports participation in the European Union. Trends and differences*, Arko Sports Media, Nieuwegein.
- Van Tuyckom C., Scheerder J. (2008), *Sport for all? Social stratification of recreational sport activities in the EU-27*, "Kinesiologia Slovenica", vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 54–63.
- Van Tuyckom C., Scheerder J. (in press), *Sport for all? Insight into stratification and compensation mechanisms of sporting activity in the EU-27*, "Sport Education and Society".
- Vögel J. et al. (2003), *Associational life in Sweden. General welfare social capital training in democracy*, SCB, Stockholm.

Key words: country clusters, Eurobarometer, sports participation profiles, cross-national study

Ana Luísa Pereira

Faculty of Sport; Sociology Institute, University of Porto, Portugal

Contact: analp@fade.up.pt

Chapter 3.2.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN A SPORTSMAN AND MEDIA: THE CASE OF THE CLIMBER JOÃO GARCIA

Taking as reference the narrative of João Garcia, the greatest Portuguese climber of all times, we intend to develop a reflection regarding the relationship between sport and media. The achievements of this climber and the way that he has been managing his activity allow us comparing him with a hero. The status of a hero has given to João Garcia the opportunity to become a ‘publicity vehicle’ and an attractive ‘commodity’ regarding sponsorship. In this context, the case of João Garcia helps us to understand some of the concepts that are inherent in the relationship between sport and media, namely the ‘golden triangle’, which vertices are professional sport, the media and corporate sponsorship. With the aim of understanding this relationship we start with an approach to some features related with the power that media have in our societies. Given this evident power, there is no doubt that some of the main sport’s transformations throughout last century are deeply connected with the involvement between sport and media. So too, João Garcia’s life has changed with his involvement with the media. In this way, we will try to create some points of discussion regarding the mentioned relationship.

Introduction

As observed from the title of my communication, I choose a Portuguese climber to develop some of my reflections regarding this issue. João Garcia is a 41-year-old mountaineer, whose goals are to climb the world’s 14 mountains above 8.000 m and to climb the highest summit of each continent without the use of artificial oxygen. What turned him into a famous sportsman was his ascent to the top of Mount Everest (8.848 meters) in May 18, 1999. This has a special interest for us Portuguese, since he was the first Portuguese to reach that summit, and without the use of oxygen or the help of Sherpa porters. Taking

into account that he has already reached the summit of 12 of the 14 eight thousand mountains on the planet and that he probably will achieve the missing two until 2010, it is likely that João Garcia will become not only a celebrity in Portugal, but also worldwide. Indeed, only 7 men had accomplished this achievement without artificial oxygen. Last week, on May 20, Ralf Dujmovits reached the Lhotse's summit, finishing the project of conquering all the 14 mountains above 8000 meters; nevertheless, he did it **with the aid of artificial oxygen**.

Besides these facts, there are other reasons to choose João Garcia as a starting point for this lecture, and one of them has to do with the fact that I have been interested in his life as a climber for a long time. For my PhD thesis I have interviewed 20 alpinists and João was one of them. Since then I have been aware of his successes and the way he has been standing out, easily leads us to the idea of a hero. Indeed, the manner that he organizes his life allows us to believe that it is still possible to find someone who fits in the notion of mythical hero. Additionally, a part of João Garcia's life is deeply related with the media: media have given João Garcia the achieved visibility, and consequently, media had a crucial role for the life he has nowadays.

The stories that João Garcia has to tell us concerning his life are countless and some of them cross his relationship with media. This is not surprising, since sport as we know it today has much to do with its relationship with media. Before getting into his life, let us begin with the connection between sport and media and their ambivalent and intertwined relationship.

Media

It is consensual that sport has undergone many changes over the past century, and many of these changes are strongly linked to the involvement created between sport and the media. But before continuing the approach of this relationship, we need to move toward in what regards the fact that media have great power on our societies. In fact, it is not difficult to perceive this power if we consider that from earliest times, the communication between men is fundamental to life in society.

One of the early pioneers of mass communication research, Harold Lasswell [1948], outlined three basic functions of the media: surveillance of the environment, fostering consensus in society, and transmission of the cultural heritage. The traditional agenda-setting role of the media involves both the surveillance and consensus functions of communication, calling attention to the new and major issues of the day and influencing agreement about what are the priorities of these issues [M. McCombs 2005]. Indeed, from the several theories concerning the potential effects that media have on society, it is important to mention the Agenda-Setting theory, from which come out some ideas that help us to under-

stand the link between sport and media. From this theory we are able to comprehend that the media not only can be successful in telling us what to think about, they also can be successful in telling us how to think about it [M. McCombs 2005].

One of the main ideas we can extract from this theory is that the media have the ability to influence the proportion and importance that a subject can acquire within public opinion, and thus assuming an important role in the construction of social reality [M.E. McCombs, Shaw 1972]. Individuals attend to the agenda of the media and frequently adopt that agenda, according to agenda-setting theory, because of an inherent need to be attuned to their environment. The concept of need for orientation also recognizes that for each individual some aspects of the environment are personally relevant while many others are irrelevant [M. McCombs 1999]. Nevertheless, as McCombs [2005] argues, media build up the majority of the knowledge above our direct experience and play a key role in shaping our representations of the world. We can even claim that we walk around with media-generated images of the world, using them to construct meaning about political, social [Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes, Sasson 1992], and sport issues.

As Walter Lippman points out, the media are important in shaping our notion of the world beyond what we can experience directly.

To the extent that public discourse is affected (shaped, framed, oriented) by media discourse (here viewed broadly), then public consciousness is also seen to be affected, even though this relationship is neither direct nor mechanical. Even if people are free to construct themselves and their perceptions of the world in ways of their own choosing, the sheer scale of media messaging and its density in daily life mean that peoples' perceptions, for example of social class, race, ethnicity, nationality and gender, and of fairness, victory and citizenship, are also affected [see: Grossberg *et al.* 1998]. This means that the processes through which media texts are constructed, and the reasons they are constructed in particular ways, are critical for understanding the social reality, including the role of sports.

It is also important to highlight that the power of media becomes even stronger when associated to the economic power. Especially if we consider the wide range of media, that is, we must also include all those economic groups that disseminate and advertise everything in our consuming societies. Indeed, we must contend that media organizations use news and other programming as a commodity to attract an audience which they can then sell to advertisers. This need to attract advertisers induces programmers and editors to produce content that is likely to create a 'buying mood'. These facts are so evident, that distinctions between entertainment and news became artificial, since they are all part of the same media spectacle, interspersed with the same advertisements in a seamless, ever present montage [Gamson *et al.* 1992].

One can agree then, with authors like Baudrillard and Debord, that our societies can be understood as societies of the hyper-real, and of spectacle. And

professional sport has undoubtedly become one of the major spectacles to consume in the media culture.

At this point we can question what kind of relationship exists between the phenomenon of sport and media.

The relationship between Sport and Media

Before continuing, let us make a short parenthesis and draw attention to the idea of 'spectacle'. 'Spectacle' is a complex term developed by Guy Debord [1992] that unifies and explains a great diversity of apparent phenomena. In one sense, it refers to a media and consumer society, organized around the consumption of images, commodities, and spectacles. Spectacles are those phenomena of media culture that embody the society's basic values, serve to enculturate individuals into its way of life, and dramatize the society's conflicts and modes of conflict resolution. They include media extravaganzas, sports events, political happenings, and those attention-grabbing occurrences that we call news [Kellner 1996].

Under the influence of postmodern image culture, media spectacles fascinate the denizens of the media and consumer culture society, involving them in the semiotics of a new world of entertainment, information, and drama, which deeply influence thought and action [Kellner 1996]. Experience and everyday life is thus mediated by the spectacles of media culture that dramatizes our conflicts, celebrates our values, and projects our deepest hopes and fears. For Debord [1992], the spectacle is a tool of pacification and depoliticization; it is a permanent opium war that stupefies social subjects and distracts them from the most urgent task of real life – recovering the full range of their human powers through creative praxis. The spectacular society spreads its narcotics mainly through the cultural mechanisms of leisure and consumption, ruled by the dictates of advertising and commercialized media culture. And in the contemporary media culture, sport is a fundamental field of spectacle. I think we all agree that sport had become a serious matter of the media culture and that its growth as a global sport network is very closely articulated with the pursuit of economic interests and the promotion of consumer culture.

The popular appeal of sport increased significantly during the course of the twentieth century, becoming truly worldwide in scope and intensity with the growth of international sporting bodies, competitions, tournaments, migratory flows of competitors and associated globally extensive forms of media representation, especially in the form of terrestrial (later satellite) television and the internet [Smart 2007]. Indeed, the developments in television technology, particularly the emergence of satellite television broadcasting, have contributed significantly to the globalization of sport. Worldwide live coverage of events, and digitalization and pay-per-view, along with the emergence of new media deliv-

ery platforms, including the Internet and mobile phone, have contributed further to the global diffusion of sports information and images [Smart 2007]. Therefore, it is easy to comprehend that the economic importance of TV for the sport is remarkable, and this was especially felt since World War II, when we started to observe the effects of scheduling and organization of sport events. To some extent, we are able to find here the effect of agenda-setting regarding the choice of a certain sporting event. We could give many examples of sporting events viewed through the media by millions of people, but that is perfectly obvious. What seems important to highlight is that this same mediatization had a great influence in some major transformations of sport.

In order to turning it in a commodity easily consumed by the media, and to turning it 'newsworthy' for its spread in the same media, there was a need to make sport more appealing. Indeed, from the mid-twentieth century television broadcasting media have created a cultural-commercial force field that has radically transformed sport, developing a degree of interdependence among both. On the one hand, the television coverage has significantly increased the global popularity of events such as Olympic Games and the FIFA World Cup; on the other hand, competitive bidding for broadcasting rights has radically transformed the political economy of these and other sporting events [Smart 2007].

This interdependence between sports and media, allowed media institutions to enter into dealings with the institutions of sport, but, as some authors argue, television is typically the dominant partner in the relationship, providing revenue and dictating the terms of the exchange [Whannel 2002]. That is, the transformation of sport by television has triggered a further more dramatic transformation wrought by the economic forces that television has unleashed. For instance, sponsorship has become a major economic factor, bringing into being whole new forms of sport [Whannel 1985], such as NBA Basketball. In a certain way, throughout sponsorship there was a direct connection within sports and business market, turning sports into a business and turning sport events and participants as commodities. Sponsorship can be described as the acquisition of rights to affiliate or directly associate with a product or event for the purpose of deriving benefits related to that affiliation or association. The sponsorship objectives of corporations are based on image, brand promotion, an increase in sales, cost effectiveness, and reaching target markets. And evidence suggests that sponsorship of sport does impact the image of the corporation, and reaches markets in a valuable trait shared by many corporations that choose to sponsor sport [Bennett, Henson, Zhang 2002].

The evident growth of sports' sponsorship is related with the fact that corporations recognize the distinctive qualities that sport and its participants possess. Moreover, its popular cultural appeal and unrivalled aura of authenticity are of potential value in the increasingly competitive process of capital accumulation in a fully-fledged consumer society. It is about its unique value in enhanc-

ing corporate brands, global marketing, and the promotion and sale of products associated with popular sport events and iconic celebrity sporting figures [Smart 2007]. This relationship between sport, corporate sponsorship, the media, and consumer culture, has contributed to the growth of a globally extensive popular culture and has its 'take-off' with the globalization of sport, naturally influenced by media [Smart 2007].

Overall, we must assume that TV has a great impact on how people perceive sport. As mentioned earlier, the media strongly influence how people constructs social reality and, within this, the reality of sport. TV transforms the economic dimension of sport by the sponsorship of sport events broadcasted and thus has an influence on the way that sport happens. For instance, professional sports, a paradigm of the spectacle, can no longer be played without the accompaniment of cheerleaders, giant mascots who clown with players and spectators, and raffles, promotions and contests which hawk the products of various sponsors [Kellner 1996].

Sport provides the ideal cultural material for global television. On the one hand, it is sited neatly between journalism and entertainment; on the other hand it has all the immediacy, authenticity, and unpredictability of news, but it also has the stars, the drama, the narrative structure, and the spectacle of show business [Whannel 1985]. These two features of sport lead us to the factors that turn something newsworthy. Additionally, unlike other cultural forms, sport on television presents few language problems; it is worldwide understood.

In short, sport is good for television for several reasons [Whannel 1985]: i) it fits the small screen fairly successfully, offering colorful and realistic spectacle; ii) it is, compared to other forms of television, fairly cheap to cover, even where relatively large fees have to be paid for rights; iii) it is potentially very popular; iv) major events like the Olympic Games and the World Cup can amass almost uniquely large audiences; v) it has a degree of cultural universality; vi) major sports like track and field, tennis, football, gymnastics, and skating are understood in most countries of the world.

Nevertheless, as already been mentioned and because the television is the dominant partner, one must underline that it is the television that chooses which events to screen, and thus it is television's choice which events to give prominence to, or which to omit. Inevitably, this will have some major social implications. Minority sports have reached huge new audiences on television, and their apparent importance is hence accentuated. Conversely, those sports that get little or no exposure on television can seem culturally marginal, even when they have a substantial following [Whannel 1985]. This choice is also intimately related to sponsorship.

In addition to the direct sponsorship of events, corporations also buy advertising time on broadcast media during sports programming. This is connected to the very elusive and 'concentrated' audience that a sport programming is able to capture. Sports constitute a very important part of the schedule of the major

television networks, who sell the time of particular audience segments to corporations who wish to reach those people with advertising messages. The material importance of this relationship between sports and the media will vary from society to society, depending in large on the extent of private versus public control of the broadcasting sphere [Jhally 1989].

From this relationship between sport and media, we can argue, as Rowe [2000] notes, that the media are central to the conduct and destiny of contemporary sport and sport is crucial to the present health and future of the media. Jhally [1989] emphasized this relationship when he described the market framework of media and professional sport as an inter-related industrial complex, the 'sport/media complex'. Jhally [1989] justifies its use in two fundamental ways: i) most people do the vast majority of their sports spectating via media (largely through television, but, as we shall see, this is changing with the developing of new media), so that the cultural experiences of sports is hugely mediated; and ii) from a financial point of view, professional sports are dependent upon media money for their very survival and their present organizational structure.

In this complex, as Jhally [1989] argues, corporations directly sponsor teams and events in the hope of attaching their names to the meaning of the particular activities. In fact, as observed by the author, given the prevalence of brand names in the athletic events themselves and the use made of sporting themes in the advertisements that appear between the events, the blurring of the line between the two realms is sometimes difficult to say exactly what one is watching.

More recently, Smart [2007] called this blurring relationship the 'indivisible trinity': 'a golden triangle', which vertices are the professional sport, the media and sponsorship. In this triangle, each of the parties is able to derive substantial profit. Subsequently, professional sport became more closely articulated with the media, in particular television, commerce and the world of corporate sponsorship [Smart 2007].

It is in this triangle that we find João Garcia. From the moment that he has got a sponsorship, allowing to achieve autonomy so he could devote himself exclusively to climbing, he has become professional. Additionally, from the moment he got this sponsorship, he reconsidered his activity and the image to be disseminated by the media.

A perspective from the climber João Garcia

In this section, I will try to discuss some of the implications inherent to the relationship between sport and media taking João Garcia as an example. Just like many other mountaineers and climbers we recognize an ambivalent relationship between João Garcia and the media. Somehow he illustrates some of the main moments of the history of the relationship between climbing and me-

dia. In the earliest times climbing was regarded as a private affair between a man and his mountain. It was intrinsically valuable, leading to personal fulfillment, self-discovery, enjoyment and the realization of private dreams [Gilchrist 2007b]. Indeed, some mountaineers thought that mountaineering ventures were best financed from private sources as this precludes the necessity of undesirable publicity. Nevertheless, if many of the pre-war generations considered publicity as anathema to the amateur spirit, other climbers accepted a relationship with the media, but on their own terms. By the 1920s it was common for the larger expeditions to sell rights to print dispatches and photographs to news organizations in return for a sizeable contribution to expedition expenses [Gilchrist 2007b]. After the great sponsorship that João Garcia won from a very important Portuguese financial institution, he stopped to worry about the expenses related with the expeditions and he became a professional climber. However, there were some concessions he had to do.

But, as mentioned before, it is necessary to highlight that João Garcia had to become a hero before he could enter in the referred 'golden triangle'; he had to accomplish some of the required tasks to become a hero. As Izod [1996] argues, the great tasks of the contemporary sporting hero are against all odds to win contests and to strive to break records (just like João Garcia's goals). In some sports physical danger has to be confronted (just like in mountaineering), and in all of them athletes have to face painful difficulties. Reaching the summit of Everest in 1999, and latter other summits (very recently he had reached his 12th summit with more than 8 000 meters, the Manaslu), propelled João Garcia, an unknown prior that, on ascent to stardom as a hero, product endorser and celebrity (at least in Portugal).

The term 'hero' is used in a number of different ways, and although this term originates from the Greek word meaning 'person distinguished for courage, fortitude or deeds', its meaning is adaptable between cultures and through time. Indeed, although the process of identification may be reverential, their accomplishments are culturally and historically specific; translated in specific moments through the norms, values and ideologies of the communities and societies in which they are produced [Gilchrist 2006]. Today, sporting heroes are required to have distinctively marked individual personalities, but their production as images must conform to the requirements of routinized, cost-effective television production. This economic factor, together with the desire of audiences to get to know personalities with easily recognized qualities, exerts a strong stereotyping force on the construction of sporting heroes. An instance is the fact that the characters most frequently discovered through sports coverage are usually winners. Winners, rather than losers, receive the most attention because the constant pressure to compete in most 20th-century societies encourages the adulation of victors [Izod 1996].

In this context, even though João Garcia has the skills to be compared to the archetypal hero, he had to become a hero in a contemporary perspective, i.e., he had to turn himself as a 'commodity' (this expression was assumed by himself) in the light of economic power and, thus someone who has the strength to be spread by media. Indeed, the press and television coverage João Garcia received constructed a positive media image that, in turn, helped to create sponsorship and endorsement opportunities for him with companies looking to capitalize on his image. Although the coverage of his achievements it is not comparable with other major sports, it served to solidify his celebrity status.

Additionally, we must refer that João Garcia early realized what was required to become a potential 'advertising medium'; once again I am using his words. As Walton [2004] asserts, in order to be sponsored, an athlete must be more than just good – he or she must have something else to offer in order to be useful in selling products. And this is why João Garcia has been very careful regarding the way he organizes his expeditions and its broadcasting throughout the media. Moreover, he truly had lived some of the news values. That is, if on the one hand he had suffered in his own skin the experience of the 'newsworthy' value concept with his exaltation and tragedy in Everest; on the other hand, he was always very careful regarding his own image as a 'commodity'.

Even though I had referred João Garcia as a 'commodity', I do not put him side by side with some sport stars like Cristiano Ronaldo or Michael Jordan. These two sport stars play in highly powerful sport fields like football and NBA basketball, respectively. Nevertheless, let us make a parenthesis and let us enlighten the case of Michael Jordan. Despite no longer playing, the truth is that Michael Jordan was a major milestone in the conceptual proposal of the 'golden triangle'.

The Nike Corporation had realized a very profit association with the positive qualities displayed by this athlete, promoting its brands through that association which generated lucrative product endorsement contracts. Indeed, as an NBA superstar, Jordan is the very picture of grace, coordination, virtuosity, and all-around skill. Jordan epitomizes the postmodern spectacle both on the playing field and in the advertisements and media spectacles, which implode athletic achievement with commercialization, his sports image with corporate products, making Jordan one of the highest paid and most fecund generators of social meaning in the history of media culture [Kellner 1996]. In this context, we have been able to recall the exclusive line of sports commodities expressed by NIKE AIR JORDAN since the 80's. Within this association, just as Jordan marketed Nike, so did this corporation help to produce Jordan's image and spectacle. Likewise, Jordan was used to market NBA and in turn, its publicity helped market Jordan. In this 'golden triangle' each of the parties had profits.

Returning to João Garcia, it is obvious that he does not have the same power within media as M. Jordan did. Starting with the fact that mountain climbing is not as visible as other sports such as basketball in U.S.A. or football around

all over the world. For several reasons! For instance, the involvement of the activity; in Portugal, for example, mountain climbing does not have the impact of other sports. We just have to consider our own geography (our highest mountain, Serra da Estrela, has 2000 m) to immediately realize that only a few people might be interested in this practice, comparing with other sport activities, which have much less costs and do not involve travelling to other countries, as it happens if one wants to carry out media and high altitude climbing. Moreover, there is no way to make live coverage of these events and to watch in Portugal such activity alive. Thus, it is very easy to understand its low potential to gain media visibility. Additionally, it is not easy, if not impossible, to watch the live coverage of a peak's climbing such as the Everest (with more than 8000 m). Not only there are very few who have the skills to do it, but there are probably no journalists who are able to accompany this kind of expeditions.

We can recall the ascent to Old Man of Hoy in the 60's, which was watched by 15 million people that were glued to their TV sets. According to Gilchrist [2007b], the climbing of the Old Man of Hoy was one of the most audacious BBC outside broadcasts. A 150 meters crumbling sea stack situated in the Orkneys was conquered by six climbers in a broadcast that has been dubbed the first 'reality television' program. It connected an armchair audience with the elite of a sport subculture intent on conquering one of Britain's most spectacular geological treasures. This event was very discussed because of the difficulties to make it alive. Indeed, the weather conditions were not the best and some have criticized it because of its artificiality. If it was difficult to broadcast this rock-climbing, one can imagine the difficulties to broadcast a Himalayan climbing, which happens at more than 8000 meters of altitude, that is, it happens in very critical conditions for human survival, which means that it is not possible to make live coverage. Unless this coverage is done by the climbers themselves, as it has already happened with João Garcia, who had made a live advertisement. More recently, João Garcia has made his own coverage of his last ascent, last month; to the summit of Manaslu.

Besides these examples, João Garcia has already been accompanied in some of his expeditions, but only to the lowest base-camp of mountains like Everest. That is, those altitude camps that support these expeditions and are usually about 5000 meters of altitude on Everest. In this sense, in order to be followed by media, João Garcia has adopted some strategies. In the base-camps he usually has access to the Internet, and thus he is able to keep his homepage updated with the happenings of the expeditions, starting from his arrival in Kathmandu (a city in Nepal where the majority of expeditions to Himalayas start), passing by his arrival at base-camp 1, and then at base-camp 2, and so on. As he told us:

"There is a certain obligation of regularly feeding the site so when the sponsor tries to quantify his advertisement return he will not only see: "oh, it is just Saturday and Sunday". No! It is from the departure, all that counts! And all of

the film images that I sent, 15 days before I reached the summit, were passing on SIC¹ and this count too. They also showed the attempt to the summit, and one week later, the climbing to the summit, and then the descending. And when I returned to base-camp, I gave a live interview for SIC. All these events are important for the sponsor. All that counts! This is also what makes this sport, by its long duration, somehow attractive to the sponsor”.

The Internet, along with other media, appears as a means of dissemination of his activity. In fact, within the new media, the Internet is one of the topics on the research agenda in the field of sport and media. New media, particularly the internet, digital television and mobile telephony, are introducing new distribution platforms and services for the delivery of sports content [Boyle, Haynes 2002].

The rhetoric that surrounds the new media environment is enticing. The prospect of being able to watch anything, anytime, anywhere makes the contemporary choice of terrestrial and pay-television channels seem relatively arcane. In this view of the new media order the use of information technologies is only restricted by our imaginations. Being online and being digital will be as natural as kicking off your shoes and flicking on the television with remote control [Boyle, Haynes 2002]. In fact, this is one of the reasons why João Garcia has already his own page and is always concerned with its update. He is perfectly aware of the importance of this mode of communication in our societies.

Additionally, throughout the late 1990s sports organizations and clubs developed websites to provide corporate information, breaking news and e-commerce (predominantly the sale of merchandise) to sport fans [Boyle, Haynes 2002]. All of this we can observe in João Garcia's webpage (<http://www.joaogarcia.com>). It is no exaggeration to suggest that all major spectator sports now have a presence on the internet in some shape or form. The degree of engagement with new media clearly varies, but there is general consensus among sports organizations that the internet presents a range of new possibilities for communicating with various publics [Boyle, Haynes 2002]. And this is another thing that João Garcia clearly understood.

From his homepage, the information is spread out to other media, not only for newspapers online and some “traditional” media such as printed newspapers, but also for some of the major Portuguese TV corporations. Indeed, for several times we had the opportunity to be informed about João Garcia's expeditions, as well as to watch João Garcia on television in some interviews during the breaks of these expeditions.

Regarding to the accompaniment of his expeditions we have to highlight that one of the adopted strategies has to do with filming of what happens there. Sometimes, as in base-camps, it is possible that these filming are carried out by a journalist and then sent to a television station. Nevertheless, oftentimes João

¹ SIC: a Portuguese television corporation.

Garcia is the one who carries out the camera. But, as he told us, his professionalization has led to his specialization in this part of his activity too. The fact of having achieved some economic capacity has also some effects in the way he publicizes his expeditions. Accordingly, João Garcia has chosen to hire someone that could monitor and film, as in his expedition to K2. As he told us: "Johan Perrier had filmed 7 tapes and from those and with everything else already done, he had made a documentary, which is moving around the world". Indeed, this was almost an imposition from his sponsors (a major bank – BCP – and a television station – SIC). As he reports:

"But the 'guys' from the Bank and from the television said with some reason: «João, your pictures are very nice, but you have to jump into it because you're the image of our bank, you're the one who has to be in the pictures!» So, this year I came back and I told them: «ok, but the next year we will rectify and I will need to spend more money». But they said: «Oh, João, but that money is more than justified»."

The film that has resulted from the expedition to K2 is one of João Garcia's means of promotion. Besides the known books "*The Highest Solitude*" and "*Going further*", he now promotes his film and he was recently invited to present it in Madrid. We also have to mention the fact that João Garcia has become a comics' hero with the adaptation of the book "*The Highest Solitude*", which narrates his expedition to Everest in 1999.

In this way, although climbing is not an activity with the diffusion through the media such as football, it has achieved some visibility. And here, again, everyone wins. Because João Garcia has achieved the status of hero for his successes, he was approached by a large corporation for a sponsorship. Because of this sponsorship, he has now economic capacity so he can devote himself exclusively to climbing. Because he devotes himself exclusively to climbing, he has developed a project called 'Conquering the top 14', from which he will have more media visibility, something that naturally is of interest to his sponsors.

This is because the more success he has the more he will appear in the media, and there will be greater association between him and his sponsor. Moreover, if all goes well, João Garcia will be able to reach more people, and probably there will be more people wanting to engage in this activity. Indeed, this is one of the expected results, since the major sports stars, with their successes, become models of action and eventually become models to imitate. Thus, it is easy to recognize that, once again, everyone has something to win.

However, not everything is a 'sea of roses'. In fact, there were not only concessions to do; João Garcia had also experienced not very pleasant times. The concessions he had to make are related with the fact that he had to reconsider his goals within the mountaineering. That is, according to the sponsored project, João Garcia will achieve the rest of the 14 mountain peaks over 8 000 meters until 2010 – when his contract with the bank institution ends. To make

that feasible, João Garcia had planed his expeditions and he climbs the mountains through already known routes. In this sense, João Garcia will not ‘open’ any new route and he will not go in the winter, the so-called winter expeditions.

Despite the fact that there is no doubt that it is a memorable achievement to become one of very few to climb all 14 mountains over 8 000 meters without the use of oxygen (only seven climbers in the world have done it), João Garcia will not make anything new (nevertheless, it is important to emphasize that this is not at all to underestimate his accomplishment), which is to say (in a manner of speaking), he will not reach any world record. But as he told us, after this project he will certainly achieve a status that will allow him to do things that will leave his mark; then again these are his words. Incidentally, I think the following excerpt illustrates what I have just said.

“I still do not know what I’m going to do, if I try things that until now have been away from me... To do the most difficult route in an 8000 m, repetitions ... everyone likes to leave a mark. I would like to make a new route in the Himalayas, a route that has never been made and that would become a Portuguese route, or something like that. [Like a world record?] Exactly, it is a record! ... You know... didn’t Phelps won the 8 medals? I think it is fair if we also want to leave our mark in history. I would be very happy to leave a mark. [But doing all the 14, wouldn’t that be already a great mark?] Yes it is! But I can do more! To do all the 14 it would be a great spot to be consumed within civil society. To open a new route in an 8000 is a great deal within elite society, within the practitioners, and within the mountaineering groups.”

In addition to these concessions, João Garcia also tells us that, somehow, when he is engaged on expeditions, he ends just like if he was living in a kind of Big Brother. As he told us: “[Is this a way to make you attractive to the audience?] Yesss, it is almost as a Big Brother... Basically I’m there to share pictures and texts with people and anyone can read it! Like it or not like, with sympathy or not for me or for the activity. The television is the same thing!”

Along with all this, we also need to emphasize his relationship with the journalists themselves, which it is not always easy. This is because, on the one hand very few journalists can manage to escape to all the sensationalisms, and on the other hand it is very difficult to develop a proper dissemination of the activity. Regarding sensationalism, we now return to the initially raised idea – the agenda setting. Understandably, João Garcia became newsworthy in 1999 for two reasons. Firstly, he was the first Portuguese climber to reach the summit of Everest and, secondly, because the accident that happened. In this expedition, João Garcia’s partner died and João Garcia suffered frostbite in his hands, feet and nose.

He had once again great visibility in 2006 because of the death of one fellow’s expedition, during the descending of Shisha Pangma. Actually, sensational stories about death, or near death, on the mountain continue to sell copy – as witnessed following the 1996 Everest tragedy, when eight climbers died during

two commercial attempts to ascend the mountain. Debates continue to circle, highlighting the persistence of cultural boundaries and limitations on behavior at the extremes [see: Palmer 2002]. Nothing appears to have changed with regard to the fact that it is tragedy that triggers press interest [Gilchrist 2007a].

It is with this kind of visibility that João Garcia fights for. For him, it is very difficult to understand that much of the attention that it is retained happens when something ‘goes wrong’. In such a way that as a joke he says that it is probably necessary to occur another tragedy so he can be again in the news. In fact, he does not always conform himself with the small space given to his achievements in the media, when compared with the space that is given to tragedies and accidents in the mountains with climbers. But, the truth is that success after success is no longer newsworthy and therefore has less value as news.

Anyway, one thing is certain, the day that João Garcia will complete his project of the 14 mountains over 8000 m, he will certainly be on the news and it is certain that he will be transformed into a national hero. In Portugal we are wriggling for João Garcia to accomplish all this without any accidents in his journey.

References

- Bennett G., Henson R., Zhang J. (2002), *Action sports sponsorship recognition*, “Sport Marketing Quarterly”, 11(3), 174–185.
- Boyle R., Haynes R. (2002), *New media sport*, “Culture, Sport, Society”, 5(3), 95–114.
- Debord G. (1992), *La société du spectacle*.
- Denzin N. (1989), *Interpretative Biography (Qualitative Research Methods Series)* (vol. 12), Sage Publications, California.
- Gamson W., Croteau D., Hoynes W., Sasson T. (1992), *Media Images and the social construction of reality*, “Ann. Rev. Sociol.”, 18, : 373–393.
- Gilchrist P. (2006), *The politics of totemic sporting heroes and the conquest of Everest*, “Anthropological Notebooks”, 12(2), 35–52.
- Gilchrist P. (2007a), *‘Motherhood, ambition and risk’: mediating the sporting hero/ine in Conservative Britain*, “Media Culture & Society”, 29(3), 395–+.
- Gilchrist P. (2007b), *Reality TV on the Rock Face Climbing the Old Man of Hoy*, “Sport in History”, 27(1), 44–63.
- Izod J. (1996), *Television sport and the sacrificial hero*, “Journal of Sport & Social Issues”, 20, 173–193.
- Jhally S. (1989), *Cultural Studies and the sports/media complex* [in:] L. Wenner [ed.], *Media, sports & society*, Sage Publications, California.
- Kellner D. (1996), *Sports, media culture, and race – Some reflections on Michael Jordan*, “Sociology of Sport Journal”, 13(4), 458–467.
- McCombs M. (1999), *Personal involvement with issues on the public agenda*, “International Journal of Public Opinion Research”, 11(2), 152–168.
- McCombs M. (2005), *A look at Agenda-setting: past, present and future*, “Journalism Studies”, 6(4), 543–557.

- McCombs M.E., Shaw D.L. (1972), *Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media*, "Public Opinion Quarterly", 36(2), 176–187.
- Palmer C. (2002), *'Shit happens': The selling of risk in extreme sport*, "The Australian Journal of Anthropology", 13(3), 323–336.
- Patton M. (2002), *Qualitative research & evaluation methods* (3rd ed.), Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks.
- Richardson L. (1990), *Narrative and Sociology*, "Journal of Contemporary Ethnography", 19(1), 116–135.
- Smart B. (2007), *Not playing around: global capitalism, modern sport and consumer culture*, "Global Networks", 7(2), 113–134.
- Smith L. (1998), *Biographical method* [in:] N. Denzin, Y. Lincoln [eds.], *Strategies of qualitative inquiry*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, pp. 184–224
- Walton T.A. (2004), *Steve Prefontaine: From rebel with a cause to hero with a swoosh*, "Sociology of Sport Journal", 21(1), 61–83.
- Whannel G. (1985), *Television Spectacle and the Internationalization of Sport*, "Journal of Communication Inquiry", 9, 54–74.
- Whannel G. (2002), *Sport and the media* [in:] J. Coakley, E. Dunning [eds.], *Handbook of sport studies*, Sage Publications, London, pp. 291–308

Key words: *sport, media, sponsorship, golden triangle, alpinism*

Lucio Meglio

Faculty of Humanities, University of Cassino, Cassino, Italy
Contact: l.meglio@unicas.it

Chapter 3.3.

SPORT, WORK AND LEISURE TIME. THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE ITALIAN COMPANY RECREATION CIRCLES

The sport of *leisure*, a right of all citizens

Even though they cannot be considered among the first theories related to discipline, in the last few years sociological thoughts on sport have registered a constant and rather beneficial increase in studies and research. If, at the beginning of the Seventies, the sociology of sport found it difficult to launch, at the end of the Eighties onwards a net inversion in trends was registered. Sports, and at the same time leisure time, became fertile land for ideas and reflection on various topics [Blackshow 2002]. Historically going through the phases of social history of sports leisure, the birth of leisure time coincides more or less with what Aris Accomero [2006] defined as the forth phase of the “parabola of time” that scans the modern industrial society: this means of *use*, in which the increased level of general wellness has created the possibility for workers to use larger periods of time for leisure and fun. Consequently it is with the advent of the industrial society that sports activities are diffused as *mass leisure*: from simple sports activities carried out on an individual basis, a real economic-organisational system is created within the newly board industry of mass leisure [Lo Verde 2009]. But everything that is modern has resulted in the rebalance and redefinition of the concept and activities of sports.

This present contribution is placed alongside the recent theories that see sports activities as a direct expression of the social requirements elaborated by the late modern era and therefore as a “potential new right of citizenship that the social state has tried to listen to” [Porro 2001, p.163]. Even today the acquisition of these rights is progressing very slowly, despite the fact that leisure time activities represent mass consumption and sports, tourism, cultural and recreational activities, have a very important effect on the national GDP, therefore also requiring public support policies. Already during the first trade union fights

on the reduction in working hours, an optimal time distribution of everyday life of the workers was requested, to include free time, the famous slogan at that time being "1/3 for work, 1/3 for rest, 1/3 for fun". Even considering the due difficulties this division of time has been substantially achieved even if the topic of quality of work, of rest, of fun and of training still find it difficult to achieve full social citizenship. New challenges have opened up in the new Italian economic system that can be summarized in the following points:

Considering the reduction in working hours as an instrument to harmonize life cycles, even in a flexible management system of work, and to create space for a fourth portion of time to be dedicated to studies and constant training;

Facing the topic of quality of work, rest and fun and training.

Therefore, it is important to understand how far the circle of leisure time for workers represents a vital portion of their personality, full of motivations, values and so important as to stimulate a strong revenge of new rights of citizens and a strong social inclusion in the world of employment. From figures related to the amount of time spent at work in Europe, we can see that, moving from a society where the majority of the life of adults was dedicated to work, we are moving towards a society in which the majority of time will be and is already dedicated to something else.

In 1900, according to calculations by Alain Corbin, the annual duration of time dedicated to work was 3,200 hours and the average life was short. Throughout his entire existence a worker had 292,000 hours available and worked 121,600 of them (therefore 42%). In 1980 the annual duration of time dedicated to work fell to 1,650 hours and the average life duration almost doubled compared with one hundred years before. At the moment the total amount of hours lived is 420,480 and only 18% (therefore 75,500 hours) is dedicated to work. Currently, in Italy, as calculated by the sociologist Domenico De Masi [1999] if a twenty-year-old found a stable job and was allowed to work until the age of sixty, on a daily basis and more than expected, he would accumulate 2,000 working hours in a year and in total his work experience would not exceed 80,000 hours. Once all calculations have been made, this youngster has a total amount of 226,000 hours of leisure time all for himself. Therefore, work would represent approximately 15% of his life and leisure time approximately 43%. Everybody (the family, school, government, mass media) worries about preparing him and launching him towards his profession but not towards his leisure time.

But what will this twenty-year-old do in his free time? Who will decide what he does? The large television networks? Publicity? The Church? Politics? Will he do useful or useless things? Which choices will he make? These questions are vital to understand how consumption tends to increase during leisure time, much more compared with working time and relaxation time, in this way allowing for an increase in demand and consequently jobs. Nobody seems to have realized that free time has now exceeding working time, even factories full

of blue collar workers have now been transformed into *loisir* spaces such as theatres, auditoriums, museums and research areas, especially if we think of the Fiat-Lingotto of Turin or Pirelli-Bicocca of Milan. A modern welfare State that is attentive to the requirements of its citizens cannot therefore afford to ignore this reality of events and sports activities represent an outpost of active citizenship that tends to redesign the geography of collective rights, including rights related to the quality of life” [Porro 2006, p. 107].

The company recreational circle of workers in Italy

The Italian reality of after-work events and, in general, of spontaneous associationism, has deep and strong roots in the social and cultural network of our territory. It is not easy, we could even say impossible, to analyse such a varied kind of reality, as in the case of each single Italian territorial unit. The after-work history follows that of the workers movement step-by-step and in general the development of work within the society. The history of work in the Italian industrial society has not had a linear and simple course. In the century and a half that has just ended since 1861, the date of unity, up until now work has undergone radical changes, parallel to the ones that have involved all Italians from a material, social and cultural point of view.

There have been two turning points and transformation points that have characterized the transformations of the market of Italian work: the first refers to a reduction in activity rates; the growth of education, the birth of the pension system and an increase in the number of housewives has resulted in the last few years in a gradual fall in active population in society; the movement of the latter among the production fields is the second change that has involved our country in the last few years.

From the end of the nineteenth century to the Giolitti era, the period of the first industrialization, the birth and growth of the first blue collar workers movement was encountered. The “Società Operaie di Mutuo Soccorso” associations were born, whose initial objective was to resolve the growing problem of uncertainty due to the absence of a social security policy. In these societies workers regularly paid association fees that were used to create a sum with which support to partners in a difficult economic situation was granted. The workers companies were also social areas for the organisation of free time, cultural activities and learning activities for a working population widely excluded or marginally touched by the education system [Musso 2002, pp. 114–115]. In many cases they represented the incubators of the first trade union organizations that were born in 1906 in Milan with the name of The General Working Confederation (CGDL). In 1925 during the fascist era, the National After-Work Society was born, with the objective of dealing with the leisure time of workers.

By corporate definition of the Institution was: «moral and physical improvement of the population through sports, excursions, tourism, artistic education, popular culture, social assistance, sanitary hygiene and professional improvement». The National After work Society was a part of a maximisation plan of the habits and customs aimed at modelling the new man launched by the regime during the twenty year period: the objective was to create generalized lifestyles that could help in “national polarization” works: the organization of after work activities was therefore aimed at strictly propagandistic objectives, through sports activities the regime educated towards control and discipline [Elias 1988].

In a modern era all public as well as private structures were equipped with different forms of after work activities or in general support, help and organization of leisure time for their workers. They were backed by numerous non-profit associations that formed the galaxy of the third Italian sector, and in this way the recreational Circle of after-work activities was created. The CRAL (Italian company recreation circles) is therefore a very much deep-rooted reality in the Italian social network even though it is not very well-known by the public. Article 11 of the Workers Charter (law 300/70) states the following: “The cultural, recreational and assistance activities promoted in the company are handled by organizations formed mainly by worker representatives”, sanctioning the specific characteristics of company circles compared with other associations but, at the same time, providing them with greater responsibility compared with the role that they may play in the reform process of the social state, in light of the recent legislation on associationism of social promotion, tourism and sport.

The birth of the CRAL in Italy coincided with that of the workers organizations during the nineteenth century, a period that characterized the important economic and industrial transformations that occurred after the unity of Italy. With the fall of fascism and the crisis of the Taylor-Fordist production model, the modern organisation of after work was achieved. The CRAL therefore represents the incarnation of the previous company after work, an authority capable of favouring socialisation processes among workers in the working environment through the organisation of cultural, sports and recreational events. The various services offered by these structures include, without a doubt, the importance that sports activities have undertaken in time, playing an important role as the workers themselves requested and participated much more in sports activities.

From recent research carried out on a national level by CRAL, aimed at investigating into the services, participation and structures present on the territory, it emerged that these activities fill the free time of workers registered in the circles or the company associations [Anselmi, Meglio 2009]. In some cases the companies themselves have their own structures such as gyms, swimming pools or football pitches, for exclusive use of their employees, or alternatively specific conventions are created with external sports structures requested by employees. The most common sports activity in the recreational Circles is football and 5-

aside football together with swimming and gym, especially among the youngsters and in general young males. The organisation of amateur tournaments is also very popular among the various circles and the various territorial realities.

Even though it represented a reality, the sports activities of CRAL appeared to be more and more consolidated and deep rooted into the working reality of our country. Born with a communist inclination by the workers for the generalisation and qualification of their free time, the recreational circle now play an extremely important role in the field of social networks in the territory, due to the fact that they represent the negotiation and observatory requirements of workers. Needs that are more and more complicated and varied due to the substantial changes in the internal organization of work that has become extremely varied; due to the deep transformation in the employment market, therefore different contracts and levels of protection exist in the same working area, as defined by the law 30/2003. CRAL can truly become an instrument of cohesion and a place for opportunities for even the weakest, starting with the huge value of voluntary activities provided by the workers; furthermore, it can be seen as an instrument for company and territorial negotiation, it can play an active role in the execution of social networks provided for by the Area Plans (Law 328/2000 based on assistance).

In order to provide an efficient solution to the new and complex requirements of citizens rights, among which we have seen the request for sports activities, the road to be followed is the one of horizontal subsidies, capable of backing the universal system of social performance with the objective of expanding and enhancing it through the contribution of forms of associations that work in the field of welfare and public utility.

References

- Accornero A. (2006), *Il mondo della produzione*, Bologna.
- Anselmi M., Meglio L. (2009), *Tempo libero, tempo del lavoro. Primo monitoraggio nazionale sui Cral Fitel*, Milano.
- Blackshaw T. (2002), *The Sociology of Sport Reassessed in Light of the Phenomenon of Zygmunt Bauman*, "International Review for the Sociology of Sport", no. 37/2, pp. 199–217.
- Brohm J.-M. (1978), *Sport: A Prison of Measured Time*, London.
- Cantelon H., Gruneau R. (1982), *Sport, Culture and the Modern State*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto.
- Daher L.M. [a cura di] (2008), *Le dimensioni collettive dello sport*, Catania.
- De Grazia S. (1962), *Of Time, Work, and Leisure*, NY Doubleday and Company, Garden City.
- De Masi D. (1999), *Il futuro del lavoro. Fatica e ozio nella società post-industriale*, Bergamo.
- Dunning E., Rojek C. (1992), *Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process: Critique and Counter-Critique*, London.
- Elias N. (1988), *Il processo di civilizzazione*, Il Mulino, Bologna.

- Gershuny J. (2000), *Changing time: work and leisure in post-industrial society*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Haworth J.T., Veal A.J. (2004), *Work and Leisure*, Routledge, London.
- Lo Verde M. (2009), *Sociologia del tempo libero*, Bari.
- Musso S. (2002), *Storia del lavoro in Italia*, Marsilio, Padova.
- Nussbaum M., Sen A. (1993), *The quality of life*, Oxford Press, Clarendon.
- Pivato S., Tonelli A. (2004), *Italia vagabonda. Il tempo libero degli italiani*, Roma.
- Porro N. (2001), *Lineamenti di sociologia dello sport*, Carocci, Roma.
- Porro N. (2006), *L'Attore sportivo. Azione collettiva, sport e cittadinanza*, Molfetta.
- Riva F. (2006), *Idoli della felicità. Lavoro, festa e tempo libero*, Edizioni Città Aperta.
- Secondini S. (2006), *Riflessioni sociologiche sullo sport*, Roma.
- Veblen T. (1899), *The theory of the leisure class*, New York.

Key words: *sport, leisure, citizenship*

Stefano Martelli

Faculty of Exercise and Sport Sciences, University of Bologna “Alma Mater Studiorum”, Italy
Contact: s.martelli@unibo.it

Chapter 3.4.

GREAT SPORTING EVENTS AND ITALIAN TV AUDIENCES. A SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH ABOUT THE PUBLIC OF OLYMPICS, PARALYMPICS, AND FOOTBALL EUROPEAN CUPS AT ITALIAN TELEVISION (2000–2008)

According to the *Marketing Report: Beijing 2008*, the Olympic Games in China had a huge audience: “The Beijing Games were available across the world, with broadcasts in 220 territories and an estimated potential TV audience of 4.3 billion people” [Ioc 2008: 24].

Are these data reliable? Or did the International Olympic Committee [Ioc] give a too much optimistic valuation of the appeal of the Olympic sport in television? The question is a fascinating one, but an exact answer claims a huge work to collect data about the TV audiences from the five continents and from more than 200 states in the world...

In this paper I'll present some findings of my analysis on the data collected in Italy from Auditel, the public company which every day and every hour, and every minute... measures the national TV audiences. Everyone can know exactly how many Italian people saw a TV program by their television set at that day and at that minute, because Auditel uses a very sophisticated tool – the *meter-people* – to collect the audience data, and its sample is a representative one, indeed. So that everyone can know both the width and the social characteristics of the Italian audiences at a rough estimate.

Basing itself on Auditel data, the Laboratory of Sporting Communication of the University of Bologna “Alma Mater Studiorum” [SportComLab] studied the Italian audience, which from TV home followed the Olympics, the Paralympics and the Football European Championships of last three editions: 2000, 2004, and 2008. The audiences of about 1.350 sport competitions were observed and more than 13,8 millions of audiometric and socio-demographic data were compared, in order to describe the tendencies in the observed period. Two research

hypothesis –the “regional nexus” between a sport champion and his/her television fans, and the “sporting sub-cultures hypothesis” about the correlation between the exposition to a sport program and a set of characteristic, which identify a sporting “niche” audience – led the comparison works. My book, *Lo sport “mediato”* [Martelli 2010], collected the main bulk of the obtained findings.

On these pages first at all, I’ll present some remarks about the relevance for a social scientists to get a better knowledge of the sporting audiences in his country [n. 1]; then I’ll offer a selection of the main findings about width and socio-demographic characters of the Italian sporting audiences in the period 2000–2008 [n. 2], and, finally, I’ll show an interesting exception to the “male reserve” which yet is the public of the sporting TV in Italy [n. 3].

1. The relevance of the question: a better knowledge of the sporting audiences

“A broad picture of the sports audience remains to be painted” [Wenner, Gantz 1989: 241].

This sentence, written in order to describe the situation of the sporting audience studies in the USA in the ‘80s, probably is yet true today; surely it is true in Italy! Indeed in this country one study about sporting audience was made up to now [Capranica, Aversa 2000].

Yet both in the USA and in Italy, as in the main post-industrial societies, a lot of scholars emphasized the growing social relevance of the mass media. Their omnipresence in every social milieu shows that the program of the modern society – the creation of a public sphere – obtained its goal, but the effects aren’t the previewed ones: at the place of the well informed citizen, today one see more “involvement” and less “detachment”, so that people are more in a whirl [Thompson 1995; Elias 1983]. The media distribute informations, and overall values beliefs and myths, and are a powerful source of political consensus in many developed countries, for instance, in Italy. Television, by its use of images words settings music and sounds, has become the principal repository of ideologies, so that the society of the global communication, also, is “the society of the spectacle” [Débord 1999].

Sport has a growing relevant place in these social transformations. Sport games are powerful attractions to people’s eyes, so that the “mediated” sport is the most popular source of entertainment [Barnett 1990]. In last two decades, sport and mass media have become mutual beneficiaries in one of the capitalism’s most lucrative associations. Media organizations have bought the rights to broadcast specific sport events, they then have sold the advertising time available during the “commercial breaks” that periodically interrupt broadcast sport

events to corporations, wishing to advertise their own products. Some media analysts claim that both radios and TV networks indeed sell their audiences to advertisers – their predictions about size and socio-demographic characteristics of the public are very important and have a true monetary value at media owner's eyes and corporate advertiser's ones. Indeed the larger is the anticipated audience for a sport events, the larger is the broadcasting right fees charged by the television networks to the corporations, and the larger is the price charged by the sport events organizer to the itself TV network [Real 1975, 1980; Wenner ed. 1998; Coakley, Dunning 2000]. Fig. 1 shows the “virtuous” triangle that in last two decades has emerged and permitted the regular course of the great sport events, as Olympics, Paralympics, World and European Football Cups, and so on.

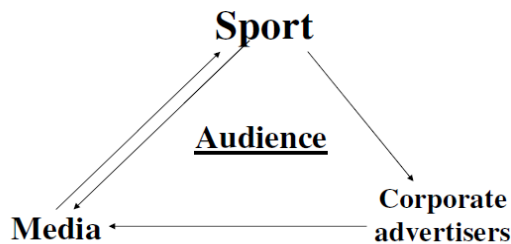


Figure 1. The “virtuous” triangle emerging among sport, television networks, and corporate advertisers

Source: Martelli [2010: 40].

The triangle draws the interdependency links between sport and media, and the prevalent dependency by sport of the corporate advertisers, and of the media by these ones. As George Sage wrote, “Corporations spend lavishly on advertising during sport events in order to create a demand for their products. Broadcast sporting events attract large audiences because many people are interested in the beauty and drama of sport programming. Audience who hear and see the associated broadcast commercials may become consumers of the products and thus help the advertisers to realise a profit” [Sage 2007: 215]. So each social actor – sports, media, and corporate advertisers – cooperate to perform the great show – in order to attract audiences.

The relevance of knowing the audiences – their width, their social characteristic, their choices, etc. – in this process is evident; but – this is a surprising fact– up to now the social scientists don’t pay attention to the empirical data [Abercrombie, Longhurst 1998]. Indeed numerous reports about sporting audiences are regularly written by media analysts, corporate center studies, and so on; but everybody knows that these findings are not of public domain. So in Italy and other countries, after more than twenty years from the “Mediasport”

emergency [Wenner ed. 1998], the level of knowledge about the sporting audience today isn't more high of the one obtained by Arvin Guttman in his masterpiece *Sport spectators* [Guttman 1986] and at Guttman's age the "virtuous triangle" wasn't yet established!

Indeed the reasons why scholars didn't care to study the sporting audience isn't clear. Gary Whannel observed that sport, even if it packs huge TV audiences in, is considered an inferior form of culture, which doesn't merit the social scientist's knowledge efforts: "When the TV critics debate about the sport coverage, they usually do it using the satire or the parody" [Whannel 1998: 222]; in other words they use speech styles which they don't use to treat the thoughtful topics. So these TV critics implicitly affirm that sport has a lower status in the cultural hierarchy of the present society.

At the opposite the SportComLab's research about the TV audiences of the great sport events in the first years of the present millennium shows a lot of interesting facets of the Italian society, as the following main findings show.

2. Some findings about the Italian audiences of the great sporting events (2000–2008)

2.1. The exposition to the "mediated" Olympics and the rhythms of the social life

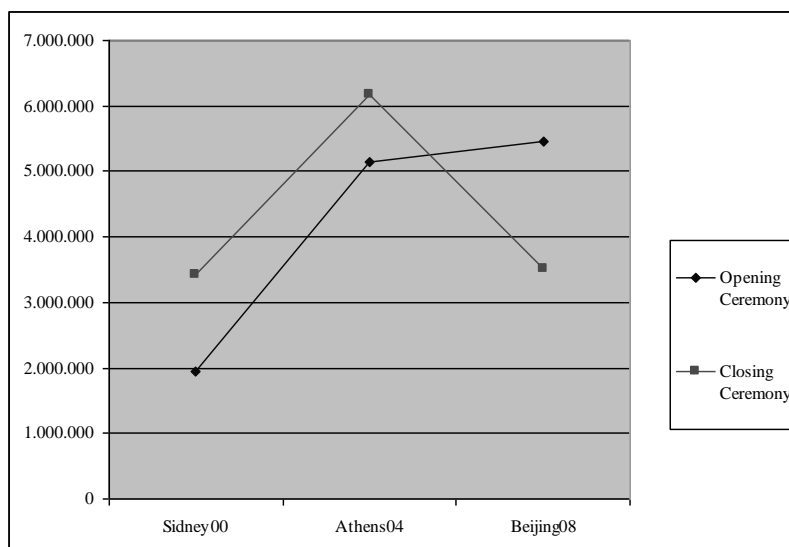


Figure 2. The Italian TV viewers of the Olympic Ceremonies (2000–2008)

Source: Auditel (I); data elaborated by SportComLab–Uni. Bologna "Alma Mater Studiorum".

The figure 2 shows that the Italian audiences of the Olympic Ceremonies – live broadcasted by the free TV (Channels 1–2–3 of the Rai, the Italian public network) or by the satellite television (Sky sport, a commercial network) – in last 8 years (2000–2008) had two different trends:

A) the Italian audience of the *Opening Ceremony* had a *linear* growing:

- It *increased* a lot on 2004 over 2000: more than 160%; and
- It *increased* a bit on 2008 over 2004: about 6%.

B) At the opposite the Italian audience of the *Closing Ceremony* describes a *fragmented* line:

- It *increased* a lot on 2004 over 2000: about 80%; but
- It *decreased* a lot on 2008 over 2004: more than – 40%.

Probably the Italian TV viewers' choices were the resultant outcome of a lot of social conditions, as the day of the week and the hour of the reception in Italy of the international TV signal. For instance, the high level of exposition to Athens 2004's ceremonies was promoted by the similar time zone in Greece (+1 hour in Italian time zone, so the broadcasting of all the two ceremonies happened in the first evening both in Greece and in Italy). At the opposite, the low level of exposition to Sidney's ceremonies depends on the quite different time zone in Australia (+10 hour in Italian time zone, i.e. the broadcasting happened in the late morning in Italy, and this discouraged the exposition).

Other factors influenced the exposition, as the rhythms of the collective life. In my opinion, the poor performance that the Italian audiences had at the Closing Ceremony of 2008 Beijing Olympics depended more on the summer day: indeed in August 2008 in Italy there was the period of the holidays, the 24th of this month was a Sunday, so from the 2:00 to 4:00 o'clock p.m. the most part of the Italian people had their nice time on the beach, or their walk in the mountain, or their own siesta, etc. ... Briefly, these rhythms of the Italian collective life explain the lower exposition of the 2008 Beijing Closing Ceremony.

2.2. How much is the appeal of the Olympics disciplines on television?

The Olympics are a world festival which is about three weeks long; so a viewer can see a lot of sporting disciplines, and each discipline presents more competitions. SportComLab observed the data about the Italian audiences of more than 400 sporting competitions broadcasted at each Olympics in the period from 2000 to 2008; in order to get a correct comparison, my younger researchers and I chose the rating –i.e. the percentage between the audience of a TV broadcasting and the amount of the Italian people in age to see the television (about 55 millions in the said period). So the rating was the main indicator for the comparison analyses, instead of the share, the peak or other audiometric measures, because these ones are relative rates. The fig. 2 shows the findings about the average exposition of the Italian audience to the sporting disciplines played at the 2008 Beijing Olympics.

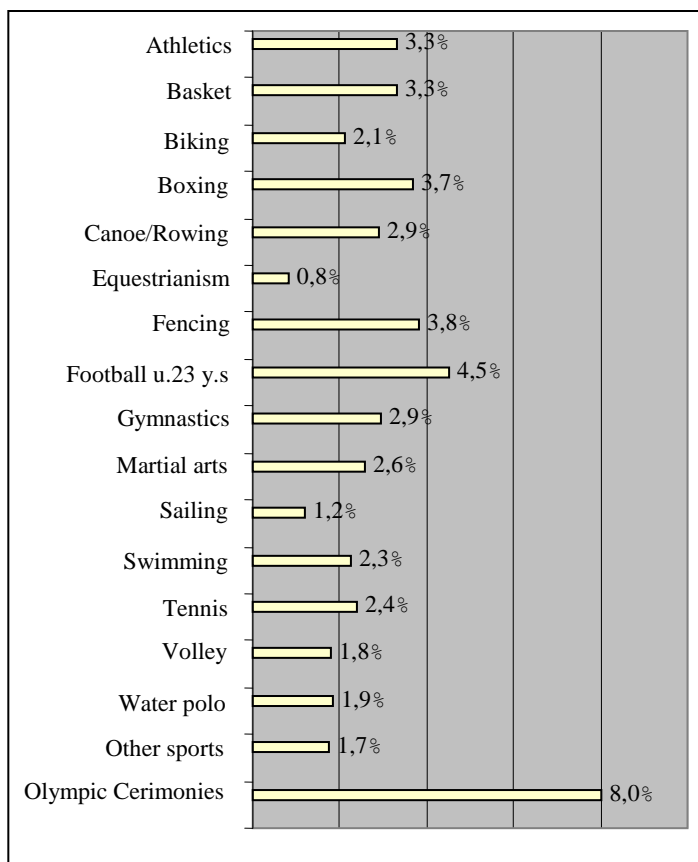


Figure 3. The Italian audiences at the 2008 Olympic disciplines broadcasted by television
Source: Auditel (I); data elaborated by SportComLab–Uni. Bologna “Alma Mater Studiorum”.

After the football under 23 years (4,5%), the fencing (3,8%), the boxing (3,7%), the basket and the athletics (3,3% each one) had the most wide audience at the Beijing Olympics; then gymnastics and canoe/rowing (2,9% each one), tennis (2,4%), swimming (2,3%) and biking (2,1%). The remaining sports have ratings between 0,8% (equestrianism) and 1,7% (other sports).

The explication of this distribution has to keep present a lot of variables. Further the broadcasting of a competition in a day and in a hour, which often weren't compatible with the rhythm of the Italian society, one had to keep present:

- i) the wide diffusion in Italy of amateurs of some sporting disciplines, as football, basket, and biking;
- ii) the width of fan groups, who waked up first in the morning to watch on television the success of Italian champions as Valentina Vezzali in the fencing, Federica Pellegrini in the swimming, Roberto Cammarelle in the boxe, Alex

Schwazer in the field and tracks, and so on (at 2008 Olympics Italy won 8 gold medals, 10 silver ones and 10 bronze ones).

Overmore two hypothesis were tested:

- iii) is there a “regional nexus” between a sport champion and his/her television fans? This hypothesis was corroborated by the data in few cases; for instance the victory of Valentina Vezzali in the feminin foil-fencing (on August, the 11th) was watched more frequently by the inhabitants of the Marche, the region of the Middle Italy in which Valentina lives;
- iv) much more cases were explicated by the “sporting sub-cultures hypothesis”, which previews a correlation between the exposition to a sporting broadcast and a set of characteristics, which identify a sporting “niche” audience, for instance, the Josefa Idem’s silver medal in canoe (K1: August, the 23rd) or the Andrea Minguzzi’s triumph in Greco-Roman wrestling (on August, the 14th).

Briefly the exposition of the Italian audience to the Olympic disciplines by television may be explained by a lot of variables, which had to be specified at case.

2.3. A portrait of the Italian sporting people in armchair

The social composition of the Italian audience was another knowledge goal for the SportComLab’s researchers. The fig. 4 shows the outcome for the 2008 Beijing Olympics.

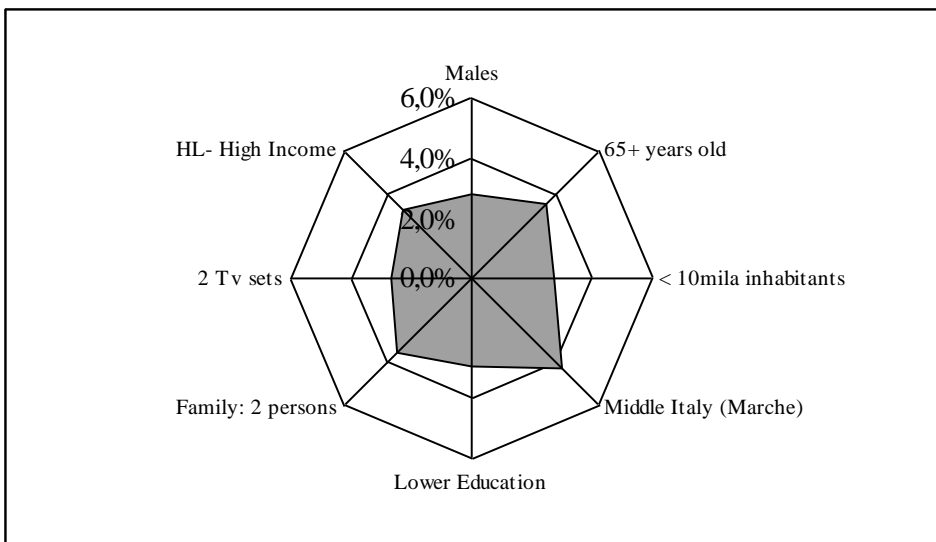


Figure 4. The socio-demographic profile of the Italian TV audience of the 2008 Beijing Olympics

Source: Auditel (I); data elaborated by SportComLab–Uni. Bologna “Alma Mater Studiorum”.

The profile of the Italian audience from a socio-demographic point of view is the following one:

- i) the *males* exposed themselves more frequently (2,8%) than the females;
- ii) the *oldest persons* exposed themselves more frequently (3,5%) than the other aged persons;
- iii) the *inhabitants of the little towns* (less than 10.000 persons) exposed themselves more frequently (2,8%) than the inhabitants of the middle and big towns;
- iv) the *residents in the regions of Middle Italy* (4,3%) than the Northern or the Southern ones;
- v) the persons who have a *lower title of education* (2,9%) than the upper degrees;
- vi) who lives in a *small family* (2 persons: 3,5%) than who lives in a 3 persons or more one;
- vii) who owns 2 *TV sets* at home (2,7%) than who owns one set or 3 and more;
- viii) who more frequently has *high incomes* (3,3%) than who has low ones.

One can study the Auditel data and draws the profile of the Italian TV audience of each sporting discipline at the Olympics in China; so it is possible to obtain a portrait of the fans of the Olympic sports. This study is interesting, indeed, but I haven't here the space to present other findings.

2.4. The Italian audience of the 2000–2008 Paralympics

So in the tab. 1 I'll show you the socio-demographic portrait of the Italian TV audience of *an other* great sports event: the *Paralympic* Games. The width of the Italian TV audience is much lesser than the Olympic one, and the profile is quite different, too!

Table 1. The socio-demographic portrait of the Italian TV audience of the 2008 Paralympics (Beijing, 06–17.09.2008)

Female	0,43%
55/64 years old	0,51%
100,000 – 250,000 inh.s	0,57%
North Italy (Piemonte)	0,58%
Upper Education	0,44%
Family: 1 person	0,60%
LI – Low Income	0,53%
2 Tv sets	0,38%

Source: Auditel (I); data elaborated by SportComLab–Uni. Bologna “Alma Mater Studiorum”.

In my opinion these socio-demographic characters draw a particular audience, indeed. The Paralympics in Italy are seen more frequently by persons who take care more of the person and less of the athlete; more fre-

quently they are parents, teachers, physiotherapists, and social assistants of disabled children.

2.5. “There where the people’s hearts beat”: The Italian audience of the 2000–2008 Football European Cups

At the opposite, the profile of the Italian audience of the third type of great sporting event, the Football European Cups, is more similar to the public who see Olympics on television; so one has a confirm that the “mediated” sport in Italy is a “male reserve”, yet!

Indeed there is an evident difference between the Italian audiences of the Olympics and the ones who see the EuroCups on television: the huge width of the public, as the tab. 2 shows.

Everybody can observe that all the EuroCups’s main audiometric rates, if compared to the Olympics’s ones and especially to the Paralympics’s ones, are very high. The average width of the Italian audiences both in 2000 and in 2008 was more than 7 million of viewers – the lower width in 2004 EuroCup is explained by the failed admission to the quarters of the Italian football team. Indeed the share is always very high (36%–41%), and this means that 2 Italian viewers on 5 in first evening were seeing the EuroCup matches, while the other spectacles, broadcasted by the other 8 national networks and by a lot of regional ones, were neglected. The other audiometric measures – the reached viewers (15/16 million of persons) and the rating (about 13%) – confirm the appeal of the “mediated” football at Italian people’s hearts.

Table 2. The Italian audiences of the 31 matches of the 2008 Football European Cup

EuroCup \ Rates	Average Width	Share %	Reached Viewers	Rating %
2000 Belgium-Holland	7.112.000	41,8%	15.116.000	12,9%
2004 Portugal	4.310.000	39,7%	11.260.000	7,8%
2008 Switzerland-Austria	7.261.000	36,2%	16.782.000	12,9%

Source: Auditel (I); data elaborated by SportComLab–Uni. Bologna “Alma Mater Studiorum”.

Obviously the matches, which the Italian football team played in, had the widest audience, as fig. 5 shows. One can observe, also, that the most width audience was captured by France-Italy (broadcasted on June 2008, the 17th), a match which in both countries had the savour of the return game, after the final of the World Cup in 2006 Germany, won by the Italian team.

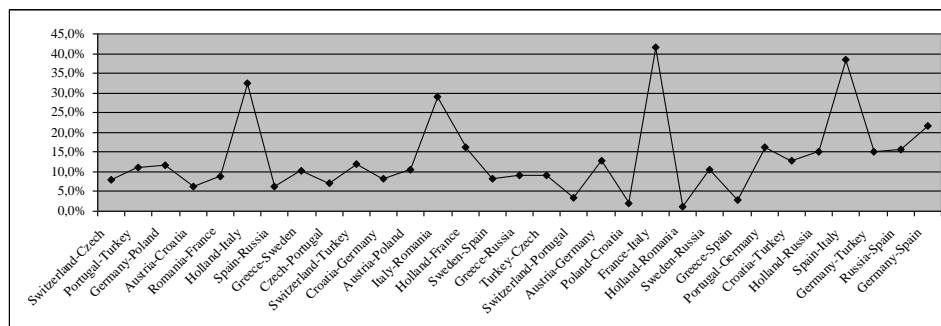


Figure 5. The ratings of the Italian TV audience at the 31 matches of 2008 Football European Cup

Source: Auditel (I); data elaborated by SportComLab-Uni. Bologna “Alma Mater Studiorum”.

One can observe the national relevance of the France-Italy match (about 25 million, 42% of rating: more than 2 Italian people out of 5 were gathered in front of their TV sets), with the quite inferior audiences, gathered by two other relevant matches: the opening game, played by Switzerland and Czech Republic (on June 2008, the 7th), and the closing one, between Germany and Spain (the 29th). As one can see by fig. 6, if the Italian team isn't in play, the audience in Italy is quite less wide, even if the match is the final of the European Championship.

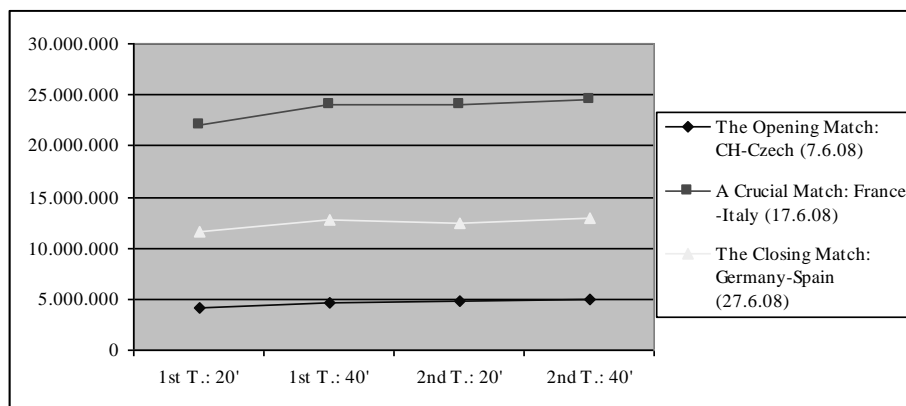


Figure 6. The Italian TV audience at three relevant matches of 2008 Football European Cup

Source: Auditel (I); data elaborated by SportComLab-Uni. Bologna “Alma Mater Studiorum”.

Shortly, the “mediated” football is a source of nationalistic pride even today and in Italy, as the British Broadcast Company discovered until the 1966 World Cup, which was transmitted first time in Eurovision [Elias, Dunning 1986, ch. V].

3. A glance in depth: the gendered audience

All the audiometric data of the about 1.350 sporting competitions in the years 2000–2008 were studied by the SportComLab researchers according to their socio-demographic characteristics; among them, the sex is one of the most powerful measures. Here I have the space to refer only about one of many interesting observations, which were collected by this data: the discovery of the one sporting discipline which has more women than male among the Italian TV viewers.

3.1. “The Eris effect”: the “male reserve” has opened a bit

In Italy all the “mediated” sports are a «male reserve»: both the sporting newspapers, and the radio and TV sport broadcastings, have a large majority of males inside their own public. As the fig. 7 shows, even if the champion is a famous lady of the foil-fencing, as Valentina Vezzali, there are more male than female inside the Italian viewers. The gap of the Italian females viewers is about 1–2,5 scores, both if the Italian champion is a man – Matteo Tagliariol, Salvatore Sanzo –, and if it is a woman –Valentina Vezzali.

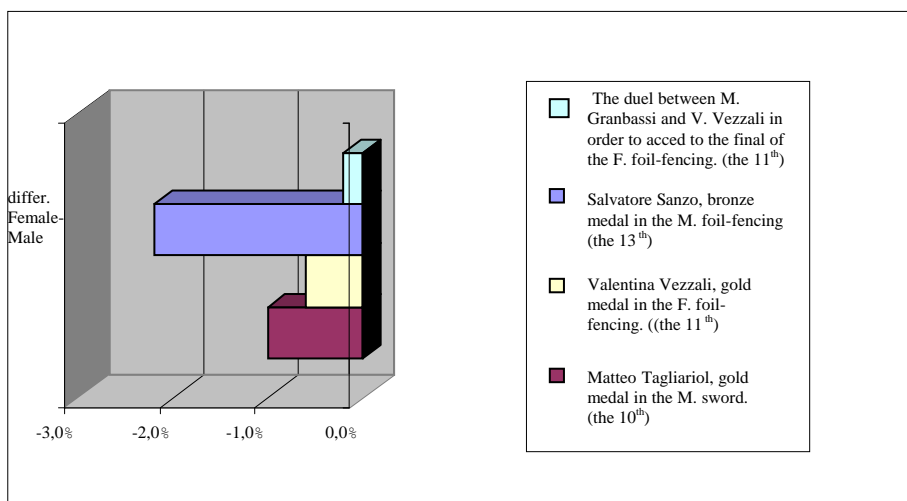


Figure 7. The lower TV exposition of the females at 4 fencing matches inside the Italian TV viewers at 2008 Olympics (August 2008, the 10th–13rd)

Source: Auditel (I); data elaborated by SportComLab–Uni. Bologna “Alma Mater Studiorum”.

The fig. 7 shows that the gap is at its minimum only when two Italian ladies enter in a duel: it happened when Valentina Vezzali and Margherita Granbassi competed for the access to the foil-fencing final on August 2008, the 11th. I

called “the Eris effect” this phenomenon: as the discord Greek divinity, many Italian female are packed in, if two Italian women fight the one against the other for the victory!

So the Auditel data confirmed that, even if the players are female and the discipline is considered “a feminine matter”, the women are a minority among the Italian TV viewers. But there is an exception to the “male reserve”: the synchronized swimming. The SportComLab analyses found that syncro-swim is the one sporting discipline which had more female than male inside the Italian TV audience of last two Olympics in the period 2000–2008, as fig. 8 draws.

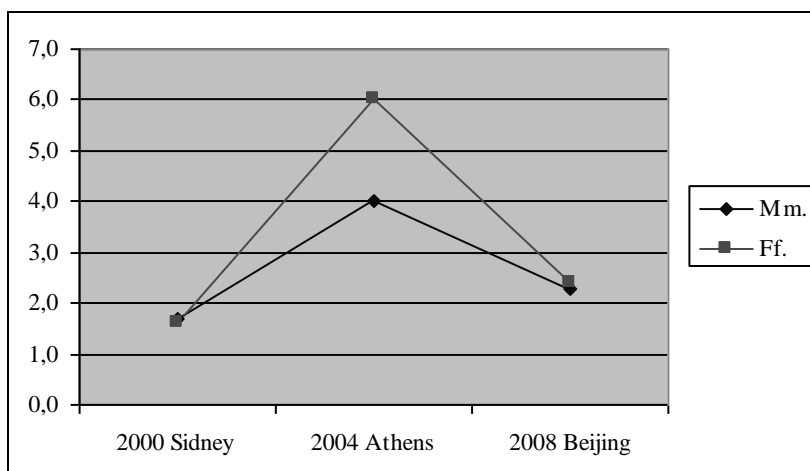


Figure 8. The lower TV exposition of the males inside the Italian tv viewers of the synchronized swimming at the Olympics 2000–2008

Source: Auditel (I); data elaborated by SportComLab–Uni. Bologna “Alma Mater Studiorum”.

Both at Athens Olympics and at Beijing ones the females were more numerous than males inside the Italian audience of the synchronized swimming. Surely the 2004 gap on males depends on a more compatible time of the TV broadcasting with the rhythms of the Italian society.

Conclusion

Today the “mediated” sport is a very relevant topic for the sociology of the sport, indeed, because the “virtuous” triangle among media, sport and corporate advertisers is an emerging reality of last two decades in all the post-industrial societies. But the knowledge of the audience’s choices, their width, their composition, etc., is not advanced at the same way: surely not among the Italian sociologists.

In these pages I presented some findings about the width and the socio-demographic profiles of the Italian TV audiences which watched both the great opening and closing ceremonies of Olympics and Paralympics, and the competitions of a lot of sports – the ones of the main athletic disciplines, or of the fencing, the swimming, the boxe, the cycling, etc.–, so as all the football matches of the European Championships in the period from 2000 to 2008. The SportCom-Lab of the University of Bologna “Alma Mater Studiorum” made synchronic and diachronic comparisons between the ratings and other audiometric measures, and analyses about the socio-demographic profiles of the Italian audience in the last three editions of each sporting event.

The main findings show that:

- 1) the Italian TV audiences are wider for the Olympics than for the Paralympic, but usually they are smaller than the audiences which watched the matches of the Football European Cups in the same year (2000, 2004, 2008);
- 2) at the Olympics Games, the wider Italian TV audiences are gathered by the Opening Ceremony; the Closing One had less wide audiences, and the single sporting disciplines had the minimum audiences;
- 3) the widest Italian TV audiences of a great sporting event was the one who watched the France-Italy match (June 2008, the 17th): more than 25,000,000 of people!
- 4) among the socio-demographic variables, the sex is one of the most predictive about the audience's choices. In Italy the public of the “mediated” sport is composed for the major part by males, with one exception: the synchronized swimming.

Briefly in Italy the Olympics and, overmore, the Paralympics have small audiences, or niche publics, which present specific socio-demographic characteristics, which I described behind. Only the Olympic Cerimonies and, overall, the matches of the European Championships, which Italian football team plays, are so many “great ceremonies of the media”, according to the Dayan and Katz's definition [1993]. Indeed a whole society wishes to view the sporting spectacles on a TV set, which “our champions” fought in, because they are a live broadcasting its “history”.

References

- Abercrombie N., Longhurst B. (1998), *Audiences. A sociological theory of performance and imagination*, Sage, London.
- Barnett S. (1990), *Games and sets. The changing face of sport on television*, Ibf, London.
- Capranica L., Aversa F. (2002), *Italian television sport coverage during the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games*, “International Review for the Sociology of Sport”, vol. 37, n. 3–4: 337–349.
- Coakley J., Dunning E. [eds.] (2000), *Handbook of sports studies*, Sage, London.

- Dayan M., Katz E. (1992), *Media events. The live broadcasting of history*, Harvard U.P., Cambridge (Mass., USA).
- Débord Guy (1999), *The Society of the spectacle*, Zone Books, New York (fr.ed.: 1967).
- Elias N. (1987), *Involvement and detachment*, Blackwell, London (germ. ed.: 1983).
- Elias N., Dunning E. (1986), *Quest for excitement. Sport and leisure in the civilizing process*, Blackwell, Oxford.
- Guttmann A. (1986), *Sport spectators*, Columbia U.P., New York.
- Ioc- International Olympic Committee (2009), *Marketing Report: Beijing 2008*, Ioc, Lausanne (in: <http://view.digipage.net/?userpath=00000001/00000004/00040592>, downloaded on 13.08.2009).
- Martelli S. (2010), *Lo sport "mediato". Le audience di Olimpiadi, Paralimpiadi e Campionati europei di calcio (2000–2008)*, with chapters of P. Dell'Aquila, I. Germano, G. Russo, FrancoAngeli, Milano.
- Real M.R. (1975), *The Super Bowl. Mythic spectacle*, "Journal of Communication", vol. 25, no.1: 31–43.
- Real M.R. (1980), *Super media. A cultural studies approach*, Sage, London.
- Sage G. (2003²), *Global sport and global mass media*, in Laker A. (ed.), *The sociology of sport and physical education. An introductory reader*, Routledge Falmer, London–New York: 211–231.
- Thompson J.B. (1995), *The Media and Modernity. A Social Theory of the Media*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Wenner L.A. [ed.] (1998), *Mediasport*, Routledge, London–New York.
- Wenner L.A., Gantz W. (1989), *The audience experience with sports on television* [in:] L.A.Wenner [ed.], *Media, sports, & society*, Sage, London, pp. 241–269.
- Whannell G. (1998), *Reading the sports media audience* [in:] L.A.Wenner [ed.], *Media, sports, & society*, Sage, London, pp. 221–232.

Key words: *mass-culture, sporting audience, Italian TV*

Aleš Sekot

Fakulty of Sport Studies, Masaryk university, Brno, Czech Republic

Chapter 3.5.

SPORT AND PHYSICAL ACTIVITIES IN CZECH REPUBLIC

General situation

The transformation from industrial to an information society since the 1960s and fueled big advances in computer technology cause “the great wave of change“. Significant changes in the composition of the workforce transferred the economic and the social roles of men and women, but also affected matters of health, attitudes to physical activities and sport. As a result of political and economic changes which occurred in the Czech Republic two decades ago, all areas of society started to be *restructured*. Naturally, this process also included public administration having responsibilities for many areas of the people’s lives, including sport. This new way of “public matters provision” started at the beginning of the 1990s and culminated in the period from 2000 to 2002.

Together with this process, public administration at lower territorial levels started to constitute rapidly as a basis of democratic, and even more, civic society. The public policy process, therefore, became a subject of thorough investigation both for purely scientific reasons and also to provide theoretical knowledge as a support for the new processes in progress in the life of society. The area of sport, in relation to the public sector, has gone through great changes both in structural and process terms. The relations between the sphere of sport and the public sector are naturally mutual undergoing gradual changes.

The study of sport and public administration was approached also from the point of view of a relatively new scientific discipline, public policy theory, which studies diverse spheres of social life. The area of sport, however, has not been the subject to this type of monitoring so far. To try to contribute to increasing the knowledge of the present-day position of sport in the Czech Republic it is useful to search a relevant relations of municipalities and their policies to various levels of sport. The task is to explain how the situation has developed and which position sport has gained in the Czech public administration. And of

course, to discuss the situation of sport, means to present the position and the role of sport activities in different societal and demographic parts of society too.

With respect to the development of the Czech administration and sport during the past two decades, some ultimate facts must be stressed. This helps to understand the changes implemented and the reasons for their initiation. The year 1989 brought about the *disintegration of a uniform voluntary sports organization*, Czechoslovak Sport Association (ČSTV), which had also been responsible for sport within the whole of the former Czechoslovakia. This role of state supervision, however, was not newly delegated to any other body. The territorial structure of the state had changed (by dissolving regions) adopting the structural model: Czechoslovakia – the Czech Republic and Slovak Republic – counties – municipalities. In this structure, only municipalities had a self-governing status. Other levels represented state administration. The same structure persisted even after the split of Czechoslovakia into two separate states – the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic.

With respect to sport, the year 1989 marked the disintegration of a uniform sports organization – the Czechoslovak Sports Association. All sports associations, federations, and sports clubs, which had originally been its members controlled directly from the organization's centre, gained independence and became legal entities. Besides, large associations which had been dissolved after the Second World War (e.g. Sokol) and whose members had to merge with all their property with the Czechoslovak Sports Association at the end of the 1950s, renewed their activity. The voluntary sector started to follow the path towards a status that had existed for many years in the West European countries or in the former Czechoslovakia before 1948. The bodies in this sector became non-government, non-profit making, independent voluntary organizations with the status of legal entities.

The emancipation process of sports bodies at the beginning of the 1990s, however, also resulted in the necessity of tackling numerous problems related not only to these entities themselves, but to their relation to the all-society environment. At that time, there was no code specifying the role of the state and its components in relation to their support for sport, even though the Ministry for Education, Youth and Sport existed and was working. Still, however, advisory bodies as well as professional sections gradually started to work there dealing with the national representation of sports, sport for all, research etc. Sport, as it was, was not regulated by any legal code, not even in relation to the municipalities. It was up to the municipalities themselves whether they would integrate the sport sector into their policies at all.

At first, this situation was rather hopeless, but, in the course of time, many, mainly large municipalities, started to realize the importance of sport and searched their own ways of supporting sport. The state did not join these initiatives until a change in political orientation from the right-wing to the left-wing

social policy occurred in 1998. Preparatory works on government documents were started, dealing with the evaluation of the current situation and suggesting solutions for an all-national sport policy in the Czech Republic, an implementation of the system of national sports representation and support for talented youth, and the development of sport for all. The voluntary sector, which until then had stabilized and was looking for partnership and cooperation within its own ranks, also participated in these activities taking the role of a partner. The activities went in parallel with the preparations for the Czech Republic's accession to the EU and public administration restructuring. The most important reasons for this restructuring, given in a material of the Ministry of the Interior elaborated in 1999, tried to get over high level of centralization and insufficient number of administration levels enabling implementation of subsidiarity principles [Slepičková, Staněk 2007]. But continual deficiency of conceptual work on the field of balanced position of leisure and top levels of sport is still typical for relevant politics in Czech Republic.

At the time being the administration of sport reflected the *Czech accession to the EU* and in such the state represents the highest state administration level, regions are a combination of state and public administration, municipalities function as self-governing bodies with their own decision-making concerning their affairs being, of course, regulated by the current legislation. Subsidiarity principles in such a way affected the sport sector in the existence of voluntary (third) sector of independent highly segmented organizations. The voluntary sector is the sole owner of the largest Czech betting agency SAZKA. Sport is not incorporated in laws concerning regions and municipalities, but is only mentioned as one of the many areas that a municipality "may" deal with. The latter fact, in particular, initiated numerous research projects entitled Public Administration versus Sport [e.g. Slepičková 2000, 2001].

Sport policy and its evaluation

From the perspective of the situation in sport delivery at the municipal level it must be kept in mind that there are diverse voluntary sports organizations in existence within the municipality, and, naturally, there is also the private sector. The Czech Republic is also on the level of mass sport strongly influenced with the existence of new development of the city structure with plenty administrative buildings and shopping facilities, including fitness centres, cyclo-paths, roller-skates stadium, beach volleyball playing fields, golf courses. The authority for the implementation of the decisions with reference to sport policy and its evaluation is usually delegated onto municipal Department of Education and Culture with one specialized staff person responsible for sport, and onto the Department of the Environment, which is in charge of the reconstruction and

maintenance of sports facilities owned by the municipality. In the area of support for sports organizations active on the administered territory, municipalities most often choose the possibility of awarding grants and the possibility of the utilization of school sports facilities. The conditions for gaining such support, however, show *considerable differences*. In some cases are supported single sportive activities, sometimes and somewhere open activities accessible for all, or only for members of individual sports associations. It is accented the municipalities to try to support all types of sporting activities.

The criteria for the selection of supported sports organizations or individual events are not firmly laid out, and it is mainly up to the members of the grant committee – which is also in charge of awarding grants in the sector of culture and other leisure time activities – which organizations or projects they will choose. The projects more likely to be supported are those that want to use the resources for purchasing material items rather than for the activity itself. The utilization of the resources spent is checked in a similar way: on the basis of annual accounts that the sports organizations winning the grants are obliged to submit to them. As far as the evaluation of the quality of these sports organizations' activity and their contribution to the inhabitants of the municipality is concerned, no rules or criteria have been set in any of the city quarters. The activity of sports organizations is assessed mostly only during public events held by them to which representatives of the local administration are invited as well. Their participation, however, is only voluntary.

In some city districts in Czech cities *the strategy in relation to sports facilities* focuses mainly on the reconstructions of those situated by primary schools, which are considered as the major basis for the development of sport. The utilization of these facilities applies the same rules set by the local administration, preferring long-term hiring contracts by local sports organizations. In multi-purpose facilities sporting on currently unused fields is also allowed to other people not belonging to sports organizations. All this is subject to agreement with the facility caretakers, whose wages are partly paid from the school funds and partly subsidized by the municipality. The possibilities of sporting activities available for the city quarter inhabitants are repeatedly advertised on the Internet and in the local newsletter. The chief deficiency acutely felt by the local administrations in the Czech Republic in general, is the absence of a swimming pool whose construction is planned usually within three years.

Playgrounds of the city districts are usually administered by the Department of the Environment through an authorized staff person, who monitors the condition of these playgrounds in terms of their physical condition and functionality. The city police are also engaged in the protection against vandalism, as a crucial problem of Czech society. The local administrations also rely on the people from the immediate vicinity and their interest in keeping the areas in good condition (reports of wrong doings and vandalism) or make sports facilities situated

by primary schools accessible for the public. Their regime is individual, fully under the decision of the school headmasters. Outdoor facilities are all provided to the public for free. In indoor spaces, the schools must respect the local administration regulations concerning the calculation of the prices for hire – their costs and resulting prices for hire calculated on their basis are submitted for approval by the Council on a half-a-year basis. The needed personnel – school caretakers, keepers – are remunerated from the school budget. The municipality does not subsidize their wages in any way.

In general, the approaches of municipalities in the Czech Republic to sport show many differences. The causes of the identified differences and, in particular, of a totally different approach to policy making, therefore, must be sought elsewhere. In the different approaches to sport the political bias of elected and decision-making bodies of the municipality is reflected as well as the degree of personal enthusiasm for sport of the persons who have decision-making authorities in the municipality. Of importance there is also the level and specialization of their professional qualifications and their willingness to take advantage of objective data (from researches and surveys) on the situation in the municipality, i.e. also in the area of sport. The involvement of the voluntary sector as well has a significant share in the situation. It is evident that in municipalities differing by their geographical position and appearance, the number of inhabitants and their socio-economic characteristics and economic development: There are also a number of additional factors which are very likely to affect the approaches to solutions in the area of sport life. But the evident is: The sport policy making is not yet a common standard [Slepičková, Staněk 2007].

To summarize situation of sport versus local authorities in the Czech Republic the financial limitations and political priorities play very important role, as well as professional competence and personal preferences of particular councilors. The approach of the individual town areas to sport is very different and there are often original public policies in this field. A very diverse approach is also seen in the field of maintenance and development of the sports infrastructure and its utilization. In almost all parts of the Czech Republic, the great importance is on renovation of school facilities. However, the access of the general public to the sport facilities often collides with the clearly commercial use of the facilities [Staněk, Flemr 2007, pp. 294–297].

Some research data on physical and sportive activity of Czech population

We live in the cultural setting adoring youth, beauty, healthy and sexy body a physical performance. Unfortunately, images of fit and healthy attractive personalities and widely circulated health messages have not translated effectively

into increased physical activity for most Czech people. Findings from number of large- scale surveys point to the aversion or the inability of most Czech people to participate in regular amounts of physical activity. Sportive activities are more less rather the manifestation of „up to date“ style of life, then to be integral part of everyday life. It is for more and more financially prospering people in a good social position, the expression of the prosperity and the ability to freely spend and choose independently their leisure.

People prefer, in general, passive form of leisure, watching sport rather than doing sport. Overweight adults being deficient in good physical condition are putting themselves at risk for disease and disability. Medical expert predicted properly that the declines in physical activity the current generation of Czech children will grow into the most obese generation of adults in Czech history: The sedentary living beset contemporary Czech society, as identically U.S. and plenty of European societies too. In such situation we are more and more confronted with pressing questions: „Why do people who know they should be more physically active still fail to do so? What form the obstacles to achieving a more physically active lifestyle? And very pragmatic question is brought up to date: Is it in sedentary postmodern virtually oriented life possible to transform contemporary people into a more physical active society? What is the real prospect of our endeavour to create a social structure more conducive to a healthier society? Is it possible to overcome persistently questioned limitations found in many of the traditional approaches to promoting physical activity? Are we able to work effectively on the way of innovative strategy to increase physical activity at home, at school, and within the community?

The existing *whirlwind of changes* associated with the way of life and standard of living regarding working activities, nutrition, housing, environment, transport, leisure, travelling etc. have with no doubt strong impact at a physically active lifestyle. And we must face very crucial fact: Some problems in this field are more-less under our control, but some barriers to improve active lifestyle are not. Anyway, enhancing the legitimacy of physical activity as a topic of systematic research would indeed be very gratifying.

The situation in the *Czech Republic* regarding *obesity* is reported as alarming: 21% of men and 31% of women are obese (obesity and overweight = 68% of women and 72 % of men)., 66% of men and 54% of women in the age group 20–65 are overweight or obese, while „only“ obese 17% men and 21% of women. In children the overweight rates 7–8% and obesity 6–7% (overweight and obesity in total 13–15%). A specific phenomenon of Czech population is the obesity occurrence in all social groups with no strong differences in some social strata [Šeráková 2007, p. 814–815; Fořt 2004]. Whatever results on obesity in the Czech Republic are given by the authors, all of them agree on fact that the obesity prevalence grows enormously, despite the fact that the situation need not to be as critical as it is often presented in media and press.

Regarding systematic representative *sociological research of physical activity* – and consequently a social analysis of inactivity and patterns of sedentary living – in the Czech Republic we can summarize: Besides some partial surveys of leisure activities of young generation there exist some representative researches of a position of sport and sportive activities of Czech population. One of the very representative with random sample of 952 respondents older 18 years of age organized by Charles University in Prague. Research confirmed very high level of prestige of sport and sportive activities in Czech society [Slepička, Slepičková 2002]. But at the same time was confirmed generally known fact that the significant part of population its positive attitude to physical activities does not realize in practical personal everyday life in the form of regular sport activities. Only one third of respondents declared *regular sportive activity* at least one time during a week, irregularly and by chance there is involved in sport one fifth of respondents. Seventy percent of Czech people is not associated in sport organizations. On the decline is also positive opinion accenting an importance of mass sportive activity. Presented research has not been interested only in an opinion of Czech population on the role of sport for contemporary people, but was also searching for existing interests in alternative sports, prevailing barriers of active sporting, accessibility to sport facilities, level of passive and active interests regarding sport. Fundamental topic, general *importance of sport and physical activities* for Czech population is here reflected in following answers:

Not important	2,4%
Important only for someone	17,5%
Important, particularly for youth	21,6%
Important for all generations	58,3%
No answer	0,1%

A distribution of answers reflects very high level of positive importance of sport for individuals and the society too: People are in the course of their life confronted with rational evaluation of sport for practical life. The highest importance is connected with positive contribution of sportive activities for the health, fitness, well-being, social prestige. Such attitude reflects also high value acknowledgement and a credit of health for all generations of population. At the same time the impact of sport as an indispensable factor of socialization is growing, notably as a form of meaningful way of leisure.

Pivotal problem of opinions relating to *desirable level of mass sport activities* reflects this set of answers:

We need more active sport	62%
Meeting the proper requirements	25%
We have too much sport	3,2%
No opinion	9,1%
No answer	0,1%

Also such table reflects existing discrepancy between positive attitudes to sport and the conviction to be *more intensively involved in active sport* [Slepička, Slepičková 2002, p.15].

Very interesting data offer responds to question: „What is the main reason of prevailing sport inactivity of today's people?“

	Agreement %	Disagreement %
People are too lazy	86,3	13,7
People are too busy	81	19
People face the lack of sport facilities	34	66
Too expensive for most people	52	48
Absence of proper party or team	38	62
People have another cares	83	17
Absenting effective promotion	37	63

Presented structure of attitudes to sport activities reflects given social and cultural situation in Czech post-reformation setting: People are not consistent enough to overcome their *laziness*, are too much busy, too much involved in everyday economic problems, not properly appreciated and enjoying refreshing impact of regular physical activities compensating many-sided stress of societal life. But we also take into account the fact, that people are prone to declare an absence of leisure as substitutional reason.

Regarding research problem of „an opinion to *future development* of mass sport“ respondents declared:

	Yes%	No%	No opinion%
People will be more involved in sport activities	36,6	29,1	34,1
Stronger gap between top and mass sport	70,4	9,9	19,4
Increasing importance of sport as a show	44,3	19,7	35,5
Increasing costs for active sport	88,4	2,8	8,3
Some sports will be only for very rich people	81,4	6,6	11,6

Prevailing widely *sceptical opinions* reflects existing process of growing disparity between top elite professional sport and mass recreational sport. Such process also supports consumerist nature of contemporary sport in general. Most frequent reason for sportive activities of men is building up physical condition, body shape and societal prestige. Women are more sceptical in reference to their chance to practise recreational sport regularly: They complain of absence of leisure, financial potentials and organisational obstacles.

Research data relative to *physical fitness* demonstrate following picture:

I am in good physical condition	27,7%
Generally good fitness	41,7%
Not very good	20,7%
I feel physicaly very bed	12,9%

Relatively positive perception of physical condition of respondents is reflected in declaration of *frequency of sport activities*:

Vigorously and regularly	33,1%
Occasionally	20,7%
Only in the past	18,5%
Never, but I would like	5,6%
Never on principle	22,1%

One third of respondents declare active sport activities at least once a week (37% of men, 29% of women). Women are doing sport activities less regular (22,7%) in relation to men (14,6%). Women are also more frequently absolutely physically inactive than men.

Presented data reflects in Czech population growing tendency of passive attitudes to sport. *Physical inactivity* is justified with absence of leisure, absence of meaningful motivation and an existence of healthy problems. 40% of „programmatically physically inactive“ acknowledge substantial aversion to physical activity, 28,5% declare healthy problem and 20% an absence of leisure. Only marginally is declared absence of sport facilities and financial obstacles [Slepička, Slepičková 2002, pp. 19–21].

Last representative sociological research of physical activity Czech population was conducted during 2003–2004 period. The aim of the research „*The intensity and the volume of physical activity of the population aged 15–69 in the Czech Republic*“ was to provide relevant data concerning physical activity of the inhabitants of the Czech Republic that are comparable to characteristics common in other countries. In reference to the results: Walking is the leading physical activity of the Czech inhabitants. Males and females' participation in an organized physical activity decreases in significant rate with age [Frömel, Bauman *et al.* 2006, pp. 16–22].

Regular monitoring of level and tendencies of physical activity of population is integral part of monitoring of health situation and life style of population.

Relevant recommendations regarding physical activities from mentioned research are accenting: More opportunities for active sportive activities for older population men and women to prepare and to realize self-contained programs for active recreational sport for all groups of population. Within school teaching of physical education contribute to long-life interest in active physical activities, support in general walking as a most natural form of physical activity [Frömel, Bauman *et al.* 2006, p. 21].

In Czech context it is necessary to mention that 2 hours of physical education per week for pupils and students is not resolutely enough. Nowadays physical education is defined as the process aiming at preparation of children and young people for participation in physical culture (tourism, recreation, sport). It

is also understood as the foundation of physical culture. Physical education in its humanistic version is understood as „an education of man for the care of the body.

Another representative research of 5825 respondents monitoring physical and sportive activities „*Physical activity of men and women from 18 to 55 years old in the Czech Republic*“ reveals that men in all age categories show more days of physical activity than women., also decrease in frequency of general physical activity with age. Only in walking the women of all age groups are more active than men, in general an apparent decrease of walking in the course of aging is evident. Sedentary way of life measured by time spent in sitting daily is more typical for women. It is concluded that Czech population is not engaged in vigorous physical activity that promotes the development and maintenance of proper physical shape. To be engaged, preferably daily, in moderate physical activity for at least 30 minutes per day, is unfortunately only recommended imperative, not reality. Higher level of intensive and moderate physical activity for both men and women and lower average period of sedentary time is for general Czech population recommended [Frömel *et al.* 2004, p. 173].

From the perspective of leisure time activities it is evident that in the Czech Republic physical activities are much more important in the life of children and young people than in adults: More boys than girls devote themselves to organized sports, even though in recent years the number of girls participating mainly in unorganized forms of physical activities has increased. 42% of the boys and 34% of the girls are engaged in all the existing organized forms of sport. 30% of young people are interested in the „new sports“ including adventure activities that are becoming more popular than the traditional ones. But the high percentage of young people who do not practise any sport is alarming because of the prognosis of the possible appearance of risk healthy factors. Participation in sport and physical activities according to gender, age and forms of sports shows that the Czech boys in all the observed age categories (9–24 years) participate in intensive and moderately intensive physical activity more days in the week than girls. These differences continue with increasing years of both genders. The average daily time for intensive physical activity for boys is 51 minutes and 33 minutes for girls. But no remarkable differences in the of so called „walking days“ between boys and girls were registered [Rychtecký 2007, p. 205].

Frequency of participation of Czech males in competitive, organized, highly intensive sport is most evident in age group 9–11 years (27%, strong enthusiasm regarding sport career), 12–13-year-old boys are most involved in *intensive sports and physical activities*., 9–11-years-old are also non-participants in physical activities (32%). Girls are most involved in intensive sportive activities in age group 16–19 (32%), most passive attitudes regarding physical activities are typical for 9–11-year-old girls [Rychtecký 2007, pp. 203–204].

As a reflection of daily and weekly habitual order and social influences

To participate in physical activity is a complex problem. One of the most important aspects of such phenomenon is the problem of *motivation for a sport activity*. An investigation of 956 Czech young people of 15–24 years of age with regard to their attitude to physical activities was recently conducted. The research covers both young people doing sport and those who are not doing sport.

Main reasons for going in sport for boys is sharing leisure with friends (28,4%), to look good and to improve health, for girls to look good (25%), to share leisure with friends and to improve health [Sekot 2006a, p. 45]. It is in the logic of the problem that *aesthetic and healthy reasons for physical activities* are more typical for girls and in sport clubs unregistered respondents.

Parallel research of health behaviour revealed the *risk factors of young people's life style*. From the point of view of frequency of physical activities, only one third of Czech students spend 3 times a week with demanding physical activities, whilst on the contrary one forth of respondents spend sitting 10–14 hours daily (28,6% nursing school students) and the same number walks less than one hour a day (29,3% grammar school students). „In general terms, the results confirm present way of spending free time of young people – with the lack of motion and with a number of syndromes of organism insufficiently loaded or overloaded in the wrong direction (pains in a back, joints etc). Activities for healthy promotion have to be implemented informally that means to move from filling in forms at schools to concrete health supporting activities. These activities mustn't be only single ones: they must have long term and continuous character“ [Říhová 2007, pp. 137–138].

In Czech context higher level of decentralization and competence transmission on region autonomy is needed. To keep such task, we need to monitor the interest of physical activities in different age groups, evaluation of physical fitness level not only in children and youth, but also in adult population and elderly people. It means to improve chances and amenities for regular whole life physical activities, material outfit, preparation of specialists, and realization of long-term education among coaches and instructors and fundamental increasing of financial support for *mass sport* from the state. Sport for all must be an integral part of the future relation of sport to health, education and socialization. *Recommendations to sport organizations* for the systematic promotion of physical activities needs full support of local, regional and national public authorities:

1. To develop a membership strategy to include physically passive persons to sportive activities.
2. To specify the profile target of sport clubs with accordance to focus on elite and competitive sport or recreational leisure sport activities.

3. To improve coach and trainer standards of an inclusive social and pedagogical climate.
4. To accent natural outdoor activities as grass roots centres for mass involvement in physical activities.
5. To ensure and to enable high educational and pedagogical standards of voluntary and (semi)professional staff in sport clubs.

Although prospects for revitalization of physically active society are questionable, we are obliged to change or modify *a long standing resistance to exercise among our contemporaries*. Post industrial (or) post-modern society characterized by involvement in momentary short term experience, refusing traditional values and long term values, is not a good place for a transformation to physical activity both at the societal and individual level. Such transformation will be filled with false stars and obstacles, facing innumerable barriers. These barriers (except for general one's inborn individual laziness and indolence) range from political and legislative opposition to struggle for limited resources with other health concerns and media indifference to social explanations for our physical activity problems. Public policy makers have not sufficient attention to public and health preventive medicine and healthy lifestyles. We live in the situation when most people agree that healthy lifestyles are a fundamental good for individuals and society. But sedentary lifestyles, impose many various another subjects, costs and negative impacts also on people not themselves directly engaged in risky health behaviours: Strong smoking and sedentary lifestyle of one member of the family could induce emotional stress for the rest of the family or may cause individual financial hardship related to loss of a job or overwhelming medical costs. From strictly economical point of view, sedentary lifestyles costs billions of health care and lost wages are contributing to economic drain on society as a whole. Another problem is related to the question how far the national physical activity agenda can go in regulating personal behaviours: People do not want to be told what to eat, what to drink, and how much to exercise. Anyway, our chance to achieve a physical active society could be improved if we can overcome the challenges of truly healthy lifestyles available to all members of society, or at least for most part of society.

Urbanisation versus sport facilities

Phenomenon of physical and sport is closely related to *urbanisation of sports facilities*. In such context it is useful to describe and analyse the most important milestones in the history of city-planning (urbanisation) in the area of sport facilities. Comparing with the development of sport facilities of ancient times the current comparable status seems to be rather negative. Further, it is the paradox that low quality of urban-planning nowadays is reflected particularly in

the suburb areas of Prague, whereas the public infrastructure (sport facilities included) does not reach a sufficient level. The rapid housing and industrial development especially in these parts of the city has unfortunately overtaken the local development framework, which is resulting in numerous urban-architectural and moreover sociological issues. Sport facilities planning, creating, developing and managing should be considered to be one of the strategic points in public (administration) on both the local and state level [Flemr 2007, pp. 93–105].

The very beginning of the modern sport facilities – formerly the playgrounds – is illustrated from 18th century as a consequence of sport movement in England as well as a philanthropy movement in Germany. The simple separate playgrounds had been in the context of growing spectator popularity of sport constructed also with respect of spectators, mostly for tennis and athletic and football stadiums. In Scandinavia also indoor facilities have been constructed since the beginning of 18th century. In Czech background the first real gymnasium was launched in 1862 – Malypetr gymnasium, used with Gymnastic Association of Prague. The last decade of 19th century brought out strong practical incentives for school and public gymnasiums and subsequent sportive facilities. At the beginning of the last decade of 19th century about 500 tennis courts were in operation in Czech countries. Late 19th and early 20th century improved public mass interest in football and biking. Strong incentives for mass sportive activities were connected with existence of Sokol movement and modern Olympic Games 1896.

The formation of the independent Czech Republic in 1918 involved strong impulse for building new sportive facilities, notably those for ice hockey, football and gymnastics. Advisory committee for physical education was established in 1920, coordinating a conception of building new sportive facilities, for youth in particular. Despite this endeavour, only 11,3 % of elementary schools had their own gymnasium, 45,3 % exercising ground or courtyard. Better situation was in secondary and high school: 75 % of them possessed gymnasium [Flemr 2007, p. 95].

Socialist planning accented unified physical education and sport. During late 1940 in Czech Republic was centrally operated 1250 gymnasiums, only four indoor 25 meters swimming pools and one indoor ice hockey stadium. Growing accent on mass physical educational activities and sport brought around building new sportive complexes, some of them of very low technological quality. Czech association of physical education since its launching in 1957 had been a chief agent for purposefulness of sportive facilities. Up to early 1990th the theoretical urbanistic value of sportive site for one single inhabitant was 17 m², nowadays exercise site for one inhabitant is 5,09 m² (1,99 m² for an organized sport, 1,79 m² for a school physical education, 1,31 for unorganized sport), usable exercise site for one inhabitant is 7,24 m² (2,88 m² for organized sport, 2,22 for school

physical education, 2,14 for unorganized sport). Municipal sportive institutions are basically non profitable – no wonder that investors prefer to invest in commercial sportive facilities. It is reflected in rather neglected situation of mass recreational and leisure time sport activities in the Czech Republic.

It is generally accented, and in Czech context too, that the municipal policy must support active lifestyle of very colourful broad spectre of population. Such objective is strongly accented mostly after 1989 during the process of European Union integration. Within the European priorities health issues and active lifestyle of citizens are included. Sport and physical activities represent significant features of those priorities. In such context, the relevant terminology of this area is elucidated, the terms such active lifestyle, public policy are defined. In summarizing the current situation in Czech cities is accented the imperative of an active way of municipal sport policy. But in fact unfortunately rather closely reactive policy has been implemented in Czech context: Mostly existing problems are solved, but future complex interventional programmes are rather ignored. Voluntary field must compensate public boards and managements [Slepičková, Staněk 2007; Staněk, Flemr 2007].

Sport and physical activities in the Czech Republic are also supported in the form of various subventions. But being in motion decentralization policy of the state, numerous problems of given forms of the support of sport and physical activities are not completely solved. So we face some features of the absence of coordinated policy of an effective support of sport damaged with ineffective financing, high level of political and lobby decisions. All the relevant institutions on the national, regional and municipal levels should function coordinately across the Czech Republic in their subvention policies so that financial resources are not dissipated and thus sports and physical education are not negatively impacted by inefficacy. Since 2000 the distribution of subsidies for sport and physical education has been directed to municipalities that invest into development of sport and leisure time infrastructure aiming the growth of local economics, tourism and recreation. The national support of sport is, nowadays, divided into the support of top sports, performance sports and new waves in sports (e.g. sports for everyone – for all), sports for school, which are then on the regional level (and by the various sport organizations) subsidized from other sources and, moreover, not co-ordinately. The correspondence in subvention policies of all the subvention levels, i.e. national and regional governments and sport organizations, is thus strongly required [Hobza, Cíkl 2007, pp. 79–80]. A scheme of priorities in the different levels is proposed so that financially unclear and duplicate source flow to selected areas is avoided. Due to their multi-source financing, sports and physical education are then at the risk of accumulation of sources at certain areas and lack of sources in others that are not politically supported, but still of high social importance.

References

- Flemr L. (2007), *Podmínky pro aktivní životní styl dětí perspektivou pedagogů tělesné Výchovy* [in:] *Aktuální otázky sociologie sportu*, Karlova univerzita, Praha.
- Fořt P. (2004), *Stop dětské obezitě*, Ikar, Praha.
- Frömel K. et al. (2004), *Physical activity of men and women 18 to 55 years of age in Czech Republic*.
- Frömel K., Bauman A. et al. (2006), *Intenzita a objem pohybové aktivity 15–69 leté populace České republiky*, „Česká kinantropologie“, vol. 10, č. 1, c. 13–27.
- Hobza V., Cikl R. (2007), *Subvenční politiky ve sportu a tělovýchově v České republice*, „Česká kinantropologie“, vol. 2, pp. 67–82.
- Rychtecký A. et al. (1995), *Effect of Different Physical Activities on Physical and Some Psychological Characteristics of Youngsters Aged 11–14 Years*, „Kinesiologia Slovenica“, 2 (1), pp. 44–49.
- Rychtecký A. (2007), *Active Lifestyles of Young People – Benefits and Outcomes* [in:] *Obesity in Europe. Young People's Physical Activity and Sedentary Lifestyles*, Peter Lang, Berlin and Oxford, pp. 199–218.
- Říhová M., Skálová L., Komárek L. (2007), *Health Behaviour of Young People*, “School and Health”, Masarykova univerzita a Paido, Brno, no. 21, pp. 125–139.
- Sekot A. (2006), *Sociology of Sport: Topical Issues*, Masaryk University and Paido, Brno.
- Slepička P., Slepičková I. (2002), *Sport z pohledu české společnosti*, „Česká Kin antropologie“, no. 1, pp. 7–23.
- Slepičková I., Staněk M. (2007), *The impact of public administration reform on sport policy in the Czech Republic* [in:] *Local Sport in Europe. 4th EASS Conference Proceedings*.
- Staněk M., Flemr L. (2007), *The role of local authorities of Czech cities in support of sport: A case study of the capital city of Prague* [in:] *Local Sport in Europe. 4th EASS Conference Proceedings*.
- Slepičková I. (2000), *Sport Delivery at Municipality Level* [in:] *Sport, stát, společnost -dodatek*, UK-FTVS, Praha, pp. 38–46
- Slepičková I. (2001), *Public Sector in Sport Delivery – Role of Municipalities and Cities in the European Union and Czech Republic* [in:] *Sport v České republice na začátku nového tisíciletí (75–78)*. Proceedings of national conference. Part 2. UK-FTVS, Praha.
- Šeráková H. (2007), *Present views on obesity and overweight in common population of children and adults* [in:] *School and Health*, Masarykova univerzita a Paido, Brno.
- Vaverka F. [ed.] (2007), *Movement and Health*, Univerzita Palackého, Olomouc.

Key words: *sport, society, facilities, sport policy*

Irena Slepíčková, Pavel Slepíčka

Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Physical Education and Sports

Chapter 3.6.

SPORT PROMOTION IN MICROREGIONS

1. Introduction

In the modern Czech society that set out on a democratic path after 1989, the generally proclaimed trend is to solve problems as close to citizens as possible, based on the principle of subsidiarity as applied in the European Union. Sport is one of the areas where actors' approaches and activities have been changing accordingly. As part of a restructuring of the sports environment and public administration that has been under way for the past 20 years, public administration bodies on lower levels, mainly municipalities, have been drawn into sports promotion. The Czech Republic is well-known for the very high number of municipalities given the country's total population (there were 6,249 municipalities in 2008). Municipalities differ in population and surface of territory sizes. As a result, there are many municipalities with small populations, especially in rural areas (5,391 municipalities have less than 1,500 inhabitants, i.e. 86% of all municipalities where 23% of Czechs live)¹. Due to their relatively limited financial sources, it is much more difficult for such towns to create optimal surroundings for their citizens. Small municipalities try to solve such problems by forming alliances – microregions – where they pool their resources to tackle general or specific tasks or to gain easier access to funds for the development of a larger area and meet the needs of local people. Bigger municipalities and increasingly regions, too, are now involved in sport promotion and development. Funds are being earmarked and positions created at municipal offices specifically for sports purposes. However, smaller towns find it often very difficult to meet even fundamental obligations defined by law. They have little money and energy left to deal with “non-essential” issues including sport. We, therefore, tried to look at how sport is being addressed by microregions, a relatively new phenomenon in the Czech Republic.

¹ *Veřejná správa* bulletin no.15/2005.

2. Microregions in the Czech Republic

We have already mentioned the process of public administration restructuring that took place after political and economic changes in the early 1990's. Act No. 367/1990 Coll., on municipalities, provided a new legal basis for the life and operation of municipalities. Self-government and more responsibility for own affairs were granted to municipalities although compared with its current form the Act did not go into great details at the beginning (it had 73 sections). Nevertheless, Sec. 14.1 defined the role of municipalities in driving local economic, social and cultural development, protecting and promoting a healthy environment, and meeting citizens' needs. Although the Act did not specifically mention sport, the text allowed municipalities to manage their assets including sports facilities, have a say in the activities of their sub-organisations including athletic organisations, and gave them responsibility for schools and academic institutions, most or all of which offer their premises to sports organisations, both from the non-profit and the business sector.

Sec. 17 allowed municipalities "... to defend their rights and interests by forming associations and partnerships, co-operation with municipalities in other countries and membership in international organisations of local governments". But since no section of the Act provided a definition of the legal form of such "associations or partnerships" municipalities started to organise themselves in "microregions" based on Act No. 60/1964 Coll., the Civil Code [Kolman 2006].

At the end of the millennium, the Czech Republic began preparations for its accession to the European Union and started harmonisation of the Czech legislation, including regulations on public administration. The re-introduction of regions and dissolution of districts transferred certain administration tasks and rights to the municipal levels. Act No. 128/2000 Coll., on municipalities (municipal organisation), this time with 155 sections, enabled towns to form voluntary associations and specified conditions for this process. Later amendments to this Act defined tasks that can be performed by such associations. In the context of sport, this includes relevant tasks in the areas of education, culture, environment, tourism or management of local roads, forests, sports and cultural facilities. The new law transformed the framework for town associations and microregions started to appear "en masse". The trend is nicely illustrated in Table 1, showing that nine out of ten municipalities now belong to microregions.

In legal terms, microregions now typically take the form of a voluntary association of municipalities as defined in Act No. 128/2000 Coll. Some microregions still operate as Special Interest Associations of Legal Entities based on the option provided by the Civil Code or perform joint tasks based on partnership agreements [Labounková 2008].

Table 1. Membership of Czech municipalities in municipal associations/microregions in 2003–2008

year	number of municipalities in total	number of microregions	municipalities unified in microregions		municipalities not unified in microregions	
	n	n	n	%	n	%
2003	6249	491	4625	74,01	1624	25,99
2004	6249	505	4685	74,97	1554	25,03
2005	6249	533	5280	84,51	968	15,49
2007	6249	551	5385	86,17	864	13,83
2008	6249	570*	5473	87,58	776	12,42

* Situation at 31.8.2008

** In 2006, detailed data were not for disposal because of changes in procedures of sampling these data.

Source: [Labounková 2008].

It is clear from what has been said so far that microregions in this form are not defined in geographic terms, as the word “region” would suggest. Microregions are typically formed by smaller municipalities in the catchment area of a larger town. However, the key factor in microregion formation is the purpose of such association. Microregions are not territorial and administration units but rather associations formed based on bottom-up initiatives. They may be considered as an example of formation of social ties on semi-formal basis [Kolman 2006], an informal regional integration [Dočkal 2004].

Microregions have appeared in all regions of the Czech Republic except for Prague, which seems logical given the internal administrative organisation of the capital city. In their 2007 study, Šafářová and Škrabal [2008] found that in the cohesion regions of Central Moravia, Central Bohemia and Northwest, nearly a half of all microregions was created due to shared development interests or due to specific issues such as building of infrastructure (sewerage, etc.). However, the authors note that the latter reason is less common and once the specific objective is achieved municipalities tend to terminate their microregion cooperation. Based on respondents’ feedback, the authors also conclude that municipality associations are typically formed in order to access more financial sources, either available at the moment or potentially in the future.

Various causes that prompt municipalities to form legally defined types of collaboration allow one town to be member of several microregions. A microregion is formed by at least two municipalities. Table 2 describes microregion size in terms of member municipalities. There are very few microregions with more than 20 members, possible due to complications stemming from different interests and tasks as well as complexity of co-ordinating such an association’s activities. Since a municipality can be a member of several microregions, there are territorial overlaps.

Table 2. Extent of microregions concerning number of involved municipalities

category by number of municipalities unified in microregion	%
less than 6 members	20,92
6–10	28,24
11–20	35,56
21–30	11,09
31–40	2,51
over 40	0,84

Source: [Labounková 2008].

Although these municipality organisations are often partially founded on a formal basis, the existence and activities of microregions are legally based and specified. They even have full-time employees and develop their own strategic development documents that, as noted by Labounková [2008], are more and more in line with regional development documents.

To work properly, microregions need financing. Funds are typically generated by member contributions, usually defined according to the number of member municipalities. According to Šafářová and Škrabal [2008], such contributions represent less than 25% of all income. External financial sources (subsidies, grants) are very diverse. Microregions most commonly draw funds from regional sources, especially from the Countryside Renewal Programme.

Last but not least, we must focus on the economic potential of microregions, a key factor in their formations as well as one of the initial shared objectives of microregion members. Grasselli [2008] studied methodologies for evaluation of the economic potential of rural microregions. Based on an analysis of theoretic approaches, he developed a definition of the economic potential of rural microregions and set indicators measuring this potential. He defined the potential as the sum of local sources that may serve as basis of a new strategic programme. We must keep this in mind if we are to study the place of sport in microregional tasks and activities.

3. Objective and methods

As mentioned earlier, microregions represent a new semi-formal type of regional integration, where member municipalities join forces for general development of their territories. Under the Act on Sport Promotion, sport in the Czech Republic is defined as a publicly beneficial activity and municipalities are responsible primarily for sports tasks related to the general public. This raises a number of questions. In our paper, we look at whether sport is a part of microregions' strategic development plan and if so, in what form. We repeat once again that municipalities that join microregions are usually rural places with small populations.

Study of sports policies is a new topic in the Czech Republic [treated, for example, by Slepíčková 2000; Slepíčková, Staněk 2009; Balatka 2007], a segment of public policies, which in themselves are a relatively new research discipline [Potůček *at al.* 2005]. The position of sports in microregions is, therefore, a new topic that we want to describe in this paper using two microregions as our examples. They are the Region Povodí Mratínského potoka (Mratínský stream region) in Central Bohemia and the INTEGRO association of municipalities (western part of the České středohoří mountains and Ohře river) in the region of Ústí nad Labem. A short description of the two microregions is presented in Table 3.

The results are based on a comparison of two case studies developed as a part of student theses at the Faculty of Physical Education and Sport of the Charles University in Prague.

Table 3. Characteristics of two microregions

characteristic	Mratínský stream region	INTEGRO association
total number of municipalities	14	32
number of towns/small municipalities	1/13	3/29
founded in	1999, April 13	1998, January 1
centre (municipality) of the region	Líbeznice	Třebívlice
surface of association (hectare)	8077	37800
number of municipalities with less than 500 inhabitants	4	22
number of inhabitants	13547	27223
number of inhabitants in the largest municipality	3298	9029
average age of inhabitants	36,6	39,3
existence documents Strategy of development	yes	yes

The Mratínský stream region is located in the north of the capital city and represents an important tourist area and destination for short vacations, easily accessible from Prague by public transport. INTEGRO is located in the České středohoří countryside and the high number of small municipalities among its members indicates its rural character.

4. Sport activities of the Mratínský stream region and INTEGRO

The two regions under analysis here mostly consist of small municipalities. They are centres of towns located in the geographic middle of the microregion rather than the economically strongest towns. Unlike in the Mratínský stream region, INTEGRO's members include several municipalities with high unem-

ployment rates (over 25%). This situation is common in the larger administrative units that the microregions' municipalities belong to.

If we look at the approach to sports activities in the different towns of the two microregions, we see great differences. Municipal leaders are usually aware of the importance of sports and state sport among their priorities. However, they also state that sport promotion is hampered by a lack of finances because municipalities have many other more pressing tasks, typically related to infrastructure building. Some municipalities do provide some financial support to local sport organisations and larger towns contribute to the operation of sports facilities but their sport promotion activities are restricted to sports organisations. An obvious exception is the building of cycling paths financed partly from external sources. Most funds earmarked for sport are invested through the budget chapter of education, which is understandable. As for institutional resources for sport, no municipal office in the two microregions has a special department for sport (with the exception of Lovosice, a former district capital). There is the rare sport advisory board and municipalities do not even mention sport in their Council agenda declarations. If a municipality owns sports facilities, they are managed in-house. Although they realise the need to invest in repairs and construction of sports facilities, it poses a problem for them as they need to contribute around 30% of the cost [Slunéčková 2008]. No new sports facilities have been built in these municipalities in recent years.

This seems to indicate that sport promotion is a task beyond the means and possibilities of small municipalities that join microregions in general and those studied in this paper in particular. Next we asked ourselves whether membership in municipality associations results in better sport promotion on the microregion's territory. Co-operation in the two microregions is based on statutes drawn according to Act No. 128/2000 Coll., on municipalities, as amended, and performed by bodies (mayor boards, chairman, vice-chairman, etc.) appointed by municipalities for these purposes. Sport is not mentioned among the objectives of either of the microregions. Both microregions have developed strategic development plans although they focus on different issues, given the geographic locations and business structure of the areas. In general, INTEGRO focuses primarily on rural development and related issues and tries to get financial support even from the European Union's structural funds. Sport is not stated in its strategic material.

Due to its proximity to Prague and location in the relatively wealthy region of Central Bohemia, the Mratínský stream microregion focuses its efforts on infrastructure building. The area is attractive for investors and many residential zones are being developed here. The local populations are growing and this requires extensions to civic services including sports opportunities and sport facilities. Sport is a part of the microregion's development material but a study by Vörösová [2008] showed that the document does not follow the defined objectives (to build new sport facilities) very faithfully.

Conclusion

The high number of microregions in the Czech Republic clearly proves that municipalities do not hesitate to use this option to deal with shared problems. The microregions analysed in this paper already have 10 years of experience with this form of co-operation. Not all municipalities are active but the potential opened up by microregion membership undoubtedly means an opportunity they may use as needed. Although sport has not found its way to development documents on a larger scale (one microregion analysed here does consider sport facilities in its documents while the other one does not), the issues typically included in such materials do not lead us to a conclusion that sport cannot be a subject of joint efforts of municipality associations. Sport could be well-integrated with issues of human resources development or support of tourism. Specific activities could include the construction of microregional sport facilities, organisation of sports events, etc. Our analysis also showed that the most important form of sport promotion in small municipalities is still represented by leisure sports associations. If there are no such organisations in a town, sport has practically no chance of survival.

References

- Balatka O. (2007), *Péče obcí o sport v Regionu Severozápad*, UK FTVS, Disertační práce, Praha.
- Dočkal V. (2004), *Ústřední pojmy regionální politiky EU: Příspěvek ke studiu euroregionalismu*, „Středoevropské politické studie“, č. 1, roč. VI. Cited from: <http://www.cepsr.com/clanek.php?ID=192>
- Grasselli N. (2008), *Estimating the economic potential of rural microregions*, „Applied Studies in Agribusiness and Commerce“, vol. 2. Cited from: <http://purl.umn.edu/48339>
- Kolman J. (2006), *Microregions – Cooperation Supporting Rural Development*, The Polish Association of Agricultural and Agribusiness Economists, Warsaw.
- Labouňková V. (2008), *Monitoring mikroregionů a jejich rozvojových dokumentů. Prezentace ze semináře Práce s mikroregiony na úrovni krajů: Metodika tvorby a využití rozvojových dokumentů mikroregionů, který pořádal Ústav územního rozvoje pod záštitou Ministerstva pro místní rozvoj dne 26. listopadu*. Cited from: <http://www.uur.cz/default.asp?ID=3163>
- Potůček M. a kol. (2005), *Veřejná politika*, SLON, Praha, 399 s.
- Šafařová and Škrabal [2008
- Slepičková, I. (2000), *Zajištění sportu na úrovni obcí* [in:] P. Slepička, I. Slepičková [eds.], *Sport, stát, společnost – dodatek*, UK-FTVS, Praha, pp. 38–46.
- Slepičková I., Staněk M. (2009), *The impact of public administration reform on sport policy in the Czech Republic* [in:] D.H. Jütting, B. Schulze, U. Müller [eds.], *Local Sport in Europe*, Waxmann, Münster (edition Globale-Lokale Sportkultur), pp. 288–297.
- Slunečková K. (2008), *Situace v oblasti sportu v rámci Svazku obcí INTEGRO s důrazem na financování sportu*, Diploma thesis, UK FTVS, Praha.
- Vöröšová L. (2007), *Péče obcí Regionu Povodí Mratinského potoka o rozvoj sportu*, Diploma thesis, UK FTVS, Praha.
- Zákon o obcích č.128/2000 Sb. Sbírka zákonů České republiky.

Key words: *sport promotion, microregion, municipalities*

Simone Digennaro

Human and Society Science Department, Strasbourg University, Rome II, Tor Vergata University, Italy
Contact: *simone.digennaro@uniroma2.it*

Chapter 3.7.

SPORT AND POLICY: MAPPING THE ITALIAN SPORT SYSTEM VIA THE ADVOCACY COALITION FRAMEWORK

Introduction

The Italian sport system has uncommon features and a high level of complexity. The central government plays a limited role and the administration and the management of the whole system is entrusted to the National Olympic Committee (henceforth, Coni), a public but non-governmental organization having both the function of a Minister of sport and the role of a “confederation of sport federations”. This entity gets funds for its activities from a variable State support. Resources are used to sustain all CONI’s activities, support the elite sport by providing funds to the National Sport Federations (henceforth, Nsf), and the Associated Disciplines (Ad), and promote sport at all level. The latter is especially carried out through the activities of the so-called Entities for the Promotion of Sport (henceforth, Eps) and the grass-root associations; both operate in terms of *sport for all* (add a definition) and in the field of the promotion of sport as means of social intervention. The sport movement is, then, composed by the local branches of the Coni, the Regions that play a crucial role in terms of promotion of sport and implementation of sport facilities and other local authorities that operate for the development of the sport system at local level. In addition, what concerns sport for disabled people, since 2008, a National Paralympic Committee has been established with the aim to administrate and manage sports activities for people with disabilities.

It can be easily argued that the composition of this articulated system determines complex dynamics in the implementation of the national sport policy. As discussed above Coni is in charge to support and implement both elite and promotional sport. Moreover, as part of the International Olympic Committee it is required to develop the Olympic movement within the Italian context and to

actively operate to equip the delegation for the Olympic Games. Consequently, these interrelated positions require:

- a coincident interaction with the Nsf and Ad for what concerns the implementation of the elite sport and the development of the Olympic movement;
- an interface with the Eps and the Regions for what concerns the implementation of sport participation at all levels;
- a direct collaboration with Regions and the other local authorities through the activities of the local branches in order to supply the demand of sport at local level.

Regardless the uncommon configuration and the interest that might assume a deep analysis of the Italian sport system, little research has been carried out in this field. Particularly, a strong body of knowledge concerning main factors influencing the implementation of the sport policy is far away to be achieved and little investigation has been carried out by applying paradigms defined by social sciences for this kind of analysis. Thus, this paper seeks to carry out a first investigation of the Italian sport policy area by going into diverse aspects. Stemming for a diachronic reconstruction on a national scale of the main features of the Italian sport system, a synoptic analysis of the main actors involved in the definition and the implementation of sport policy within the Italian context, is defined. In addition, an accurate scrutiny of nexus and dynamics emerging from the interaction of all the actors involved is carried out.

Before proceeding to the main parts, a note on general scientific framework is needed. Generally, the concept 'sport policy' encompasses both all actions that governments take in the sport sector by regulating and influencing actors operating in the field, and the processes that they carry out. This perspective suggests that the attention of analysis developed in the field is focused on a meso-level, that is, the level of the national organization [Houlihan 2005]. Notwithstanding, the academic interest in the analysis of the dynamics concerning the field of sport policy, recently, seems more oriented toward a micro-level approach focusing on the effects that, for instance, local clubs might generate in this area. To this regard, Skille [2008] maintains the centrality of the sport clubs in defining the implementation of central sport policies by arguing that local organizations are the primary providers of sport, and that they have a crucial role making policy in the everyday context within which they operate. In fact, their pervasiveness in the society and their position between individuals and public institutions provide them a primary role in a national sport system [Macpherson, Curtis, Loy 1989].

On the light of the previous argumentations, the Italian sport system is analysed at both micro and meso-level by merging these different approaches and defining a bifocal framework of investigation. The combination of these different approaches is implemented by using the Advocacy Coalition Framework as reference model.

Methodology

The central concerns of this paper are analysed by utilizing insights provided by the theoretical model known as the Advocacy Coalition Framework (henceforth, Acf). The key element of the Acf is the focus on policy processes as a whole “over periods of a decade or more” [Sabatier 1998, p. 98]. Therefore, on a socio-diachronic perspective, policy changes and dynamics are conceived as a function of three sets of processes: the interaction between advocacy coalitions, i.e. people from a variety of positions who share particular belief system; the effects of the so-called “relative stable parameters”, i.e. the constraints and resources of the various actors; the “external system events”, such as changes in socio-economic condition, changes in public opinion and so on. The Acf thus embodied a framework based on a dialectical relationship between coalitions, the external system events and the relative stable parameters.

The complexity of the model adopted requires a multidimensional approach comprising different but integrated research methods. Thus, besides a review of literature concerning the field of the sport and policy, a documentary research and a secondary analysis has been implemented.

The latter has been carried out to represent a global snapshot of the main actors operating within the Italian sport system and provide a better understanding of their main features by using data collected through national surveys. Indeed, from a theoretical perspective, secondary analysis offers the ground for using multiple sources and providing new interpretation of data available [Dorgentas, Le Roux 2005; Kelder 2005]. Thus, data collected through well-designed national researches (like those carried out by the Italian Institute of Statistics) have been re-used and adopted to the particular domain of this paper to get acquainted with the subject.

Moreover, a certain number of typologies of documents have been studied as primary sources of the socio-historical analysis implemented in the first part of the paper. Thus, according to the model proposed, a depth examination of contents have been carried out in order to collect information about the social circumstances in which documents have been produced and work on a diachronic reconstruction of the main social aspects concerning the Italian sport system in the past.

Italian sport policy: a socio-diachronic analysis

Working on a diachronic reconstruction on a national scale of the main features related to sport policy emerging within the Italian context, is a demanding task. In fact, the Italian sport system has uncommon features stemming from an

unusual configuration adopted at the beginning of the last century. Indeed, Coni was established in 1914 with both the functions to prepare the participation of the Italian athletes to the Olympic Games and the role to coordinate the entire Italian sport system including those realities not directly involved in the Olympic movement [Marani Toro, Marani Toro 1977].

This unusual configuration was further strengthened with the following occurrence of Fascism in Italy (1922). Indeed, Mussolini, at a first time in opposition to sport associations having considered them as a "circle of opposes" (circular n. 11570, 18th May 1923, Minister of Intern), suddenly felt the potential of sport as a means of social control. Indeed, the regime used sport to maintain a control over 'bodies': sport activities were widespread and many events were organized in order to involve a large part of population in emotional moments where the main values of the regime were spread out. Moreover, sport was conceived as a means to 'forge' good soldiers and, more generally, to discipline individuals through the activities carried out by the associations [Barbarito 1937]. In addition, a competitive performance system was developed: national representatives were a part of propaganda and success in sport was equated with patriotism and the superiority of the Italian political-system over another.

Given these circumstances, according to Porro [1996], it can be maintained that the regime version of *sport for everybody* appears as a classical dynamic of authoritarian modernization. Indeed, the whole sport system was under the control of the regime, which used Coni as an apparatus to perpetuate its power over the population. One of the consequences of this configuration was a well-grounded development of the whole sport system.

At the end of the Second World War with the collapse of the apparatus adopted, the Italian society was faced by rapid structural changes. The process of industrialization started again with more impetus and the social and political system underwent a process of renewing and modernization. This process of transformation influenced many sectors of the Italian societies, without involving public sport institutions: the organizational structures were inherited from the pre-war and regime experience along with a pure competitive performance system [Provvisionato 1986]. Indeed, the administration and control of sport were left under the responsibility of Coni. Besides the involvement of the entity in the Olympic Movement, it was required to implement sport participation at all level assuming, *de facto*, the function of a Minister of sport. Notwithstanding, by analysing data collected by the Italian National Institute of Statistics (henceforth Istat), it can be easily argued that in this phase, Coni partially failed in the enhancement of sport participation at large. In fact, according to Istat [1995], in 1950 only 3 million of Italians were involved in sport activities with a large part of them taking part in hunting and fishing. Thus, it is arguable that Coni shifted its activity focussing on the implementation of a good elite sport system, and giving less attention to the participation of the population at large.

The 60's saw the development of a social network of associations and entities more inspired to an emerging social demand of health, fitness, emotions and *loisir*. Therefore, government engaged more actively in sport policy by deeply influencing dynamics of the system and assuming a more direct participation at all level. The use of sport assumed an instrumental form and an active involvement was justified in terms of utility for the population. The Church and many political parties became more interested in sport, by establishing specific entities aimed at enlarging sport participation among the population and use it in an instrumental way both to provide a service to the voters/believers and to enlarge the influence over the population at all level. These organizations, as stated above, were known as Entities for the promotion of sport (Eps).

Even though many differences can be reported in the implementation of strategies adopted by each Eps, it can be argued that they were conceived to operate within the paradigm of sport for all. Therefore, since the beginning these entities were engaged in the promotion of sport at all level and in the acknowledgement of sports activities as a right for everyone. In this regard, *The Italian Union of Sport for All* (Uisp), one of the main Eps assumed that: "Sport for all proposes a representation of time and space so different and antagonist regarding the model of absolute performance; [it] interprets the philosophy of inclusion rather than to privilege the selection of the psycho-physical attitudes just focused to the technical result; at the same time it represents a formidable opportunity of integration for the neglected subjects like elderly people, disabled people, young people coming from areas of social marginalization risk¹".

During the '70s and '80s, the effect of this paradigm of inclusion strongly influenced participation at all level: 10 millions of individuals 'discovered' sport as part of their lives [Porro 1996] by taking a more active part in sport occasions and enlarging the basis of the population involved. This growing trend as well as the contraposition between sport for all paradigm and the elite sport model are still acting today.

Italian sport policy today: a synoptic analysis

Traditionally, Coni and, as consequence, the Italian sport system, have had a great deal of autonomy. Until the end of 80s the system was entirely supported by earnings of a national lottery known as *Totocalcio*. This lottery was very popular in Italy and the large amount of money collected, provided Coni with many resources. Thus, until recently, the central government has played a limited role by placing the management and the administration of the sport system under the responsibility of Coni.

¹ Uisp, Sport for all in 2000, internal document.

After the 1990s 'Totocalcio' became less popular. Consequently, the system came into a crisis generating serious rebounds for the sport system. Progressively, Coni was not able to manage all its activities with the reduced amount of economical resources, and it became more dependent from the public funds with a consequent decrease of its autonomy. The State forced Coni to undergo a process of innovation and assume a more sophisticated control over the activities of the Nsf, Ad, and Eps. Furthermore, a professionalization of the management – which is connected with a more efficient organization of resources – has been required. To this regard, Houlihan [2005] stresses that in Italy sport is now a focus for a growing volume of a State regulatory activity with a consequent change in what we identified as relative stable parameters'. With the presence of the State and a subsequent direct involvement of the Regions and local governments, nowadays, dynamics and processes underpinning the sport policy area in Italy have gained in complexity.

The comprehension of this intricate subject required the use of a model of analysis to get acquainted with it. In this regard, within the logic of the Acf, Houlihan [2005] identified four types of structural interest group that are relevant to the study of sport policy at national level. Those are the demand group, the provider group, the direct support group and the indirect support group. It is the interaction between these interest groups that provides policy process with an important dynamic. By applying Houlihan's taxonomy to the Italian system, the demand group can be described as follows: 33,5 millions of people involved in active participation in sport [Coni 2005; Istat 2005] – representing the 59,4% of the population – in opposition to 23 millions of individuals entirely inactive. Compared with prevision surveys, participation rate shows an enlargement and appears significantly higher [see: Istat 2005]. Moreover, the composition of the 'active group' is heterogenic in nature and an interest in sport activities seems to across longitudinally the Italians society. For the sake of love it is worth noting that men tend to practice more than women as well as a little participation of elderly people can be reported.

Considering only those having a primary occupation in the sport sector, the provider group is composed by 390.000 workers. In addition, 600.000 employees can be added by taking into account individuals active in sports related professions and in the sport industry (Madella, 2002). Furthermore, in this group, 70.000 clubs affiliated to National Sport Federations and 67.362 companies active in diverse sectors can be comprised [Censis 2008]. Finally, Nsf (=45), Associated Disciplines (n=49) and Eps (=13) further enrich this group by contributing to provide services both in terms of elite sport and promotional sport.

For what concerns the direct support group, as discussed above, it is worth noting that Coni is the entity responsible for the national government of the sport sector. This body operates through its local branches, and in collaboration

with Regions and other local authorities. The State plays only a subsidiary role by regulating specific issues like, for instance, the professional sport and the anti-doping regulation. However, the intervention of the State is increasing with a more direct control of Coni activities. Finally, by taking into account the role that Nsf and Ad assume in making policy within the context they operate, they can be included in this group.

At last, the indirect support group comprises diverse Ministers (Minister of Health State; Minister of Education; Minister of Welfare; Minister of Labour) and many little associations of employees and employers. This group is extremely jeopardized due the huge number of small associations working towards diverse aims.

As argued above, the interaction among the structural interest groups deeply influences the implementation of sport policy. Particularly, by analyzing these dynamics with the logic of the Acf it can be highlighted the presence of two main coalitions, i.e. groups formed by more actors agreeing to work for a particular purpose by influencing policies. Thus, a first coalition is represented by all those realities interested in promoting elite sport, mainly Coni – for the effects of the shifting in term of aims reported above –, Nsf and Ad. On an opposite side, another coalition encompasses those realities devoted to the social use of sport such as Eps, many grass-root sport associations and all those entities operating in terms of sport for all. Both coalitions agree on the importance to enhance sport participation at large and this common view can be interpreted as a *deep core belief*, i.e. a common value shared by both the polarities [see: Sabatier 1998]. Conversely, they differ in terms of basic normative commitments: the first is interested in enhancing sport participation to form a wider basic where easily select potential good athletes, implement the high level competitive sport and enhance the commercial values of its activities; the second one operates in terms of *democratization*, recognizing the need to extend sport participation as a right for everyone. The contrasts between these coalitions strongly influences sport policy and the distribution of resources such as finances, facilities, and so on. In this regard, Coni and Nsf have traditionally played a role of hegemony: a large part of resources have been delivered to support the elite sport system.

Notwithstanding, nowadays this hegemony appears to be mitigated for effect of three different dynamics:

- a) a general trend toward a use of sport as a means of social intervention to deal with needs emerging from the modern society and support the action of the welfare states;
- b) a growing request emerging from the demand group inspiring a social demand of health, fitness and loisir;
- c) a change in the composition of the demand group with new emerging categories;

In the rising of these trends, it appears evident the role played by those realities devoted to the social use of sport and engaged in the implementation of sport for all model. They operate at grass-root level making policy in the everyday context within which they operate through coaches, local managers, teachers, etc. According to Lipsky [1980], these operators have to be considered as *street-level bureaucrats*, i.e. individuals who interact directly with citizens in the course of their jobs and who may influence the policy implementation at local level. Thus, compared with the elite sport coalition, the sport for all coalition is, by nature, more likely rooted in the arena of sport having a more direct interaction with citizens in the course of the execution of their activities and a wider target of population served. Since the beginnings of the 1980s, this privileged position has provided the sport for all coalition with enough influence to strongly contribute in the definition of sport policy and foster an equal distribution of resources available. It results in a process of democratization and an enlargement of the population involved within the sport system.

Conclusion

At the start of this paper the absence of a systematic analysis of Italian sport policy was claimed. Thus, the central concerns were to describe the main features of the Italian sport policy area and analyze nexus and dynamics emerging from the interaction of all actors involved in the field.

Particularly, the little attention paid in the analysis of the main actors operating in the sphere of sport policy, required a careful description concerning the interest groups and coalitions that are relevant for this kind of study.

By applying the Acf paradigm, it was possible to argue that in the definition of the modern sport policy in Italy two different coalitions operate: a first coalition representing those entities engaged in the elite sport system and aimed at supporting a performance and competitive sport model; a second coalition encompassing those realities interested in the enhancement of sport participation at all level, fostering the use of sport as a means of social intervention. It is the interaction between these two polarities that provides policy processes with important dynamics.

In the past, the first model was hegemonic and the whole system was oriented toward a pure competitive model. Subsequently, the action developed by the sport for all coalition and all its local street bureaucrats mitigated this hegemony inspiring a social demand of health, fitness, emotion, and loisir. Nowadays, it can be noted a growing trend toward a democratization of the participation with a consequent involvement in the sport system of disabled people, elderly people, marginalized groups, etc.

Finally, a growing interest of the central State concerning dynamics discussed may be reported. This results in a on-going re-definition of the Italian sport system with a consequent call for further investigations.

Reference

- Barbarito M. (1937), *Lo sport fascista e la razza*, G.B. Paravia & C., Torino.
- Censis (2008), *Sport e società*, Censis Servizi SpA., Roma.
- Comitato Olimpico Nazionale Italiano (2005), *I numeri dello sport italiano – La pratica sportiva attraverso i dati Coni e Istat del 2005*, Coni, Rome.
- Dargents M., Le Roux D. (2005), *Potentials and limits of secondary analysis in a specific applied context : the case of EDF – verbatim*, “Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative social research”, 6 (1).
- Houlihan B. (2005), *Public sector sport policy: developing a framework for analysis*, “International Review of Sociology of Sport”, 40, pp. 163–185.
- Istat (2005), *Lo sport che cambia – I comportamenti emergenti e le nuove tendenze della pratica sportiva in Italia*, Istat, Rome.
- Kelder J.A. (2005), *Using someone else’s data: problems, pragmatics and provision*, “Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative social research”, 6 (1).
- Lipsky M. (1980), *Street-level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the individual in public services*, Russel Sage Foundation, New York.
- Madella A. (2002), *Le professioni dello sport. SDS*, „Rivista di Cultura Sportiva”, Rome.
- Marani Toro I., Marani Toro A. (1977), *Gli ordinamenti sportivi*, Giuffrè, Milan.
- McPherson B., Curtis J., Loy J. (1989), *The social significance of sport – an introduction to the sociology of sport*. Human Kinetics Book, Illinois.
- Porro N. (1996), *Sport, political system and sociology in Italy*, “International Review of Sociology of Sport”, 27, pp. 329–340.
- Provvigionato S. (1986), *Invece di liquidazione*, “Lancillotto e Nausica”, 2, pp. 36–53.
- Sebatier P. (1998), *The advocacy coalition framework: revisions and relevance to Europe*, “Journal of European Public Policy”, 5(1), pp. 98–130.
- Skille A.E. (2008), *Understanding sport clubs as sport policy implementers: a theoretical framework for the analysis of the implementation of central sport policy through local and voluntary sport organizations*, “International Review of Sociology of Sport”, 43, pp. 181–200.

Key words: *Italian sport system, sport policy, Advocacy Coalition Framework, sport paradigms, interest groups*

Bente Ovedie Skogvang

Department of Sports Science, Hedmark University College, Norway

Contact: *bente.skogvang@hihm.no*

Chapter 3.8.

FOOTBALL IN NORWAY – THE INFLUENCE OF "DRILLO" ON GRASS ROOT LEVEL FOOTBALL

Introduction – The Norwegian Sport Context

Sport in Norway has been traditionally organised on a voluntary basis, and it still is. The Norwegian Paralympic and Olympic Committee and Confederation of Sports (NIF) include both Paralympic and Olympic sports, and NIF is an umbrella organisation which organises all national sports federations in Norway (both amateur and professional). According to the laws of the NIF, only voluntary organisations can be members of the NIF [www.idrett.no 2008]. The professional clubs are included in the voluntary organisation according to certain regulations and laws, but all the Norwegian professional clubs are dependent on voluntary work to manage their duties, for instance, to organise matches, practices etc. Norway has a population of about 4.8 million people. According to the Norwegian Institute of Public Health 76% of the Norwegian population between 16 and 79 years old are physical active minimum once a month, but the everyday physical activity is reduced. There is a clear link between the level of educational and economic background, age, ethnicity, gender and physical activity, and many children and young people in Norway do not get enough exercise according to the recommendation of the Norwegian Government [The Norwegian Directorate of Health 2008; Norwegian Institute of Public Health 2008].

Outdoor life is the largest not-organised sport in Norway. Outdoor life includes activities like hiking, cycling, skiing and swimming in the Norwegian nature, but still the interest in exercise within the Norwegian population is not reflected in the number of active members in sports federations engaged in these various activities (op. cit.). 34% of children and youth between 18 and 24 years old take part in organised sport. Of the organised sports, football has been, historically, the largest one for men and boys in Norway. Today football is also the largest organised female sport in our country [Skogvang 2006]. The most crucial sources for income for the sports organisations in Norway as a whole are lottery

grants and sponsorships, with some other supplements. The income-generating ability of the organised sports is influenced by the membership body, media interest, popularity of the sport and sporting results [NIF & the Norwegian Ministry of Cultural and Church Affairs 2004].

In this paper I will discuss findings in the project; 'Elite football – a field of changes' [Skogvang 2006]. The project discusses different areas within Norwegian elite football in a gender perspective. Themes like professionalism, commercialisation, the media, 'the Sport/Media Complex' [Skogvang 2009] and the players' experience of their own and others football practice are put in focus. Another area which was studied, but not published yet, was the contact and co-operation between elite and grass root level football inside and outside the clubs, and the cooperation and contact between boys and girls in football, and the influence of elite football on amateur and grass root level football.

Methods

Field work has been done in male and female elite football clubs in Norway throughout a year. All the clubs have grass root football included in the club. The methods used are:

- Observations in practices, meetings and matches in three elite football clubs, which also have grass root football teams included in the club.
- In-depth interviews were conducted with 22 elite football players, 11 men and 11 women and eight elite football coaches – four in women's football and four in men's football.
- Observations of Norwegian elite football players in national and international championships including both men and women in the European championships, the World cup and the Olympic Games, were also carried out.

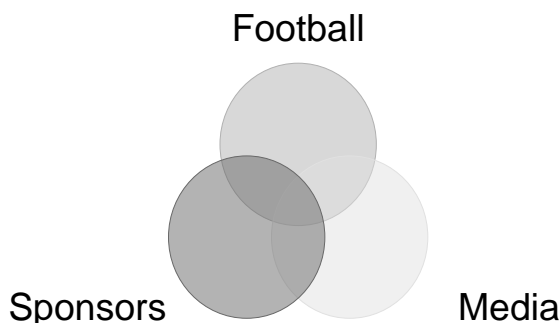
Football and 'the Sport/Media Complex'

FIFA has 204 national associations as members, and it is registered that girls and women play football in 140 of these countries [Skogvang 2006; www.FIFA.com 2007]. Football has become one of the fastest growing sports for women around the world. The increase in numbers of female players is one crucial change which has occurred in Norwegian football, too [Goksøyr, Olstad 2002; Skogvang 2006, 2007]. Since 1995 and until today football has been the largest organised sport for girls and women with 107 859 registered players, which means **28 percent of all Norwegian football players in 2006**. The same year totally 267 227 boys and men are registered as football players [Skogvang

2006]. 70% of all Norwegian families are involved in football, and football is also a feminine sport in Norway [Skogvang 2006]. The Norwegian women's national team has been pioneers and has won great successes in both European Championships, World Cups and the Olympics, maybe with the gold medal in Sydney Olympics in 2000 as the most well-known victory [Fasting 2004; Skogvang 2006], but the men's national team still has the Bronze medal from Olympics in 1936 as their greatest success.

The study shows a symbiotic relationship between elite football, the media and the market, which also is called 'the Sport/Media Complex' like it is shown in this figure:

'The Sport/Media Complex'



When the corporation between sport, the media and the sponsors is developed to a symbiotic relationship it is defined as 'the Sport/Media Complex' [Boyle, Haynes 2000; Rowe 1999]. This complex shows a shared commercial interest for sports participants, sports organisations, sponsors and the mass media. One of the changes especially in male elite football in Norway is the increased link between football, the media and the sponsors. This symbiotic relationship is also shown in this study. When a football club and its sponsors are visible in the media, it increases the financial income for the club [Skogvang 2006, 2009]. 'The Sport/Media Complex' is positive for professional football, but at the same time it challenges traditional values in Norwegian sport where sport for all and equality is highly valued [Helland 2003]. **99.84% of Norwegian football is amateur football or grass root football**, which include 25 084

teams with players, coaches, team leaders, parents, referees, waffle makers, kit washers and so on. Football is played at a certain area, it includes a lot of people, has a philosophy, a playing system influenced by the Laws of the game, and in Norway professionals and amateurs, men and women play together in the same club and some times at the same team.

According to the study, many conflicts arise out of the incorporation of football and the dichotomy between football and business. Players focus on negative consequences of what is called 'the footballisation' of the media [Hovden 1996], increased power to the media, sponsors, agents, and investors, and less to the clubs, coaches, players and volunteers. In Norway as in many other countries most of the media attention is paid to the male elite football. One of the reasons for the low sponsor support among female football clubs and for amateur football and grass root football is the lack of media attention. Because of that many of the female and also some of the male players focus on this negative aspect, for instance, that male football gets much more media attention which results in much better finances [Skogvang 2006]. Also people involved in football are critical to this development, where men's elite football got more and more space and attention than all other sports and a lot of other crucial things in the society, and the elite players and coaches says that: 'There is too much football in the media now!' Or like male player 'Ante' states: "Money, TV and the media have that much power today, and they put pressure on the players, coaches and the club. You loose the dimensions about other things that are going on in the world. At the same time we need them, else will not the club be attractive for the sponsors and we will not earn our money from playing football." [Skogvang 2006]

The relation between football, the media and the sponsors is closest in men's elite football. Elite football can therefore, according to Bourdieu's field theory, be assumed to be located closer to the heteronymous pole on men's elite football and closest to the autonomous pole in women's football and in club football at amateur or grass root level [Bourdieu 1993]. At the autonomous pole there is more space for play, passion and emotions, too.

This figure shows how the field of sport, the sub-field of football, and the sub-field of elite football is linked to each other and how these fields are in relation to the field of media and the field of market.

Boyle and Haynes [2004, p. 117] states that: 'Football becoming a niche entertainment product, interesting for a hard core of fans willing to pay extensively to view the sport, is not necessarily the best long-term future insurance policy for the game.' At the same time as the media attention of male elite football increase both domestically and internationally, the numbers of active football players especially among girls but also among boys have increased in Norway during the last years. What is put in focus in the media does also influence grass root football, and "Drillo" and his football systems is well-known among Nor-

wegian footballers. Goksøyr and Olstad [2002] describe the history of Norwegian football, and how elite football in Norway did turn from ‘self-taught practitioners’ to more acceptable for theory and science. Egil Olsen, nicknamed “Drillo”, who was educated and employed at the Norwegian school of Sport Sciences, was a skilled football player, and is seen as ‘the embodied’ person for football science in Norway. In January 2009 “Drillo” again became the manager of the Norwegian male national team. The 0–1 victory away against Germany in Drillo’s first match actualised an old debate again.

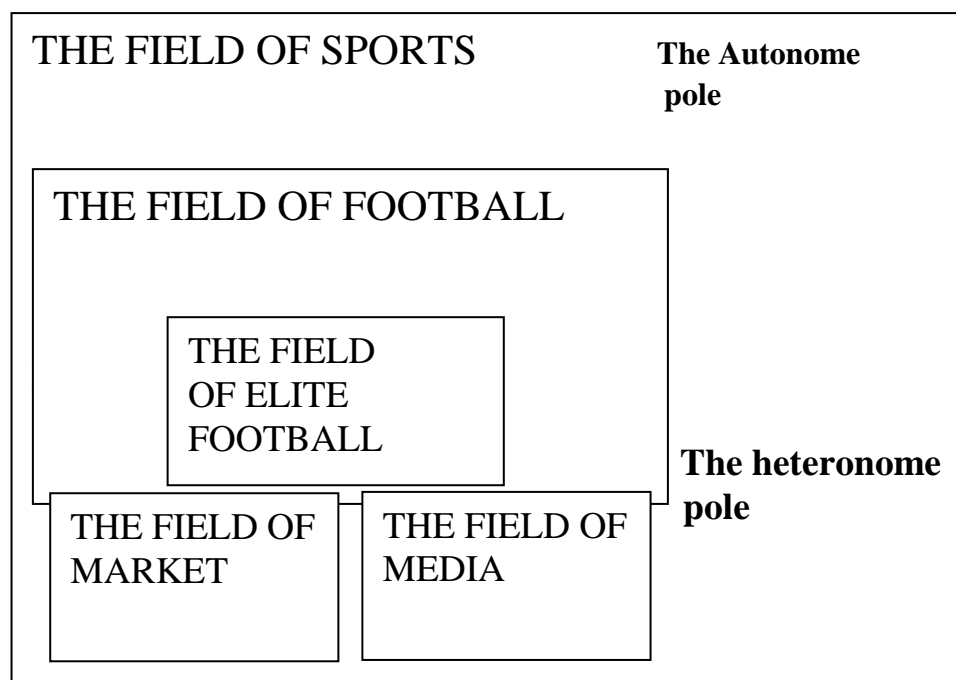


Figure 1. How the field of sport, the sub-field of football, and the sub-field of elite football is linked to each other and how these fields are in relation to the field of media and the field of market [Skogvang 2006]

When “Drillo” came back as national head coach, the media brought up the discussion about the dichotomy: FOOTBALL AS PLAY, EMOTIONS AND PASSION versus FOOTBALL AS SCIENCE. The last one is often mentioned as ‘the Drillo style’ of football. This discussion is going on at all levels inside Norwegian sport. When football takes that much space, can other sports and forms of physical activities get less interest and loose space? When elite football is over-focused, it can make the amateur level too serious. Another effect can be that in stead of being physical active and play football themselves, children and

youth choose to watch football on TV and become more inactive because of that. From this discussion research questions rise: **How does football effect Norwegian's public health?** Does Norwegians get more physical inactive through the high media coverage of football? And does the increase of members in football clubs give a healthy physical activity for everybody who wants to be physically active? Some negative effects of the Sport/media Complex can be that coaches and leaders at amateur and grass root level football directly follow the same system as for grown-up football, like in this video clip.

References

- Bourdieu P. (1993), *The field of Cultural Production*, Polity Press, Cambridge/Oxford.
- Boyle R., Haynes R. (2004), *Power, Play: Sport, media and Popular Culture*, Longman, Harlow, Essex.
- Fasting K. (2004), *Small country – big results: women's football in Norway* [in:] *Soccer, Women, Sexual Liberation. Kicking Oss a New Era*, Frank Cass, London, pp. 149–161.
- Goksøyr M., Olstad F. (2002), *Fotball! Norges Fotballforbund 100 år*, Norges Fotballforbund, Oslo.
- Helland K. (2003), *Sport, medier og journalistikk: med fotballandslaget til EM*, Fagbokforlaget, Bergen.
- Hovden J. (1996), Mediesportens janusansikt i et kjønnsperspektiv, i: "Kjønn i media. Konferanse om utviklingen av mediene i et kjønnsperspektiv." *Likestillingsrådets publikasjonsserie nr. 6, Arbeidsnotat nr. 2/96*. (Oslo: Likestillingsrådet/Norges Forskningsråd.).
- Norwegian Institute of Public Health (2008), *The Oslo Immigrant Health Profile*. Report 2008: 7, Nasjonalt Folkehelseinstitutt, Oslo.
- Rowe D. (1999), *Sport, Culture and the Media. The unruly Trinity*, Open University Press, Buckingham/Philadelphia.
- Skogvang B.O. (2006) *Toppfotball – et felt i forandring*. ('Elite football – a field of changes'), The Norwegian School of Sport Sciences, Oslo.
- Skogvang B.O. (2009), *The Sport/Media Complex in Norwegian Football*, "Soccer & Society", vol. 10, no. 3–4, May-July, Routledge, Taylor & Francis, pp. 438–458.
- The Norwegian Olympic Committee and Confederation of Sports and the Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs (2004), *Sport and Physical Activity in Norway*, Akilles, Oslo. Also published at www.idrett.no
- The Norwegian Directorate of Health (2008), *Physical activity among children and young people in Norway*, Oslo, (www.helsedirektoratet.no)
- www.idrett.no (2009), The web site of The Norwegian Paralympic and Olympic Committee and Confederation of Sports (NIF).
- www.fifa.com (2007), The web site of The International Football Association (FIFA).

Key words: grass root football, Sport/Media Complex, Drillo, Norway

Hanna Vehmas

Department of Sport Sciences, University of Jyväskylä, Finland

Chapter 3.9.

SEARCHING FOR THE CORE REASONS OF SPORT AND LEISURE PARTICIPATION – HERMENEUTICS AS A THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING ACTIVE LEISURE

The aim of sociology as a scientific discipline is to describe, explain and interpret social phenomena. When *describing* social activities sociologists often structure and analyze them by utilising different typologies. And its best typologies describe widely and interestingly, for example, different traveller types. Sociological *explaining* on the other hand aims at pointing out the causalities of social and societal phenomena. In this case social activities are explained by certain structural or cultural reasons. For example, tourism in the post-industrial societies can be explained by the economic wealth and the amount of leisure. The aim of sociology is also to *interpret* social reality in such new ways that help the members of the society to act meaningfully and creatively. In this case we are not only dealing with statistical facts but also with values. Sociological interpretation means that we aim at understanding the connections and linkages between individual action and social and societal factors. This again means that when we are searching for the reasons, for example, of the sport participation in Finland, we need to know cultural peculiarities, for example, the close relationship with the natural environment. On the other hand, the set of values that emerges from the Protestant ethics with emphasis on the doer sentiment, offers one kind of an interpretation for understanding active leisure.

Alongside with many apparently serious topics, such as unemployment, criminality, social displacement and inequality, sociological research is often focused on everyday phenomena. Sociological examinations focus on the observations of lifestyles and ways of living, consumption, sport participation, tourism and even taste and fashion. What makes these apparently non-serious topics and micro-historical observations sociologically interesting and relevant is how they manage to reflect larger societal phenomena and their changes. These on

the one hand have an impact on the entire human action and culture [e.g. Karisto 2008; Mills 1959/1990]. Although some postmodern arguments claim that individuals are free in the lifestyle and consumption markets, our societies and communities set limits to our action. It is also impossible to aim at an absolute truth in social sciences, because our perceptions of reality are socially constructed. Even conflicting perceptions may occur about the same phenomena in different times in different cultures. Social sciences are about meanings that need to be sociologically interpreted and understood [Siljander 1988; Hirsjärvi, Hurme 2008; Gadamer 2004].

In the beginning of 1800's, a French sociologist Auguste Comte, who is often considered as the founding father of sociology placed sociology, as a scientific domain, on the top of the hierarchy of knowledge. What Comte considered less complex domains of scientific knowledge were, for example, mathematics, physics and astronomy. At first sight this setting may seem exaggerating the scientific position of sociology. However, when taking a closer look, perhaps Comte was not totally wrong with his thoughts. When the aim is to simultaneously think over the reasons of individual action and unique events, together with societal factors, we realize that it is an extremely challenging task [Comte 1973/1993; Farganis 1993].

Sport and leisure, by large can be observed as fields of social action where individuals' and group's life styles and habituses are illustrated. In these fields people express and identify themselves and make distinctions from others based on their values, norms, life styles and bodily practices. It is about individual and social practices simultaneously.

Qualitative approach

"People do not only need information – in these factual times information often dominates their attention and drowns their abilities to handle it. People do not only need the skills of reason – although their struggle for acquiring them often wears their limited moral resources out. People need and feel to need such understanding that helps them to use information, and to develop abilities to perceive so that they could make reasonable total estimates about what is going to happen to the whole world and to themselves. Sociological imagination enables to understand wide historical phenomena in as far as what they mean to the inner lives and outer life courses of different people." [Mills 1959/1990]

Qualitative approach offers a fruitful strategy and a set of methods for investigating leisure justifications and participation. Hermeneutic tradition aims at an understanding interpretation of participation. This is applicable when the targets of examination are meanings of individuals' experiences of leisure inter-

preted through societal and cultural objectivities [Phillimore, Goodson 2004; Weber 1922/197; Tuomi, Sarajärvi 2002]. A lot of the studies on sport and leisure participation have concentrated on profiles and comparisons based on quantitative surveys, whereas deeper discussions about societal essence of participation have been less frequent. In a rapidly changing world the factual span of quantitative knowledge can be very short. Additionally, the requirements of the absolute objectivity and the total freedom of values that are typical for quantitative research are impossible to fulfil in social sciences. Every researcher brings something of her/his own to the study: different attitudes, values, viewpoints and ideologies that influence the course of the research [Goodson, Phillimore 2004; Tribe 2004].

Qualitative research has been criticised for the lack of objectivity and the ability to generalize. Researchers with qualitative approaches are said to have concentrated too little on the theoretical work and secondary data at the expense of collecting empirical material. There is a threat that sociological imagination in the forms of intuitions, expressions, pre-understandings, presuppositions, prejudices and heuristic insights will get an edge over empirical analysis. Qualitative approaches have been also criticised for being too "soft", non-scientific and of lower rank and usable only when combined with quantitative techniques [Decrop 2004; Ehrnrooth 1990; Phillimore, Goodson 2004]. Nevertheless, leisure phenomena and lifestyle choices are such complex targets of research that explaining or understanding them solely based on statistical analysis is not considered meaningful.

Hermeneutic framework

Sociological research about sport and leisure can be located as part of cultural and society studies. Meaningful interpretations about cultural phenomena are determined by interaction of the three formations of knowledge production. These are namely sociological theory, cultural research and empirical social research. In addition, sociological research has different genres that can be observed as part of the hermeneutic circle that guides the research. The parts that are determined by the totality are also determining the totality [Heiskala 1990; Gadamer 2004]. In this way the hermeneutic method enables the understanding and interpretation of the individuals' leisure choices through the dialectic relationship between the meanings of the societal occasions, people who participate in them and the culture.

Firstly, the hermeneutic analysis is found on the level of *general theories*, which are not directly connected to the empirical evidence of a certain study. General theories are general in asking how the society, social order and culture are constituted. Several examples of the general theories are found in the works

of the classic thinkers. For example, Max Weber's writings about the Protestant ethics and the Western rationality together with Pierre Bourdieu's structuralist constructivism offer general basis for the analysis [Weber 1920/1980; Bourdieu 1990]. The function of general theories is not purely deductive as in natural methodology, but rather the aim is through general theories to realize – as Gadamer points out – that historical and societal powers condition all theoretical and factual knowledge [Gadamer 2004].

As a starting point of observations in many post-modern societies it can be stated that in addition to high working ethics and the *doer* sentiment the Protestant ethics also describes people's leisure activities and life courses in general. This is despite the fact that religion no longer has the same impact on people's lives as it used to have some centuries ago. Leisure choices can be also observed according to Weber's theory of action where people's behaviour is seen as systematic in terms of the means and the ends. In principle goal-oriented action is guided by profit maximisation, but goals can be also understood as coming from outside of the utilitarian system of concepts. Leisure choices can be also justified by tradition when the prime impetus for action is a habit or a custom [Weber 1920/1980; Heiskala 2000; Weber 1922/1978].

In Bourdieu's structuralist constructionism, on the other hand, structuralism refers to the assumption that societies are constituted of objective structures that are independent of individuals' consciousness and free will. Structures create framework for people's ways of living in which sport and leisure can be part of. Constructionism on the other hand refers to the assumption that despite the structures and their limitations, people are active in formulating their own identities, environments and life styles. In other words, social world is constructed within the limits of the structure. Bourdieu called this relationship between the structure and the individual meaning a *habitus*. Culture and its meaning structures create framework, but we are active in using this framework for formulating our identities and environments. Individuals do not only make a difference between one's own and other's groups, but also actively use cultural structures to distinct themselves from the others in a beneficial way. According to Bourdieu's field theory lifestyle choices illustrate cultural struggle. Leisure choices may accumulate economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital. Additionally, the relationship between work and leisure has become vague in post-industrial societies, which also explains sport and leisure participation. *Habitus* describes this internalized way of producing classifications, evaluations and attitudes. *Habitus* is acquired in upbringing and education and by living in the middle of a certain way. The "co-operation" between *habitus* and forms of capital produces practices in the fields. The intensity, direction and result of the relationship of these dimensions have divided scholars' viewpoints and interpretations over the years [Bourdieu 1985; Sulkunen 1990; Bourdieu 1990; Stebbins 1992; Stebbins 1997].

Secondly, there are *research theories* in the hermeneutic circle, which are directly linked with the *empirical research material*. Most of the theoretical sociological discussions are held on this level. Robert Stebbins' concept and framework of serious leisure offers an interesting example of the research theories in the search for the postmodern leisure justifications [Stebbins 1992, 1997]. Accordingly the reasons for serious leisure relate to the profit hypothesis when the benefits and advantages of active leisure overrun their costs. Nevertheless, benefits are not observed from the purely motivational points of view. The distinction benefit is influenced by social structures and individual life styles at the same time. In other words, active leisure consciously and unconsciously produces such forms of capital that have high social and cultural values [Bourdieu 1985].

Also social pressure and cultural norms may lead to serious leisure when individuals are tied to certain leisure activities. The significance of social environment may be also observed as a way of living, customs and habits that influence leisure possibilities and preferences. For instance, a sense of duty can encourage for active leisure. Social identification may also lead to serious leisure. Leisure opportunities may offer new forms of community spirit in times when many traditional sources of social capital, such as family, religion and work have lost many of their binding functions [Stebbins 1992; Stebbins 1997; Jones, Green 2006].

Thirdly, the hermeneutic circle includes empirical material that is produced for the particular inquiry in question. Empirical research may be collected with various methods such as interviews, observations and questionnaires. This level may also be observed according to Weber's methodological individualism, which means that all societal explanations should be at least in principle reduced to the unique actions and set of actions of individuals [e.g. Noro 2004; Heiskala 2000; Weber 1922/1978; Niiniluoto 2002].

The fourth and the final interpretation is built upon these three levels of the hermeneutic circle where a new narrative in a way is produced as a combination of sociological theories and empirical data, such as interview narratives. The new narrative is like a reverse creation process that aims at producing a new story out of the originals by churning it first up through societal and sociological theories.

What is essential for the hermeneutic understanding and interpretation is the dialectic and conversational relationship between the above mentioned different levels. This way the interpretation does not remain on a deductive level. On the other hand, the aim is not pure inductive argumentation either. Rather, the aim is to understand unique and individual actions through the dialectic relationship between the subjective meanings and structural objectivities [Siljander 1988; Bauman 1978; Giddens 1984]. Only the discourse with the general and research theories finally produces the new researcher's interpretation. This discourse can be paralleled with the so called contemporary diagnosis. Contemporary diagno-

sis relates to the question of the characteristics of an era. What is typical to the contemporary diagnosis are the views, understandings, insights or visions that may be strongly outspoken. Contemporary sociological diagnosis could be defined as a message sent out from the scientific circles of communication presented by a researcher. It is not purely about theory, but about practical wisdom that is, however, difficult to use instrumentally as a means to a certain end [Noro 2004].

The final goal of the hermeneutic project is to expand subjective experiences into general experiences with the help of common experiences. The common experiences consist of shared beliefs that are present in any unite group of people and include assumptions about the life course and rules and goal definitions [Dilthey 1989]. What is essential is that the hermeneutic interpretation process does not have an absolute starting point, because all reasoning is based on the pre-understandings of the interpreter that change in time and always influence new kinds of interpretations. Interpretation process does not have an absolute ending point either, because the hermeneutic circle never closes. The interpretation of all definitions takes place in a constant spiral and dialectic consciousness. Rational reconstruction means that instead of competing with various interpretations it is possible for the scholars to build up a conversational connection between different interpretations [Siljander 1988; Bauman 1978; Heiskala 2000].

Something old, something new

The attempts of social scientists to limit their inquiries either to quantitative or qualitative do not necessarily serve the societal understandings of leisure phenomena. Pure deductive logic does not serve the aims of sociological research and pure induction is not possible [Selänniemi 1994]. Abductive argumentation resembles Bourdieu's reflexive sociology. Abductive argumentation is possible when there is some kind of a basic principle or clue in making observations. This leads to the flux of empiria driven analysis and already existing models in the thinking process. Abductive argumentation relates to the so called theory bound analysis (apart from the "pure" deductive theory driven or "pure" inductive data driven analysis). Theory functions as a tool for the procedure of the analysis. The influence of the previous knowledge has to be recognized, but not purely for the purpose of theory testing, but rather for opening up new paths of thinking [Tuomi, Sarajärvi 2002]. Abduction in a way unites and crosses the opposites of the deductive and inductive argumentations. Abduction can be defined as utilizing different hints that arise from the data, and use them for new ideas, hypothesis formation and interpretations. Abduction can be compared to the intuition as it attaches itself to experiences, facts and concepts. The pursuit of the experiences is based on phenomenological observations, the finding of the facts for observations and the concept formation for the hermeneutic pro-

cesses [Karisto 2008]. Abduction then refers to the methodological choices of the research. The reflexivity based on the so called “sociological eye” enables both observations and stating of the impact of social structures in data collection. The traditional division between quantitative explaining and hermeneutic understanding is not recognized in reflexive sociology. Instead, through understanding also explaining, analysis and locating of the causes and consequences become possible [Roos 1996].

Translating abduction into the language of hermeneutics leads to the understanding interpretation of a text or narrative so that it does not remain on casual presuppositions. Instead, the text is allowed to freely say something. Hermeneutically trained consciousness is receptive for the otherness of the text from the beginning. Nevertheless, the receptiveness does not require “neutral” observations or blotting out oneself. Receptiveness rather means that one’s own presuppositions and prejudices are separated from the viewpoints and attitudes of the text [Gadamer 2004]. This way the interpretation is constructed from the totality of the pre-understandings so that its parts can be identified and constructed. On the other hand, the way in which we perceive the parts of the interpretation totalities is always shot through with a certain theory about the totality. Thus, hermeneutic circle is more than clarifying the pre-understandings: it can also lead to the correction of the pre-understanding [Kusch 1986].

Elias and Dunning [1986] remind sociologists about the purposes of the scientific research. The difficulties that social scientists often face, are closely linked with the uncertainty about the aims of the study, although the aim should be the same in all sciences: to make a previously unknown phenomenon known. In other words, the aim of research should be a finding of some kind. However, this simple aim remains often in the shadows of the methodological discourses [Selänniemi 1994; Elias, Dunning 1986].

Hermeneutic thematic analysis

The analysis of qualitative data is often characterised problematic, because data is usually wide, unstructured and difficult to handle [Bryman, Burgess 1994]. Thematic analysis offers one way of analysing the data, which is part of the abductive argumentation. According to the hermeneutic approach the data can be thematised partly based on previously set (deductive) theory driven analysis and partly based on the data driven analysis. Also typologies can be based on abductive argumentation. On the one hand, previously found typologies function as “light” hypothesis to be tested. This becomes evident, for example, in using sport and leisure participation profiles and ideal types. On the other hand, the types will be clarified, specified, sharpened and re-formulated based on the inductive argumentation [Siljander 1988; Tuomi. Sarajärvi 2002].

Themes refer to certain repeated and similar features in data, e.g. in interview narratives. Thematic analysis resembles classifications with emphasis on certain themes. In typologies the data is grouped into certain types. It is essential whether one searches for similarities or differences [Hirsjärvi, Hurme 2008; Tuomi, Sarajärvi 2002]. Typologies are generally used in sociological analysis. For example, Finnish sport clubs have been typified according to Weber's ideal type construction into sport and doer – type clubs on the one hand and into socio-cultural types on the other [Itkonen 1996]. Finnish memoirs have been typified based on four different subjective dimensions, namely life control, basic life experiences, the separation of public and private and central life spheres [Roos 1987]. The structures and dynamics of the Finnish paid work have been typified through the ethos of getting and doing by in life and through the self-reliance [Kortteinen 1992].

Typologies can be formulated based on the words, descriptions and expressions about leisure justifications and how these illustrate certain types of orientations and attitudes about the themes in the texts and narratives. Typologies often rely on Weber's concept of ideal type and interpretative understanding. Types are internally rational constructions of meaningful action, that is, pure types. Ideal types show direction to the hypothesis setting, and according to Weber they have a meaning of a purely idealistic marginal concept. The parts of the empirical reality can be measured and compared with the ideal types. As a tool in research the ideal type does not have to correspond to the factual course of reality. Ideal types may also point out deviant action. It is also possible to detect the distance between the type constructed by the researcher and the factual action. The task of the empirical and historical studies is to point out how near or far the reality is from the ideal type. For example, Weber's Protestant ethics and the spirit of capitalism refers to the question of the mutual relationship between two ideal types or at least two abstract conceptual constructions, namely modern capitalism and protestant religion [Weber 1922/1978; Kytäjä 1990; Heiskala 1990].

According to Weber the factual meaning of action and understanding is tied to the single individual's subjective interpretation. When analysing her/his research targets with the help of ideal types, the researcher not only describes it, but also creates it. It is dependent on the ideal type of the system, which of the factors (used by the researcher) become essential in the interpretation. Nevertheless, the system of ideal types cannot be arbitrary in as far as the culturally common values and beliefs guide them. That is why some ideal type constructions function more successfully than others. According to Weber what distinguishes scientific understandings from the everyday interpretations is namely the use of ideal types [Heiskala 1990].

Qualitative leisure research does not directly aim at (statistical) generalisations, but rather to describing, understanding and interpreting leisure phenomena.

na. It is, however, possible to make generalisations about the interpretations of the study (Sulkunen 1990). The purpose of qualitative research is to function as a tool for building up a conceptual understanding of the phenomena [Eskola, Suoranta 1999]. Research approaches leaning on typologies, however, offer interesting openings also towards quantitative settings. It is stated, however, that quantitative settings cannot go as deeply as qualitative approaches into the why-questions of leisure justifications.

Sociology or any other scientific discipline cannot alone exclusively answer to the question of why people spend active leisure or how people justify their leisure choices. With sociology it is, however, possible to present interpretations and constructions of the connection between subjective actions and societal structures. Who then benefits from qualitative and hermeneutic research settings? Apart from applied and customised researches, the basic research does not as such produce any particular benefit for any particular quarter. It is also good to keep in mind that the concept of benefit is dependent on the values and beliefs, and it changes over time. What is considered beneficial today, may be useless tomorrow and vice versa. The beneficial functions of the hermeneutic research about sport and leisure mainly relate to the production and mediation of the scientifically argued knowledge about sport and leisure choices and their justifications as part of the culture. This knowledge may naturally benefit the commercial actors together with participants and readers in sport, tourism and leisure industry.

References

- Bauman Z. (1978), *Hermeneutics and social science. Approaches to understanding*, Hutchinson University Library, London.
- Bourdieu P. (1985), *Sosiologian kysymyksiä [The questions in sociology]*, Vastapaino.
- Bourdieu P. (1990), *In other words. Essays towards a reflexive society*, Polity Press, Blackwell.
- Comte A. (1973/1993), *Plan of the Scientific Operations Necessary for Reorganizing Society in System of Positive Polity*, Vol. 4 general Appendix – Third Part. Burt Franklin, New York. Reprinted in J. Farganis (1993). *Readings in social theory. The classic tradition to post-modernism*. McGraw Hill Inc.
- Decrop A. (2004), *Trustworthiness in qualitative tourism research* [in:] J. Phillimore, L. Goodson [eds.], *Qualitative research in tourism. Ontologies, epistemologies and methodologies. Contemporary geographies of leisure, tourism and mobility*, Routledge, pp. 156–169.
- Dilthey W. (1989), *Introduction to the human sciences. Selected works*. Volume 1, edited by Rudolf A. Makkreel and F. Rodi. Princeton University Press.
- Ehrnrooth J. (1990), *Intuitio ja analyysi [Intuition and analysis]* [in:] K. Mäkelä [ed.], *Kvalitatiivisen aineiston analyysi ja tulkinta [Analysis and interpretation of qualitative data]*, Gaudeamus, Helsinki, pp. 30–41.
- Elias N., Dunning E. (1986), *Quest for excitement. Sport and leisure in the civilizing process*. Basil Blackwell.
- Eskola J., Suoranta J. (1998), *Johdatus laadulliseen tutkimukseen [Introduction to qualitative research]*, Vastapaino, Tampere, 3. painos.

- Farganis J. (1993), *Readings in social theory. The classic tradition to post-modernism*, McGraw Hill Inc.
- Gadamer H.G. (2004), *Hermeneutiikka. Ymmärtäminen tieteissä ja filosofiassa [Hermeneutics. Understanding in science and philosophy]*, Valikoinut ja suomentanut [Selected and translated] I. Nikander, Vastapaino, Tampere.
- Giddens A. (1984), *The constitution of society*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Heiskala R. (2000), *Toiminta, tapa ja rakenne. Kohti konstruktionistista synteesiä yhteiskuntateoriassa [Action, custom and structure. Towards constructionist synthesis in social theory]*, Gaudeamus.
- Hirsjärvi S., Hurme H. (2008), *Tutkimushaastattelu. Teemahaastattelun teoria ja käytäntö [Research interview. Theory and practise of theme interviews]*, Gaudeamus, Helsinki.
- Itkonen H. (1996), *Kenttien kutsu. Tutkimus liikuntakulttuurin muutoksesta [Call of the fields. Research about the changes in sport culture]*, Gaudeamus.
- Jones I., Green C.B. (2006), *Serious Leisure, social identity and sport tourism* [in:] H. Gibson [ed.], *Sport tourism. Concepts and theories*, Routledge, 32–49.
- Karisto A. (2008), *Satunmaa. Suomalaiseläkeläiset Espanjan Aurinkorannikolla [Wonderland. Finnish pensioners in the Spanish Costa del Sol]*, Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura, Helsinki.
- Kortteinen M. (1992), *Kunnian kenttä. Suomalainen palkkatyö kulttuurisena muotona. [Fields of honour. Finnish paid work as a form of culture]*, Hanki ja jää Oy.
- Kusch M. (1986), *Ymmärtämisen haaste [Challenge of understanding]*, Kustannusosakeyhtiö Pohjoinen, Oulu.
- Kyntäjä T. (1990), *Max Weberin elämästä ja työstä [About the life and work of Max Weber]* [in:] M. Weber, *Protestant ethics and the Spirit of capitalism*, Laatumkirjat, Juva.
- Mills C.W. (1990/1959), *Sosiologinen mielikuvitus. [Sociological imagination]* Suomentaneet [transl.] A. Karisto, E. Konttinen, P. Takala, H. Uusitalo. Yliopistopaino.
- Niiniluoto I. (2002), *Tieteen tunnuspiirteet [Features of science]* [in:] S. Karjalainen, V. Launis, R. Pelkonen, J. Pietarinen [eds.], *Tutkijan eettiset valinnat [Ethical choices of the researcher]*, Gaudeamus, Helsinki, pp. 30–41.
- Noro A. (2004), *Aikalaidsdiagnoosi: sosiologisen teorian kolmas lajityyppi? [Contemporary diagnosis: a third genre in sociological theory?]* [in:] K. Rahkonen [ed.], *Sosiologisia nykykeskusteluja [Contemporary discussion in sociology]*, Gaudeamus, Helsinki, 19–39.
- Phillimore J., Goodson L. (2004), *Progress in qualitative research in tourism* [in:] J. Phillimore, L. Goodson [eds.], *Qualitative research in tourism. Ontologies, epistemologies and methodologies. Contemporary geographies of leisure, tourism and mobility*. Routledge, pp. 3–29.
- Roos J.P. (1987), *Suomalainen elämä. Tutkimus tavallisten suomalaisten elämäkerroista. [Finnish life. Research about the common Finnish memoirs]* Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seuran toimituksia 454, Helsinki.
- Roos J.P. (1996), *Pierre Bourdieun pieni ja suuri kurjuus [The small and big misery of Pierre Bourdieu]* [in:] R. Heiskala [ed.], *Sosiologisen teorian nykysuuntauksia [Contemporary trends in sociological theory]*, Gaudeamus, Helsinki, pp. 141–154.
- Selänniemi T. (1994), *Pakettimatka pyhään paikkaan. Suomalaisturisti Ateenassa. [Package tour to the holy destination. Finnish tourists in Athens]*, Jyväskylän yliopisto, etnologian laitos. Tutkimuksia 25.
- Siljander P. (1988), *Hermeneuttisen pedagogiikan pääsuuntauksiset [Main trends of the hermeneutic pedagogy]*, Oulun yliopiston kasvatustieteiden tiedekunnan tutkimuksia 55/1988.
- Stebbins R.A. (1992), *Amateurs, professionals and serious leisure*, McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Stebbins R.A. (1997), *Serious leisure and well-being* [in:] J.T. Haworth [ed.], *Work, leisure and well-being*, Routledge, pp. 117–130.

- Sulkunen P. (1990), *Ryhmähaastattelujen analyysi [Analysis of group interviews]* [in:] K. Mäkelä [ed.], *Kvalitatiivisen aineiston analyysi ja tulkinta [Analysis and interpretation of qualitative analysis]*, Gaudeamus, pp. 264–285.
- Tribe J. (2004), *Knowing about tourism. Epistemological issues* [in:] J. Phillimore, L. Goodson [eds.], *Qualitative research in tourism. Ontologies, epistemologies and methodologies. Contemporary geographies of leisure, tourism and mobility*, Routledge, pp. 46–62.
- Tuomi J., Sarajärvi A. (2002), *Laadullinen tutkimus ja sisällönanalyysi [Qualitative research and content analysis]*, Tammi, Helsinki.
- Vehmas H. (2010), *Liikuntamatkalla Suomessa – vapaa-ajan valintoja jälkimodernissa yhteiskunnassa [Sport tourism in Finland – leisure choices in postmodern society]*, Studies in sport, physical education and health, Jyväskylän yliopisto. Diss.
- Weber M. (1920/1980), *Protestanttinen etiikka ja kapitalismin henki [Protestant ethics and the spirit of capitalism]*, WSOY, Juva. Suomentanut [transl.] T. Kytäjä.
- Weber M. (1920/1989), *Maailmanuskonnot ja moderni länsimainen rationaalisuus [World religions and the modern Western rationality]*, Vastapaino, Tampere. Suomentanut [transl.] T. Hietaniemi.
- Weber M. (1922/1978), *Economy and society. An outline of interpretive sociology*. University of California Press.

Key words: *sociology of leisure, leisure, qualitative method, hermeneutics*

Marco Pasini

*LABOS / M@GM@, Italy
Contact: pas74@libero.it*

Chapter 3.10.

CVN CASALBERNOCCHI – QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS AND VISUAL METHODOLOGY FOR A COMMUNITY STUDY

Squadra paesana

Anch'io tra i molti vi saluto, rosso-
alabardati,
sputati
dalla terra natia, da tutto un popolo
amati.
Trepido seguo il vostro gioco.
Ignari
esprimete con quello antiche cose
meravigliose
sopra il verde tappeto, all'aria, ai chiari
soli d'inverno.
Le angosce
che imbiancano i capelli all'improvviso,
sono da voi così lontane! La gloria
vi dà un sorriso
fugace: il meglio onde disponga. Abbracci
corrano tra di voi, gesti giulivi.
Giovani siete, per la madre vivi;
vi porta il vento a sua difesa. V'ama
anche per questo il poeta, dagli altri
diversamente – ugualmente commosso.

Umberto Saba, *Cinque poesie sul gioco del calcio*,
“*Parole*”, 1933/34



Figure 1. Football field

Introduction

My work was developed in consideration of “the role of sport as a vehicle for cultural dialogue is of particular interest. With increasing importance of sport the exploration of its socio-cultural, socio-political, socioeconomic functions becomes an ever more essential task for the sociology of sport. [...] It is important that the sociology of sport investigates the emergence and diffusion of sport over time and across different societies; [...] with the purpose refers to all forms of human movement”, and in my specific case “create or improve social and cultural relationships” [<http://www.eass-sportsociology.eu/information.html>].

The sociological investigation that I present here arises also from questions and considerations: “Can sport revitalize a district? Which are the main physical activities that we can find in a neighbourhood? How are these put into practice? Why do we usually take into consideration such activities specially if these are concerned with degraded or problematic neighbourhood? In reply to the crisis of ‘social bonds’, sport is often recognized as a model of integration among young people. In this respect, sport becomes social and the young people of the lower middle class neighborhoods seem to be the objective of new socio-sport efforts” [Gasparini 2008, p. 9].

Concept of athletic activities to build citizenship, participation, human growth, integration and social cohesion with particular attention to team sports that foster emotional, cognitive and relational development, and a greater comprehension/development of one's personality. So athletics become the focal point in which different people converge and where they start building strong citizenships and social cohesion. We can notice it looking how team sports are involved in this respect thanks to their capability in matching together people with so different social, emotional and relational backgrounds and this is, without any doubt, the main aspect that contributes to included sports as one of the most powerful instruments for social inclusion.

This is also why games¹ – that exalt the harmony and dynamics of cooperation – like football are defined as communal ritual that reinforces cohesion also for ethical-pedagogical values.

Football and not only

“Football is a metaphor of life”

[Jean-Paul Sartre]

... or is life a metaphor of football?

Football has illustrious ancestors (the Roman *Harpastum*, Florentine football), forgotten variations (*Tlachtli*, the pre-Columbian game with a ball, Gaelic football, Basque *pelota*, French *soule*, Australian rules) and modern spinoffs (five-man football, eight-man football, futsal, beach soccer, footvolley, table football, subbuteo, fantasy football).

Child of the Industrial Revolution, modern football, intended as the modern team sport, was developed in the context of the Victorian era *public schools* in Great Britain in the 19th century, through the institutionalization of old village games (rural *folk games* and the more urban mob football), perfectly in line with the social political ideas and educational value of the interiorization of rules and in the wake of the *sport development process* [Elias, Dunning 1989, pp. 103–110] of the period. The contribution of British social history but especially the School of Leicester or *configurational* school identifies a sociological process in the sport development process that leads to the specialisation of games, a characteristic that transfers one of the keywords of the rising industrial society to sport, the division of labor = codification in football rules, the game spaces and time frame work, bureaucratisation and quantification to define certain and measurable results (from the goals, points and standings to the quest for rec-

¹ Clifford Geertz analyzed cockfighting in Bali, considering it a profound sport in which it was possible to understand the characteristics of a culture [1973].

ords²) born of a philosophy oriented towards results. Football spread in fact among the working and urban proletarian classes also in order to decrease violence and restrain emotivity, imposing the rules of the game and disciplinary codes to social classes considered as wont to break the law and potentially dangerous. A *civilization* instrument.

At the same time, football went through another process, that of being civilised to be precise; contemporary to the formation of the nation-states, it represents the culture of good manners and implies a lack of civility that demands a process of interiorization of collective norms and the repression of instinctive drives, increasing the control over individuals, giving rise to totalitarian institutions. A regulation which, imposed by the industrial culture, constitutes the essence of the birth of modern sport that was purified of every element of explicit violence in order to relegate aggressiveness to a socially-controlled and acceptable form. Football itself reproduces, on a small scale, a simulated and ritualised war (due to the physical contact but especially due to the highly symbolic concept of territoriality, that is the violation of the adversary's space/field that strikes a chord in the fancy of the spectators and players), filtering out the elements that civilisation has transformed into taboos: blood and death. It is a cathartic battle, a fight mediated by a symbol, the ball, and permits the unleashing of collective emotions within defined limits, "controlled decontrolling of emotions" [Elias, Dunning 1989, pp. 221–243].

The first rules of football were established in 1848 at the University of Cambridge. They were written with the express intent of differentiating football from the aristocratic game of rugby, its noble rival from which it has important social, pedagogical and political-cultural differences. In 1863 the Football Association was founded and in 1888/89 the first football championships were played. This new sport was brought to Italy by British businessmen who carried on activity in many sports, by the Swiss influence in the industrialized North and that of the Hapsburgs in the Northeast.

Football as well as sport in general must be considered as a social reality. It is a social phenomenon, a cultural system that interacts between communication, economics and politics. It can be considered as a *glocal* model since it can represent a demand of identity, both individual and collective, both local and globalised. It is capable of arousing and evoking emotions and dynamics of identity and group belonging. It can develop autonomous narrative structures and produce archaic symbols together with postmodern suggestion.

Because football is so deeply ingrained in society which imbues it with a myriad of meanings and emotions, it is an extraordinarily fertile source and observation point for social research [in: Bromberger 1999, p. 106].

² For A. Guttman a modern form of immortality [1978].

Football community

“... all is changed, but no the Sundays at stadium. I ask, why?...”

[Pier Paolo Pasolini ‘Stukas’, *Il Caos*, 1979]



Figure 2. CVNCB logo

The universal vocation of football over time has gone from a sporting past time to a festival, a collective ritual. Like all aspects of culture, it unites memory and identity. These characteristics have induced me to look at my neighbourhood from a sociological point of view. Casal Bernocchi, situated in the XIII Municipio of the city of Rome, was officially founded in 1961 with the building of a residential complex by INA-Casa, originally called “Villaggio Ina-Casa”.

Later on, it changed its name to the current one because there was a nearby country house belonging to Count Bernocchi. The population today is approximately 6.000, with a surface area of approximately 4 km², and has a big territorial identification in an exact geographic place,

“Casal Bernocchi is the square, the market... between the Ostiense and the Colombo’s ways”³.

Football immediately found fertile breeding ground in the area (a strong *working-class* area) and has always had an important integrative and associative role. It is the national sport that draws life from the territory itself.

The Circolo Vita Nuova Casal Bernocchi was established in 1987, in the context of a parish football field, by a group of friends who wanted to organize a seven-man football team. After this initial phase, the association signed up with ANSPI presenting its first bylaws characterized by a strong volunteer spirit. In 1998, with a large number of young boys to manage, it signed up with the FIGC- Youth and Scholastic Sector. After 20 years of activity and 40 years of waiting, a new football field was inaugurated in 2006⁴. The field was named Campo Sportivo Comunale Casal Bernocchi “Guido Cernuto” adjoined to the

³ Int. n° 1.

⁴ “Every people or group, sign the presence in your place. The impassivity and immobility of ‘stones’ (buildings, streets, walls...) gives identity to the community” [Halbwachs 1987, p. 90].

Centro Sportivo “Pietro Buteroni”⁵. Today the Association has 194 youths enrolled (all from the neighbourhood) ranging from the children to the 1st team (the same people since 10/15 years ago) and a staff of 38 people (all volunteers).

The support given by the Associazione Casal Bernocchi ONLUS was fundamental for the success of the sporting dreams of the community. The Association was founded in 2002 by a number of citizens and the sport association Circolo Vita Nuova Casal Bernocchi. The Association is non-profit, apolitical and staffed by volunteers. Its primary aim is to promote and develop sport and social aggregation in the neighbourhood. It lives in the neighbourhood and it is an active part of it, in fact it hasn't a real place, it can use any seat that the neighbourhood can offer, for example, corporate domicile or parish.

Casal Bernocchi can be considered a community in the sense of *Gemeinschaft* [in: Gallino 1993, p. 146]: a community social organization, founded on the spontaneous sentiment of belonging and participation.

“There is solidarity, human relationship... all the people know all the people, there is a good feeling... there is a community”⁶.

This is also demonstrated by the structure of the CVNCB: the Circolo is the customary figure of sociability and the Association represents a cultural style of continuity with the dominating means of socialisation and social fabric.

The process with which football has become fundamental to our urban community, through the creation of the neighborhood team and the building of the football field, has further developed the existing sense of belonging to one's roots, identity and memory. Going to the game, talking about the game and personally knowing all the protagonists represents a privileged occasion to reinforce social bonds and an atmosphere of sociability (football creates its own meeting spaces). The ritual of the game celebrates the sense of belonging to a community and its past. It creates communion between the players and the spectators, forming a union. The football match is a spectacle that belongs intensely to its own fans (that collaborate in creating the importance of the sporting event and actively participate in the event itself), extending its protagonism outside. Football has an important social function: it unites all the citizenry in a common experience, giving a tangible outlet to people's passions. The theatrical component and the vocation for dramatisation of the football show exalts the need for identity, to identify oneself in a common sentiment and sense of belonging. The sense of belonging to a community, united by a common destiny, is created when the community acts out a conflict with another, the ritualistic representation of the friend-enemy opposition (the football match and its viewing are suitable, weekly examples). This characteristic, the idea of common destiny, the territorialisation (one's own side of the field in the football example) and the

⁵ Old glory and local activists. Idolizing the deceased always present in the football world.

⁶ Int. n° 1.

evoking of myths (the home team) constitute the bonds of a community. Football speaks an universal language that establishes a contact with the world while emphasising local identity.

The Sunday match is a sort of adhesion to a collective faith, an affirmation of territorial identity, evoked by a strong community sense perpetuated by the team with a strong territorial component. The football players/heroes are expected to exalt the qualities and values of the group. Admiring them, we admire ourselves. There is a total identification with the team, symbol of a collective model and territorial style. The performance of the team must conform to the local spirit in order to confirm the image that the collectivity has of itself, stereotyped and rooted in time which it wants to transmit to others. The style of a team is a part of the way of thinking. It is an indicator of the cultural transformations and behavioral codes over the course of time, of a collective mindset that holds the worldview of the community. It transfers the ideals of collective organisation to the management of the sporting association. The CVNCB team is a metaphor of the collective universe, a family.

Football, less moralistic than other sports, is in tune with the common popular sense and permits craftiness, seeing it as a quality of play. The development of a match represents the uncertain destiny of men, the alternating of victories and defeats reflects the individual and collective conditions. The matches (or championships) as a metaphor of the stages of life, exalt equal opportunities, universal competition and personal merit. It reveals the factors that determine success in society. It also proposes a variety of interpretations and acceptance of defeats thanks to the ever-present uncertainties (referees' decisions). Man sees himself and his universe in football.

The capacity of football to create a neighbourhood identity has made the local team a powerful catalyst of participatory demand and will stimulating the collective conscience.

Football represents local pride very well and seems to be the only force capable of mobilising everyone. The festivals (organised yearly by the ONLUS Association to find the funds for football field construction) are privileged moments of affirmation for the community and local cultural tradition. They ensure the continuity of the collective conscience in affirming that everyone is a part of the same group. It is the demonstration of the appropriation of space as community belonging the team as a symbol of renewed neighbourhood vigor (space for family too). It is the community celebration, local team as a revenge for neighbourhood.

Football is a collective passion and a psychological merger (and material merger. This is an old football, where the symbolic limit that separates the football world other to the ordinary spectators it is still crossing) between athletes and the public and it makes to perceive the body Player's as a collective body.

The body is between nature and culture, individual and society. The body is personal and how we represent it contributes to the construction of our identity. It is the individuality place but it has also a social control. Through the body in action and its history it is possible to understand the humanity history. The body is a social construct. The manly qualities exhibition during the matches makes the matches a kind of sexual parade, where men contemplate themselves and they boast and measure their abilities.

Football on the field

“Think of a camera as a machine that records and communicates much as a typewriter does. People use typewriters to do a million different jobs: to write ad copy designed to sell goods, to write newspaper stories, short stories, instruction booklets, lyric poems, biographies and autobiographies, history, scientific papers, letters. The neutral typewriter will do any of these things as well as the skill of its user permits. Because of the persistent myth that the camera simply records whatever is in front of it (about which I will say more below), people often fail to realize that the camera is equally at the disposal of a skilled practitioner and can do any of the above things, in its own way. Photographers have done all of the things suggested above, often in explicit analogue with the verbal model”. [Becker 1974, p. 3]



Figure 3. Casal Bernocchi day

The game of soccer is a predominantly visual event. Video and images are survey instruments and they suite perfectly to tell this story and this reality.

“Among the 5 senses, eye is the only one who has sociological function” [Simmel 1908].

The body is a visual indicator that allows symbolic recognition and identification. Analyzing it through selected images according to the working hypothesis, it becomes a social construction. This construction is generated by collective and representations meanings. To understand the representations that the images evoke and that they construct the public imaginary, I prefer to use the visual method. But the use of images to be defined as sociological use we need translating the sociological concepts in pictures, photos or video.

Eye recognizing the world, as different from itself, permits to build cultural identity, sense of social belonging and to express its own subjectivity.

The observation is a primary cognitive activity to develop knowledge: I live in Casal Bernocchi, the neighbourhood where I am doing my investigation, so I can do the participant observation (a survey method) daily. It is an inquiry procedure enlightening the relationship between observers and observed, it is a privileged moment and it consents a more internal knowledge about the studied subject, main objective to observe the studied subject, to gather all its aspects, to be in contact with it. The objective events are not important, but the meanings assigned to them.

“Photography has not credibility from its analogy with the real, but from its use for social purposes considered objective” [Benjamin 1936].

The photography – a communication form with informative, documentary and descriptive functions – is a cultural product and selective act for interpretation and not exact reality replica. The photography, source of not verbal/figurate information, has twofold nature: reproduction and expression.

“Human reality, it can not be in the photo, but in the photographer intentions” [Ferrarotti 1974, p. 46].

“To interpret an iconic document it doesn’t need to pass through a code” [Barthes 1980, p. 18], in fact photos are cultural products and their meanings depends on context. The images are polysemic and generate different meanings that depend on subjective experienced, cultural rules (about photographed subject and observer) and technical characteristics.

Visual Sociology is a visual experience with a social dimension oriented method. Main aims are to understand the analyzed object in all its aspects, with its point of view and deepening its social meaning.

Visual Sociology works *with* photos (the production or the use of images as data to analyse the information or as instruments to collect it) and *on* photos. In this case it is interesting to consider the second option that is how subjects can communicate through images and their functions in the society. To analyze data (visual) product in a culture, the study object is visual communication with two methodological areas: interpretation (with three fields: two-dimensional data – publicity regarding sport events and fixed feast; visual experienced data – do-

mestic and public spaces like playground or the public square; visual living data – body and the concept of self-presentation) and the explanation. To be a sociological image and have scientific legitimacy, the photography must respect two essential requirements: validity and reliability [in: Mattioli 2007, pp. 75–84]. The sociologists view is always led by theoretical hypothesis.

In order to reassume, Visual Sociology is recording, analysis and communication of social life with pictures, photos, and video.

Advantages	Recommendations
Ability to isolate sectors of reality, which offer themselves to successive and more detailed observations	Accompanying photos with others representing the context
Summary capacity Great usability	Time and place annotation (Complementarity: interpreted image, word acquires greater force) and technical specifications (size)

As I said I prefer to use visual method, but I need also to use case study, life stories and biographies to understand well the neighbourhood with its publics and sports activities. Any time if we want to investigate on a visual, we have to know the author's subjectivity. Any author has his/her own subjectivity made by social and cultural influence and it regard also his own culture and world. The football match is a unique and repetitive history (with the same area, time and action) that meets with other individuals and communities stories. I would like to understand the people's emotions, attitudes, ritual dimensions and also their way of joining and the meanings. I can do it through their stories. I want to reconstruct the correlation that we can have between the life stories, social forms, family and professional practices and to analyse the way of involvement. I would like to contextualize social meanings coming from the football (in Casal Bernocchi the individual history crosses with the neighbourhood and team history).

I would like to interpret through the qualitative analysis to give back the actors point of view. The aim is to approach the prospective of studied subject, giving it free expression (oral testimonies).

The survey instrument to use is the focused interview; it focuses the interviewed context; it is centred on person experience in the situation that has been studied (research of background); it is circumscribed to precise theme in connection with hypothesis research to deal with characterized topics (outline).

Focused interview has four principles:

- Spontaneous answers, not induced by structured questions;
- To motivate concrete and not generic answers;
- To analyze subject experiences;
- To come out personal value to define the meaning of experiences and to understand the personal context.

Interlocutors: privileged subjects, for their position in the object study.

Transcription: literal.

Thematic analysis: decomposition of reference topics and to compare them (*trasversalizzazione*) to support the theory.

“...make boys not to be alone, give to everyone the possibility to practice sport... this is our social question to make community”. [Antonio ‘Tonino’ Di Bisceglia, ONLUS Casal Bernocchi President]

The aim of this project moves from a concept that shows how sport represents a development process for the whole society. This analysis wants to deal with visual data and then use and develop a case study: represent a full picture of what is football, analyzing *sport development process* [Elias, Dunning 1989] of the neighbour.

References

- Barthes R. (2004), *Lo sport e gli uomini [Le sport et l'homme]*, transl. C. Dongiovanni, Einaudi, Torino.
- Becker H. (1974), *Photography and Sociology*, “*Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication*”, vol. 1, p.3.
- Bromberger C. (1999), *La partita di calcio. Etnologia di una passione [Le match de football. Ethnologie d'une passion partisane a Marseille, Naples et Turin]*, transl. A. Deidda, Editori Riuniti, Roma.
- Dal Lago A. (1992), *Descrizione di una battaglia. I rituali del calcio*, Il Mulino, Bologna.
- Elias N., Dunning E. (1989), *Sport e aggressività. La ricerca di eccitamento nel 'loisir'*, transl. V. Camporesi, Il Mulino, Bologna.
- Ferrarotti F. (1974), *Dal documento alla testimonianza. La fotografia nelle scienze sociali*, Liguori, Napoli.
- Ferrarotti F., Beha O. (1983), *All'ultimo stadio. Una repubblica fondata sul calcio*, Rusconi, Torino.
- Gallino L. (1993), *Dizionario di Sociologia*, TEA, Milano.
- Gasparini W. (2008), *Le sport dans les quartiers. Pratiques sociales et politiques publiques*, PUF, Strasbourg.
- Gianturco G. (2004), *L'intervista qualitativa. Dal discorso al testo scritto*, Guerini, Roma.
- Halbwachs M. (1987), *La memoria collettiva [La mémoire collective]*, transl. P. Jedlowski, Edizioni Unicopli, Milano.
- Huizinga J. (1982), *Homo ludens*, transl. A. Vita, Einaudi, Torino.
- Macioti M.I. (1988), *La disgregazione di una comunità urbana: il caso di Valle Aurelia a Roma*, SIARES, Napoli.
- Mattioli F. (2007), *La sociologia visuale. Che cosa è, come si fa*, Bonanno, Roma.
- Morris D. (1981), *La tribù del calcio [The Soccer Tribe]*, transl. O. Del Buono, Mondadori, Milano.
- Porro N. (2001), *Lineamenti di sociologia dello sport*, Carocci, Roma.
- Porro N. (2008), *Sociologia del calcio*, Carocci, Roma.
- Roversi A. (1992), *Calcio, tifo e violenza. Il teppismo calcistico in Italia*, Il Mulino, Torino.
- Triani G. (1990), *Mal di stadio*, Edizioni Associate, Roma.
- www.casalbernocchi.com
- www.eass-sportsociology.eu

Key words: *sport, identity, social research*

Part 4

Kazimierz Obodyński, Wojciech J. Cynarski

Faculty of Physical Education, University of Rzeszów, Poland

CONFERENCES OF EASS – PHOTOGRAPHIC RECORDS AND COMMENTS

The aim of this publication is showing photographic records and also some comments about **five eass conferences: Vienna – Rzeszów – Jyväskylä – Münster – Bled**. The authors of the album were participants of all these interesting scientific events and wish to present this photographic document, made by Kazimierz Obodyński. It is a record of the excellent development of the sport sociology in Europe, and for memory of people doing it too.

European Association for Sociology of Sport (eass) was created by the representatives of social sciences and in particular of sport sociology from Central Europe in Vienna in 2001. So far there have been five congresses and scientific conferences of this organization – in Vienna (2002), Rzeszów and Łańcut (2004), Jyväskylä (2006), Münster (2007), Bled (2008) and in Rome (2009). From the perspective of Poland and Rzeszów we present photographs and memories of the events. The photos are taken by Kazimierz Obodyński (2001–2006 and 2008), and Giulio Bizzaglia (2009). Unfortunately the pictures from the organizers from the University of Münster (2007) have not been delivered to the editors of the book.

I. Establishing and activity of eass

As Lenartowicz writes the sport sociologists from Europe had been observing and sensing marginalization of the role of European sport sociology in *International Sociology of Sport Association* (ISSA) and dominant in this organization position of American-English and Asian sociology for some time. This phenomenon was directly connected with little acceptance and interest in social problems of sport in Europe in ISSA as well as with concentrating attention on scientific issues and research approaches distant from European sociologists. It resulted in the fact that the number of publications from Europe in ISSA quarterly „International Review for the Sociology of Sport” (IRSS) was drastically limited and that European representation (except for Great Britain) in the author-

ities of his organization was very small. It was perceived very negatively due to European roots of this association [Lenartowicz 2001]. A very important role in constituting this organization and in strengthening its position and prestige was played by Polish sport sociologists – Professors Andrzej Wohl and Zbigniew Krawczyk [Obodyński, Cynarski 2000; Obodyński 2001]. IRSS had been published in Warsaw under the guidance of A. Wohl for many years. Unfortunately, Polish input into sport sociology was not always noticed and appreciated [Cynarski 2001].

As a result of these conditions on Professor Otmar Weiss's initiative a meeting of the elite of European sport sociologists and representatives of humanist approach in studies on physical culture took place, which "aimed at creating an organization of sport sociology representing interests of sociologists from Europe. The participants of the meeting were Georg Anders from Germany, Mait Arvisto from Estonia, Gyongyi Szabo-Földesi from Hungary, Jerzy Kosiewicz, Zbigniew Krawczyk, Michał Lenartowicz from Poland (Academy of Physical Education in Warsaw), Joachim Mrazek from Germany and the host Otmar Weiss from Vienna. The program of the meeting included discussing the general situation of European sport sociology as well as the conditions of ISSA functioning, discussion on formal bases for functioning of the future European Association of Sport Sociology (statute, board, membership), the issue of publishing the association's magazine and the first congress of the association" [Lenartowicz 2001].

The name for the association *European Association for Sociology of Sport* was accepted. The establishing board was elected which included Otmar Weiss – president, Jerzy Kosiewicz – vice-president, Georg Anders – general secretary. Members-founders were all participants of the Vienna meeting. The task of the board established for the period of two years was to work on constituting development of EASS, creating first official versions of the statute and cooperation with other organizations associating sport sociologists (mainly ISSA). Publishing the EASS magazine entitled „Sport and Society. Journal of EASS” was decided on. This widely formulated title of this new periodical was to attract not only sport sociologists but also European (as well as those from outside Europe) representatives of other social sciences whose scientific interest is focused on sport or physical culture. It was decided that the first EASS conference would take place in Vienna in May-June 2002. Its main subject would be European integration and sport and participation in the congress would be connected with joining EASS and formal elections of the association authorities, accepting the statute etc.

It is very important to stress that the initiative of creating EASS was supported by the majority of best-known European sport sociologists including not present at the meeting in Vienna K. Heineman from Germany, N. Puig from Spain and P. Vuolle from Finland. The new association also intended to cooperate closely with ISSA (Members of which are most present in Vienna founders of EASS) which in its statute (Article 2, point 2.8) encourages and is supposed

to support establishment of regional organizations of sport sociologists representing regional or local interests better [Lenartowicz 2001]. Attention was drawn to the fact that the new organization would allow to continue and develop beautiful traditions of European sport sociology being at the same time another link in European integration and a forum for presenting social studies on sport.

As it results from the statute, the aim of EASS is “promotion of social sciences and social studies on sport at European level”. ‘Sport’ means here all forms of human movement done for physical fitness or mental well-being, for social purposes or sporting results at all levels (Article 1, point 1.1 [*Statutes...*]). It is an excellent solution that the formula of EASS is not limited to sociologists but accepts a wider context of humanist and social sciences referring to physical culture. Thus, the association also gathers sociologizing representatives of physical culture sciences, high class pedagogues of physical education (like A. Pawlucky), representatives of sport philosophy (J. Kosiewicz), theoreticians and practitioners of physical education and sport [Cynarski, Obodyński 2003a, 2007].

Since 2006 the EASS conferences have been organized every year.

II. 1st Conference: “European Integration and Sport” – in Vienna, 30.05.–2.06.2000

The first conference of EASS was held in Vienna from 30 May to 2 June 2002 and its motto was “European Integration and Sport”. According to the EASS bulletin the organisers’ intention was to initiate a discussion on the formation of a new social structure in Europe and on the way in which sport, subject to changes in ethics, politics, economics, organisation and legislation can still play its role in our integrational endeavours through its communicative potential.

The participants stayed at the hotel of the castle ‘Schloss Wilhelminenberg’, towering over the capital of Austria, so from the balcony they could admire the city’s panorama. The Polish representation made the biggest group (12 people in the total of about 60 participants of the Congress) [Cynarski, Obodyński 2003a].

Besides the registration and accommodation of the participants, 30 May saw the opening ceremony of the Congress. The ceremony was presided by Professor Wolfgang Schulz. Successive speakers were O. Weiss (President of EASS), W. Greisenegger (Dean of the faculty of Human and Social Sciences, University of Vienna), representatives of the Austrian Ministry of Public Services and Sport as well as Education, Science, and Culture. An artistic gymnastic performance, prepared by Professor S. Munzar, was presented by students from the Department of Sport Science, University of Vienna. Then the key introductory lecture on “Social integration and sport – a European perspective” was given by Professor K. Heinemann, University of Hamburg.

On Friday 31 May the first session was conducted by Professor Zbigniew Krawczyk accompanied by Professor G. Szabo-Földesi from Hungary. M. Arvisto (Estonia) read a paper "On the way to the European sport family". The following two papers (second and third paper) were read by 'trio' J. Mrazek (Germany), I. Bykovskaya (Russia) and L. Fialova (the Czech Republic) and they dealt with the problems of individualization and identity. After the break Session II was conducted by Professor Andrzej Pawłucki (Academy of Physical Education, Gdańsk) with Professor I. Hartmann-Tews (Germany). S. Marivoet (Portugal) presented her ethical reflections on sport in its political and ideological conditions. She defined sport as a form of homocentric universalism and conducted that it tends from sacrum and 'parasacrum', to a non-sacral form. In his comment, K. Heinemann argued that it is not so much politics but the market that influences the changes in contemporary sport. The connections between 'Sport and sacrum' were further elucidated in a brilliant paper by Z. Krawczyk. Another interesting paper with the former and presenting a deep humanistic reflection (from a philosophical and religious perspective) was given by Jerzy Kosiewicz also from Warsaw Academy of Physical Education: 'The Olympic games from the perspective of the religious and philosophical conception of the body'. In his comment A. Pawłucki asked: "what makes the basis of neolympic axiology, because 'Christian culture' certainly does not?" K. Heinemann's comment on the connection of the philosophy of sport with the process of individualization of the society was described by J. Kosiewicz as a hypothesis of the highest level.

Session III was conducted by Professor J. Kosiewicz with Professor G. Norden (Austria). Particularly interesting was the paper by Mrs A. Eviakova (Slovakia): "Motivation of Slovak Women for Sport Participation", which was about contemporary models of social activities and roles. Session IV, conducted by Dr G. Anders (Germany) and Professor I. Bykhovskaya (Russia) presented other five speakers including two Poles: M. Lenartowicz and S. Wanat (Warsaw Academy of Physical Education). The former compared the participation in mass sports among Polish and Dutch people and the latter presented young people's opinions on violence – the results of his investigations. J. Hartmann-Tews discussed the problem of female inclusion in sports and the so-called 'gender problem' in connection with record-seeking. Female football in Austria was discussed by M. Marschik who pointed to the 'feminisation of sport' and the presence of 10–15% of women among hooligan groups.

In the evening the participants of the Congress went to the Volksoper to see and hear Johann Strauss's operetta 'Die Fledermaus' ('The Bat') and at 23.15 there was a meeting of EASS VIPs, a conference on further activities of this vigorously developing association. Present were the members of the board and invited guests. Altogether as many as five people from Poland took part in the meeting: Z. Krawczyk, J. Kosiewicz, K. Obodyński, M. Lenartowicz and W. J. Cynarski.

Professor Obodyński declared his readiness to organize the Second Conference of EASS in Rzeszów and Łańcut. Some other countries were also willing to organize the conference but Professor Obodyński's motion, decidedly backed by the board's deputy president Professor Kosiewicz, was accepted by the Board. And two years later 3rd conference should be organized in Jyväskylä (Finland).

On Saturday 1 June the first session was conducted by Professors Nuria Puig (Spain) and Kurt Weiss (Germany). Two Polish participants, both from Warsaw Academy of Physical Education, read their papers. A. Smoleń analysed the significance of the rules of participation and sports competitions in the context of European integration. J. Mosz took up the problem of sports esthetics, the question of whether it is a description of reality. Besides the aesthetics of beauty, very important in sport is the dimension of expression and dramatism. Sport is an example of the esthetics of reality in which a significant role is played by the spectator values, first of all dramatism.

In the other session of the day (session VI) there were three papers by Polish authors. Joanna Femiak (Warsaw Academy of Physical Education) presented the text "PE teacher's role in educating for the future". The new paradigm of physical education makes the teachers responsible for "health education, integrated psychophysical development (of the pupils), in the programmes of PE teachers 'training it is necessary to make use of methods and achievements of somatotherapy. It cannot be expected that the future teachers will be capable conscious cooperation with their own organisms (bodies) and of transmitting the capability (to others), if the only guarantee is their own interest in sports'. In her paper J. Femiak referred to the ideas of holistic pedagogy formulated by Professor A. Szyszko-Bohusz. Andrzej Pawlucki (Gdańsk Academy of Physical Education) explained 'the sense of sport and the nonsense of a single performance as texts of educational interpretation'. In his opinion, extreme sports are characterized by hyperemotionality and sense deficiency (i.e. nonsense), as well as 'body symbolism', Icarism, and 'limited consciousness level of a contemporary neobarbarian'. They are a fragment of low mass culture and forgery of values. Only authentic value makes human activities sensible. In turn, W.J. Cynarski and K. Obodyński (Rzeszów University) presented the problem 'Modern sociology and philosophy of sport in relation to the socio-cultural problems of Far-Eastern methods of fighting (martial arts) in the light of Polish and German language literature published between 1995 and 2001'. The paper was a fragment of a longer work, which appeared in the EASS monograph [Cynarski, Obodyński 2004a]. The problems connected with this field has, so far, been little known and not adequately dealt with in the literature. This session was conducted by Professor S. Marivoet (Portugal) and Dr O. Penz (Austria).

Session VII, presided over by Professors M. Arvisto (Estonia) and D. Jütting (Germany) contained the final four papers. The most interesting of them,

although controversial, seems to have been the paper presented by Professor O. Weiss on the socio-economic accounts of expenditure and costs of sport (in financial and health terms). The sociologist from Vienna argues that the result is favourable for sport. The topic of the panel discussion which followed was: "European integration: consequences for sport and sport science". The discussion was conducted by J. Mrazek (Germany) and Ch. Pigeassou (France). Around the table sat G. Anders (Germany), R. Leber (Austria), J. Andreau (Representative of the European Commission) and Ch. Prets (Member of the European Parliament). It is a pity there were no Polish experts among them. There was a lot of discussion on doping (use of steroids) – strangely enough the topic did not appear in the session papers.

Summing up, the Congress was a very successful event both in terms of research work and in its integrational function for the circle of sociological investigators of sport and physical culture. Among the numerous representatives of European countries (N.B. even Japan was represented at the Congress) the group of Polish researchers, Professor Krawczyk's students, was very strongly marked. The survey of the current output of the European sociologists of sport, members of EASS was very interesting. In spite of the absence of British sociologists the language of the Congress was, of course, English. Furthermore, the Congress was perfectly organized by Professor O. Weiss and his co-workers from the Institute of Sport, University of Vienna.

All participants of the congress in Vienna gained membership in EASS. In particular three eminent sport sociologists, Z. Krawczyk, K. Heinemann and M. Arvisto were nominated for honorary membership in this organization. Also in that year the first issue of *Sport and Society Journal of EASS* was to be published whose editor was to be K.H. Bette (Germany) but in fact was D.H. Jütting (Germany).

III. 2nd Conference: "Sport Involvement in a Changing Europe" – in Rzeszów / Łańcut, 27–30.05.2004

Sport sociology being a subfield of cultural sociology has been developing very dynamically in recent years. In Poland the Department of Social Sciences of Academy of Physical Education in Warsaw plays a leading role, with which the Faculty of Physical Education of the Rzeszów University closely cooperates. The effect of activities undertaken by associated in EASS sociologists as well as philosophers and pedagogues of physical culture was organized in Rzeszów and Łańcut second international conference of this association. This conference was preceded by few meetings, consultations and symposias with the EASS authorities.

Official opening of the scientific conference entitled *Sport Involvement in a Changing Europe* took place in the Potocki Palace in Łańcut on 27th May. The opening ceremony was conducted by the general secretary of eass dr Georg Anders (Germany). The president of eass Professor Otmar Weiss (Austria) gave praising speech presenting the figure and exquisite achievements of Professor Z. Krawczyk (WSE, Warsaw). Weiss drew attention to the significant position of Poles in European sociology of sport. This fact was confirmed by the nomination of Professor Krawczyk to be the first Honorary Member of eass in the history of this organization. Zbigniew Krawczyk was presented with a proper diploma with number 1. Next the founder of Polish school of sport sociology gave the first plenary lecture entitled *Sport in Changing Europe* opening conference sessions.

The participants spent the second day in Rzeszów – mainly in rooms of the Institute of Sociology of the Rzeszów University on 12 session conducted on 12 parallel thematic sections. Session 1 was devoted to, generally speaking, sport philosophy. The Chairs of this session were Professor S. Kowalczyk (Catholic University of Lublin) and Professor R.M. Kalina (Academy of Physical Education, Warsaw). The group from Warsaw was represented during this session by three speakers, Professor Jerzy Kosiewicz, the vice-president of eass, dr J. Mosz and dr P. Rymarczyk. Kosiewicz began the session with a great presentation on relations between sport anthropology and social philosophy. Kowalczyk discussed main directions of sport philosophy according to his own very accurate classification. Due to the absence of W. Lukiewicz (Belarus) dr W. Sikorski (Łódź, Poland) gave his presentation discussing the issue of connections between sport and problems of fitness and health. In discussion multishape and diversified (also in axiological terms) character of contemporary sport and relations between sport and media and advertising industry were emphasized.

The second round of scientific investigation concerned the connections of sport and tourism with cultural tradition. For session 6 Professor Kazimierz Obodyński and dr Bernd Schulze (Germany) were appointed for the Chairs. Schulze devoted his presentation to the work of volunteers in football clubs. Professor M. Ponczek (Academy of Physical Education Katowice) and dr J. Chelmecki (Warsaw) presented interesting works on the history of physical education. W.J. Cynarski presented a speech on ‘the tourist ways’ of European sports people. In the discussion W. Sikorski made a very important remark on experiences of Polish judokas in confrontation with the Japanese and their culture in the cradle of judo – the Kodokan Institute in Tokyo.

The 8th session devoted to the issue of aggression and violence in sport was conducted by Professors J. Masłowski (Gdańsk) and H. Itkonen (Jyväskylä, Finland). The presentation of Itkonen *Sport, social control, ethics* started lively discussion. Among others Sikorski indicated a very significant perfectionist motivation in sport. In the second presentation by Janusz Masłowski, Marcin

Wojtczak and Joel Muianga it was proven on the ground of conducted research that in over 90% of cases aggression in sport is caused by the will to answer opponent's aggression. Among contact sports Masłowski mentioned football (the largest number of injuries), boxing, karate.... In turn it results from the research conducted by Cynarski and Obodyński [2003b] that forceful and contact combat sports may increase aggression in practitioners whereas non-contact sports and non-competitive martial arts develop self-control better – they are more about widely understood perfectionism.

The most successful session was probably the one on cultural dialogues realized in sport led by Professor S. Tokarski and dr Attila Borbély (Hungary). It was opened by S. Tokarski with a lecture on westernization, easternization and extremization of sport. Part of the presentation concerned combat sports, part – extreme sports. According to Sikorski so-called extreme sports are a form of recreation, according to Professor Pawłucki – an Icarian absurd. Andrzej Pawłucki (Gdańsk) devoted his speech to the problem of 'asianization' of physical culture. Borbély discussed the process of changing social status of martial arts in Hungary. The last presentation in this session concerning the ethos of martial arts and battle films at the beginning of 21st century was delivered by W.J. Cynarski [Cynarski, Obodyński 2004b]. Does not the popularity of screen heroes result from the need for the ethos of honour, bravery and nobility in contemporary commercialized world?

The Chairs for the remaining sessions were: Professor M. Arvisto (Estonia), Professor P. Vuolle (Finland), Professor K. Suomi (Finland), dr K. Zieliński (Warsaw), Professor K. Green (UK), Professor A. Pawłucki (Gdańsk), dr S. Smoleń (Warsaw), Professor M. Doupona Topič (Slovenia), dr M. Lenartowicz (Warsaw), dr L. Fialova (Czech), Professor A. Husting (UK), Professor D. Jütting (Germany) and Professor W. Otrębski (Lublin). The topics of the sessions concerned, among others, participation in sport in particular European countries, physical culture of women, projects of European research and teaching sport sociology.

On 29th May three consecutive plenary session took place in the castle in Łańcut. Dr J. Mrazek (Germany) was the Chair for the first session during which M. Fonteneau, a representative of EU from Brussels made his appearance. In the presentation *Uniting Europe and sport* formal legal regulations were described in particular as well as a French project of sport promotion. The second session was under the guidance of Professor Kosiewicz who presented an eminent speaker – Professor Gyöngyi Szabó Földesi (Hungary). Ms. Szabó Földesi presented a very interesting lecture on *Tourism and sport for all: new challenges, new strategies*. The president for the third session was Professor Krawczyk and the author of a lecture was Professor Kari Fasting (Norway). This presentation was devoted to the problem of a very fashionable (and politically correct) 'gender' tendency in sociological studies on sport. Certain theses of the lecturer started controversies, provoked questions and discussion.

As a result of two-year preparations European congress and conference took place – a scientific meeting of the best specialists from Poland and distinguished sport sociologists from Europe. Guests from abroad who arrived from many countries (from Estonia to Dutch Antilles) had an opportunity to present the results of their research and exchange views in numerous discussions. Over 60 presentations were delivered. Among materials received by the participants there was a publication of “Proceedings” type [Cynarski, Kosiewicz, Obodyński 2004], a copy of „European Journal of Sport and Society” and published in Rzeszów the book [Kosiewicz, Obodyński 2003] with the results of the first stage of international research. Notabene later three consecutive collective monographic works were published in Rzeszów.

The participants received certificates of participation handed out by J. Kosiewicz, K. Obodyński and O. Weiss. During the closing ceremony they were thanked with emphasis on the high scientific level of presented content and also gratitude to organizers – especially Obodyński and Kosiewicz – was expressed. Professor Weiss stressed the importance of the conference of its meaning for the Rzeszów academic center and Professor Kosiewicz drew attention to the international cultural dialogue as an important area of EASS activity.

The fact that the conference gained high evaluation in the scientific environment is very pleasing [Bomirska 2005; Cynarski 2005].

IV. 3rd Conference: “The Changing Role of Public, Civic and Private Sectors in the Sport Culture” – in Jyväskylä, 2–5.07.2006

The leading thought of the conference organized by the Finnish was *The Changing Role of Public, Civic and Private Sectors in the Sport Culture*. That was also the title of the conference publication [Itkonen, McEvoy 2006]. The president of the Scientific Committee of the conference was Hannu Itkonen. This committee included seven Fins, the eass president O. Weiss (Austria), vice-president – J. Kosiewicz (Poland), general secretary G. Anders (Germany) and H. Eichberg (Denmark) and K. Fasting (Norway). 120 presentations were planned in the following thematic sections, *Sport and Society*; *Sport, Education and Social Policy*; *Sport Body and Ethics*; *Sport, International Co-operation and Tolerance*. Organizers indicated the main aim to be discussed and exchanging experiences and new ideas in the field of sport sociology.

On 2nd July 2006 the participants arriving at the congress took place in the afternoon shows and recreational activities entitled “The Finnish sport”. First of all the participants were supposed to register and check in.

On the next day at 10 o'clock the Opening Ceremony began. The chief organizer Professor Hannu Itkonen officially opened the conference welcoming the arrived participants from Europe and outside the continent (India, Israel, Japan, Taiwan). The eass president Otmar Weiss honoured Professor Mait Arvisto from Tallinn with the title of an honorary member of eass. The diploma number 2 for the absent due to illness sociologist from Estonia was collected by Professor Pauli Vuolle who is his close co-worker.

The proceedings planned for 3rd July were entitled "Sport and Society". The presentations by G. S. Földesi (Budapest, Hungary) concerning changes in particular sections of sport in Hungary as well as the one by J. Żyśko (Warsaw) discussing similar problems in reference to Poland and the United Kingdom were very interesting. In the session led by Ves Puuronen (Finland) the paper by K. Obodyński and W. J. Cynarski (Rzeszów, Poland) about the barriers of development of Asian martial arts in Poland was presented. The presentation caused great interest and provoked content-related discussion.

On Tuesday 4th July J. Kosiewicz (Warsaw) presented a very important for the sport sciences study entitled *Sport from Anthropological, Social, Methodological and Axiological Perspectives*. A. Pawłucki devoted his presentation to the subject of Olympic education. Those were ones of not very numerous papers related to higher levels of abstraction and generalization. Moreover, among others, J. J. Feng (Taiwan) talked about the professional career of Chinese sports people, M. Dupona Topić (Slovenia) about identification of the Slovenians with their sports representatives and building Slovenian national identity, and J. Kokkonen (Finland) – about nation-creating values of sport on the example of Finland.

Among the invited lecturers the presentation by Henning Eichberg deserves special attention. The Danish researcher analyzed ethical challenges of popular games, the fields of dominating rivalry in the sphere of movement culture and the problems of the fields of seriousness and laughter as well as ideological connections of sports culture. He was against political correctness and trialectics of social spheres (freedom, equality, solidarity). He indicated that doping in sport which results from the principle of freedom and equality is absurd. Generally, according to Eichberg the sphere of human motion (recreational) activity "is not serious". He doubted whether sport should be interpreted in any symbolic way. Thus, his views caused the discussion. Andrzej Pawłucki asked about the moral sense of winning in sport. He drew attention to the fact that "sport is not Colloseum" because one must not lose the axiotic sphere of this field of culture and the very personal human being.

On the next day also Irina Bykhovskaya (Russia) discussed the problem of the influence of dominant ideology on sport. While analyzing the issue of tolerance and its limits, she concluded that "Not always and not everywhere tolerance is a good thing". It also concerned relations to various traditions and values

of East and West. The researcher from Moscow thinks that “A given culture may be understood only in the context of other cultures”.

One of sport pathologies, which is making it a political tool, was discussed by Satoshi Shimizu (Tsukuba, Japan). He denied the views of Huizinga and Callois claiming that sport is “beyond everyday life”. He documented strong relations of sport with nationalism, capitalism, current and historical events. The reality of sport is more connected with economy and politics than with the sphere of *sacrum* and higher values.

On 4th July also the Board Meeting of eass took place which was devoted to changes in the charter, the election of new authorities and planning further actions of the association. The leader of the meeting O. Weiss stated progressing development of sociology of sport in Europe. Georg Anders (Germany) was chosen the president-elect, J. Mrazek (Germany) – the general secretary, the members of the new board became M. Dupona Topic (Slovenia), H. Itkonen (Finland), I. Bykhovskaya (Russia) and A. Pawłucki (Poland).

The closing of the conference took place in the evening on 5th July in the city hall and in the city theatre. The organizers were thanked with commemorating gadgets. Moreover, Weiss as the leader of eass thanked K. Obodyński and J. Kosiewicz (a commemorating plate and a diploma) as the representatives of the Rzeszów University for organizing the second conference.

Organized by the Finnish the conference presented a high content level and was well-organized. Also the aim of the conference was achieved. The Polish constituted the most numerous group, apart from the Finnish, of active participants of the conference. There were 11 people representing universities and faculties of physical education from Warsaw (2), Gdańsk (2), Poznań (2) and Rzeszów (5).

The next congresses and conferences were planned in Münster from 31.05 to 3.06.2007, in Slovenia (2008) and in Italy (2009). Thus the two-year cycle has been changed to annual one. It may be a result of development of eass and the sociology of sport itself [Cynarski 2007].

V. About the local, not only European sport – 4th EASS Conference in Münster¹

In Münster – not big, charming, university town of Westphalia – took place already 4th European Association for Sociology of Sport (eass) Conference. In

¹ The work [Cynarski 2008] was realized within the framework of the subject of statutory research: “Cultural dialogue in selected areas of psychophysical activity” of Prof. Dr. Wojciech J. Cynarski and the own research of him: “Contemporary problems of sociology of physical culture” (Faculty of Physical Education, University of Rzeszów).

this year the main thematic motif was "Local Sport in Europe". However, a great number of participants from over 40 countries of the world decided that the conference deliberations concerned not only the European sport, but also the problems occurring in two Americas or in Asia and Australia.

The organizer of the Conference was (institutionally) Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster, Fachbereich Psychologie und Sportwissenschaft, Institut für Sportkultur und Weiterbildung and eass. The enterprise was patronized by the magazine "European Journal for Sport and Society" (EJSS, official magazine of eass) published here, whose editor-in-chief is Dieter H. Jütting. Prof. Jütting – head of the Institute mentioned above – was also a member of Scientific Committee and the leader of Organizational Committee of the Conference.

The aim of the conference was the reflection on local sport activity. The organizers of this conference wrote in "Scientific Programme": "The aim of the conference is to offer a forum for scientists, scholars and researchers involved and interested in the sociology of sport at local, national and European level. The conference will deal with the peculiarities, differences and similarities of local sport in Europe considering various aspects and applying a multitude of approaches" [www.eass2007.de].

The programme anticipated 4-day deliberations on 31st May – 3rd June 2007. The place for deliberations was the building Stadtweinhaus in the centre of the town. In total there were planned 4 key lectures, presentation of 150 submitted papers in 32 thematic sessions and the panel discussion.

Scientific programme of the Conference

After the official opening done by the president of the association Otmar Weiss, deliberations were begun by the lecture of Gertruda Pfister (chairwoman of ISSA). The author compared the functioning of the European sport (on the example of Denmark) and the American sport (USA) in it.

On the second day the key paper "Local sport activity and sport facilities" was presented by Horst Hübner. Then it was necessary to choose between parallel sessions and most interesting subjects. It was enabled by the stiff, minute programme of presentations of papers, observed by the majority of lecturers – chairmen of sessions.

Among Parallel Session 1 session B was devoted to the relations "Sport and media". There were 3 presentations here. The paper on symbolism and visualization of physical culture in USSR and present Russia was presented by I. Bykovskaya from Russia. S. Ismer (Germany) was speaking about the media, power and emotions. In turn, K. Wickman from Sweden devoted her text to full-ability and disability in the discourse of sport media. The session was ended by the discussion concerning the substance.

After the break for lunch Andrzej Pawłucki conducted session C on the subject “Top-level sport I”. S. Bergant from Austria presented here the subject of identity and motivation of competitors of this country. The subject of the speech of P. Augestad (Norway) was “The expert’s work of blessing in elite sport”. In turn, M. Lenartowicz (Poland) presented preliminary results of research of the team from Sociology Institute of University of Physical Education in Warsaw concerning socialization and motivation of representatives of Poland from several disciplines. Finally, S. Marivoet (Portugal) presented her sociological reflection after the Portuguese UEFA Euro 2004.

In the third session of that day, session D (“Sport clubs”), planned for hours 16.30–18.00 there were presented all from the five planned papers. Successive interesting speeches were participated by N. Hall (Australia), H. Ebishima (Japan), S. Nagel (Germany), Ch. Stone (UK) and B.J. Pavelko (Finland). There were raised educational and economic dimensions, aspects of transformation and culture of organization in activity of clubs.

Unfortunately, there did not appear Mait Arvisto, anticipated as the author of the speech in the morning plenary session on 2nd June. Deliberations began then in parallel sessions. In session C (“Public sport policy”) presented their works in turn J. Zyśko (Poland), M. Stanek (Czech Republic), R.J. Sonoda (Brasil) and I. Slapickova (Czech Republic). Particularly interesting was the comparison of changes in the sector of sport in Poland and UK showed by Zyśko and the analysis of politics for sport and leisure time in the area of state Paraná – results of research of the Brazilian team.

After the break it was particularly difficult to choose sessions between history of sport (session A), “Top-level sport II” (- B), “Sociology of football” (- C) and “Sport as a social field” (- D). W.J. Cynarski chose the lectures: “A qualitative study into the development of capital in amateur and professional boxing” of John Fulton (UK) from session D, with interesting reflection on the subject *body capital* (Fulton develops Bourdieu’s conception concerning human capital) and “Ages and transformations of sports culture in an industrial town” of H. Itkonen (Finland) and the lecture of some Italian researcher of political barriers of development of the Asiatic martial arts – from session A.

Among the most interesting presentations (assessing subjectively) in the successive series of sessions of this day we can rate: “Doping in recreational sport” of I. Slapickova from the Czech Republic and “Violence in sports” of her native, A. Sekot (session A), and also “Glocalization and de-territorialization: post-territorial sport” of P. Russo (Italy, in session D). Slapickova described the problem on the example of body building. Sekot showed the image of contemporary sport with its immanent aggression and violence. Russo in turn assessed contemporary sport from the perspective of the theory of globalization. It is a pity that at the conference there did not appear anticipated by the programme

Nicola Porro from Italy and Marizabel Kowalski from Brazil who were to speak respectively about scandals of football stars and the social *image* of sport body.

Sunday 3 June began with interesting lecture of Fabien Ohl from Lozana (Switzerland) on the subject "Local sport between identity and economy". Particularly interesting was defining economy by the lecturer as the complex of social believes. In this context this author tried also to define "local sport", the notion of identity etc.

While in session A ("Sport and ethics II") there were held lectures by Polish professors Jerzy Kosiewicz (*Aggression behaviour in sport*) and Andrzej Pawłucki (*The sense of the Olympic sport act*), in session C ("Local sport and theory") conducted by John Fulton, there was held a lecture W.J. Cynarski, who presented the paper "The symbolic dimension of Japanese budo" (by W.J. Cynarski and K. Obodyński). The results of research of the Brazilian team were presented here by Ricardo J. Sonoda, who presented the problem "Sport and violence: a study by the figurational theory". In the discussion there were asked numerous questions and there were noted several more interesting opinions – e.g. of H. Ebishima about contemporary political connotations of old symbols coming from the samurai culture.

In parallel the afternoon sessions there were joined – due to the absence of a part of lectures – sessions A and C and sessions B and D. Sessions A-C were conducted by the vice-president of eass J. Kosiewicz. There were presented 3 presentations. Ch. Van Tyckom (Belgium) presented the results of the research which shows that "post-national identity" in Europe is fiction. S. Üstüntaş (Turkey) indicated changes in consumption of free time and activity in this area on the example of one of Turkish provinces. Finally B. Vanreusel (Belgium) presented the participation of sport, on the example of the rally "Ronde van Vlaanderen", in the struggle for national identity and in defence of local community against globalization.

The summary of the scientific programme was the panel discussion on the subject "Local sport in Europe: new challenges – new ethics?". In the discussion conducted by O. Weiss there participated: J. Fischer (Head of the Federal Institute for Sport Science), Dr K. Koukouris (Greece), Prof. M. Krüger (University of Münster), Prof. A. Pawłucki (University of Physical Education and Sport Gdańsk), A. Sekot (the Czech Republic) and W. Stürmann (Head of the Department of Sports in the Ministry of the Interior of North Rhine-Westphalia). There occurred the exchange of opinions and various (sometimes divergent) assessments of contemporary sport.

During the conclusion of the Conference Jerzy Kosiewicz received commemorative plates and honour diplomas for absent professors Zbigniew Krawczyk and Mait Arvisto, honourable members of eass.

Conclusion

In deliberations there participated 130 lecturers, which together with invited guests give the number of 160 participants. Next to the most numerous group of researcher from Germany, Japanese constituted numerous 11-person group. Eight persons represented the environment of Polish humanists of physical culture. Of course, apart from the scientific programme the organizers provided interesting social programme, including, among other things, visiting the open-air ethnographic museum and nice Westphalia Evening.

The participants received, at the moment (there should yet be published a thicker publication of selected, complete texts of papers), *Abstract Book* with short summaries of submitted papers, arranged thematically according to the established programme of the Conference.

For these few days Münster became the European capital of the sociology of sport. One may risk the statement that 4th eass Conference was a “history-making event” of the field which is the sociology of sport. The aims of the conference assumed by the organizers were realized. Congratulations on an organizational skill.

VI. 5th EASS Conference in Bled (Slovenia)

The conference of European Association for Sociology of Sport was held in Bled, Slovenia, from May 22nd to May 24th 2008. That was the fifth conference of the Association and it was on “Sport, Culture and Society”. This general theme of the conference enabled the participants to discuss various topics related to sociology of sport and other related topics. The scientific committee consisted of: Prof. Dr Georg Anders (Germany), Prof. Dr Paul De Knop (Belgium), Prof. Dr Mojca Doupona Topič (Slovenia), Prof. Dr Dieter H. Jütting (Germany), Prof. Dr Jerzy Kosiewicz (Poland), Dr Joachim Mrazek (Germany), Prof. Dr Andrzej Pawlucki (Poland) and Prof. Dr Otmar Weiss (Austria).

The first key lecture “Sport doesn’t just happen: physical activity and cultural production in neoliberal societies” was presented by Prof. Jay Coakley from University of Colorado (in Colorado Springs, the USA). The lecture was partly a criticism of contemporary American society, its mentality and accepted cultural norms. The next two key lectures were given by Prof. Gregor Tomc (University of Ljubljana) and Paul De Knop from Brussels (the rector of Vrije University). Tomc presented his considerations on the nature of sport, while De Knop reflected on the reasons for achievements in Dutch sport and the lack of success in sport in Belgium.

The main subjects of this conference were: sport and the media, reasons for participating in sports, sport and politics – local, national and global, sport and gender, sport from the theoretical perspective, sport and tourism, coaching, sport and ‘citizenship’ and ‘nationality’, sport and health, sports elites, supporters in sport, sport and violence. The theme discussions were held in different rooms.

Apparently, the most popular lectures were about national and cultural provisions for physical culture. The most interesting were the speeches by: Prof. Nicola Porro from Italy (Sports imagery, post modernity and/or hypermodernity), Prof. Maji Milčinski from Slovenia (Self cultivation and the art positive alienation) and Prof. Sergio Raimondo (A physical culture of simultaneity: *tai-jiquan* and *qigong* days). S. Raimondo (University of Cassino) is incidentally an active member of Idokan Poland Association. The work by the authors of this statement, “Global sport and sport for all in cross-cultural dialogue” was also presented in this thematic group.

During the conference the General Assembly and the election of new eass Board took place. Prof. P. De Knop was elected the President and Prof. A. Pawlucki, the only Polish representative in the Board, was elected the Secretary of the Association. Prof. Anders thanked Prof. Otmar Weiss for his work as the President of eass and Prof. Jerzy Kosiewicz for being the Vice President.

Prof. Mojca Doupona Topič, the chief organizer of the conference, was concerned for the high level of papers qualified for the lectures, and she also took care of the cultural setting of this scientific event. During the opening and closing ceremonies, and also at the Castle in Ljubljana, the conference participants had an opportunity to admire dancing, ballet and musical performances. Moreover, the location, which had been carefully chosen, intensified the sensations: a view of a fabulous lake, a Medieval castle on the rocks and a church on a small island. The organizers also arranged a trip to Ljubljana for the conference participants. In Ljubljana they were received by the Rector of the local university Prof. Andrej Kocijančič and the President of the City Zoran Jankowic. The guests visited the old market square, the Museum of Sport and the Museum of Apiculture.

The authors of this statement did more than just admiring the beautiful lake through the window of their hotel room; on the last day they walked around the Bled Lake and climbed up the hill where the Castle of Bled is. They also saw Bled itself (around 5000 residents) which is a popular tourist resort.

The conference was a meaningful scientific event and it was very successful. Eass has already gained international recognition and it is regarded as an important scientific organization. The sociologists who held debates on the shore of the Bled Lake came mostly from different European countries, but also from Brazil, Iran, Japan and the USA. Among the group of 100 participants

there was also a group from Poland. In the group there were six scientists: Prof. Jerzy Kosiewicz and Dr Piotr Rymarczyk (University of Physical Education in Warsaw), Prof. Andrzej Pawłucki and Dr Irena Pawłucka (Academy of Physical Education and Sport in Gdańsk) and the authors of this statement (University of Rzeszów). The discussions were top-level and fruitful. Not only was the conference the opportunity to exchange views and learn about the latest researches, but also to tighten the mutual bonds and determine future scientific and teaching stages of cooperation.

References

- Bomirska L. (2005), *Sports Involvement in a Changing Europe. Zweite Konferenz der European Association for Sociology of Sport (eass) vom 27.–30. Mai 2004 in Rzeszów/Łańcut, Polen*, "Sportwissenschaft. The German Journal of Sport Science", vol. 35, no. 4, pp. 464–467.
- Cynarski W.J. (2001), *O. Weiß's 'Introduction to the Sociology of Sport'*, „International Review for the Sociology of Sport”, vol. 36, no. 1, pp. 102–105.
- Cynarski W.J. (2005), *II Konferencja EASS – Wymagania sportu w zmieniającej się Europie, Rzeszów – Łańcut 27–30 V 2004*, „Polska i jej wschodni sąsiedzi. Studia Wschodnioznawcze”, University of Rzeszów, vol. 6, pp. 326–329.
- Cynarski W.J. (2007), *Changes in Sport Culture. 3rd eass Conference in Jyväskylä*, "Physical Culture and Sport. Studies and Research", vol. 1 (XLV), pp. 349–351.
- Cynarski W.J. (2008), *About the local, not only European sport – 4th eass Conference in Münster*, in manuscript.
- Cynarski W.J., Kosiewicz J., Obodyński K. [eds.] (2004), *Sport Involvement in a Changing Europe. Proceedings of the 2nd Conference of the eass*, Rzeszów, May 27–30.
- Cynarski W.J., Obodyński K. (2003a), *Powstanie i działalność European Association for Sociology of Sport (eass)*, „Przegląd Naukowy Kultury Fizycznej Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego”, vol. 6, no. 3–4, pp. 335–342.
- Cynarski W.J., Obodyński K. (2003b), *Humanistic theory of Far-Eastern martial arts training – introduction into the problem of moral and spiritual dimension* [w:] Starosta W., Osiński W. [red.], *New ideas in sport sciences: current issues and perspectives*, part 2, Warszawa – Poznań – Leszno, pp. 85–88.
- Cynarski W.J., Obodyński K. (2004a), *Modern sociology and sports philosophy in the face of socio-cultural issues of Far Eastern martial arts based on Polish and German papers from the years 1995–2001* [in:] Anders G., Mrazek J., Norden G., Weiss O. [eds.], *European Integration and Sport*, LIT, Münster, pp. 47–60.
- Cynarski W.J., Obodyński K. (2004b), *Ethos of martial arts in the movie at the beginning of the 21st century* [in:] Kosiewicz J., Obodyński K. [eds.], *Sports involvement in changing Europe*, PTNKF, Rzeszów, pp. 136–152.
- Cynarski W.J., Obodyński K. (2007), *Three Conferences EASS: Vienna – Rzeszów – Jyväskylä*, "Physical Culture and Sport. Studies and Research", vol. 1 (XLV), pp. 334–342.
- Cynarski W.J., Raimondo S. (2010), *About the local, not only European sport – 4th EASS Conference in Münster*, „Ido – Ruch dla Kultury / Movement for Culture”, vol. 10, pp. 140–142.

- Itkonen H., McEvoy E. [eds.] (2006), *The Changing Role of Public, Civic and Private Sectors in the Sport Culture*. 3rd eass Conference, 2–5 July 2006, Jyväskylä, Finland. Abstract Book, Jyväskylä.
- Kosiewicz J., Obodyński K. [eds.] (2003), *Sport in the Mirror of the Values*, PTNKF, Rzeszów.
- Lenartowicz M. (2001), *Powstanie Europejskiego Stowarzyszenia Socjologii Sportu (eass)*, „Ido – Ruch dla Kultury / Movement for Culture”, vol. 2, pp. 303–304.
- Obodyński K. (2000), *Zbigniew Krawczyk – wszechstronny humanista: mistrz słowa, wybitny teoretyk i nauczyciel profesorów*, „Ido – Ruch dla Kultury”, vol. 1, pp. 276–277.
- Obodyński K. (2009), *Reflection and photographic records of five eass conferences (from Vienna do Bled)*, „Ido – Ruch dla Kultury / Movement for Culture”, vol. 9, pp. 286–298.
- Obodyński K., Cynarski W.J. (2000), *Profesor zwyczajny dr hab. Zbigniew Krawczyk*, „Przegląd Naukowy Instytutu Wychowania Fizycznego i Zdrowotnego WSP w Rzeszowie”, vol. 4, no. 1–2, pp. 5–6.
- Obodyński K., Cynarski W.J. (2008), *Piąta Konferencja eass*, „Wychowanie Fizyczne i Zdrowotne”, nr 7, s. 45–46.
- Statutes of the European Association for Sociology of Sport (eass)*, windows\temp\EASS_Statutes_1402.doc (Vienna 2002).