Dieter H. Jütting, Bernd Schulze & Ulrike Müller (Eds.)

Local Sport in Europe

Proceedings

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Editorial

From 31 May to 03 June 2007, we had the pleasure to host the 4th eass Conference in Münster, Germany. The title of the conference, “Local Sport in Europe”, was chosen to draw attention to the fact that although national and international aspects of the global sport system have become more important in the past decades, it is still the local level where most of the sporting activities are realized.

The multifaceted programme of the conference consisted of about 130 presentations, and we are glad to have received 40 contributions for the proceedings. The papers cover a great variety of topics that mirror problems and issues of contemporary society, such as violence, racism, gender and health issues, but also current problems of funding and organizational changes in the field of sport.

This volume starts with the papers of the Keynote Speakers, subsequently the papers from the parallel sessions are presented in alphabetical order.

Dieter H. Jütting, Bernd Schulze, Ulrike Müller

Münster, February 2008
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Keynotes
1 Introduction: research profile

I will begin by giving a brief insight into our work at the University of Wuppertal’s research group on local policies for sports development (community sports planning). I will then go on to outline the effects of social change in the area of sports activities and facilities – first in the form of the overall planning concept this entails, and then (in item 3 and 4 on the agenda today) in a more detailed view of our findings on activity levels and facility requirements in various cities and regions throughout Germany.

In the past ten years we have worked together with 20 major and medium-sized cities and small towns, most of them in North Rhine-Westphalia, which is Germany’s most densely populated federal state, but also extending further afield to municipalities in the states of Baden-Württemberg, Hessen, Bremen and Schleswig-Holstein (Braicks & Wulf, 2004; Hübner & Kirschbaum, 2004; Hübner & Wulf, 2004a, 2004b, 2005a, 2005b, 2007). These municipalities need up-to-date empirical data in order to address the question of the number and kind of sports facilities they currently need, and will need in the near future. Our task has been to provide them with such data, reflecting the impact of ongoing social change on the qualitative and quantitative demand for sports activities and facilities.

Figure 1. Research group “Lokal policies on sport development” at the University of Wuppertal
Our work – for example for the city of Bremen (population 540,000) – was completed in 2004 (Hübner & Wulf, 2004a). It comprised

- a representative survey of residents – conducted in Bremen via a telephone questionnaire of some 4000 people;
- a survey of existing sports facilities – over 1400 units were entered onto a database to create a “Sports Atlas of the City of Bremen”;
- a supply and demand balance account for football pitches, tennis courts, gymnasiums and indoor sports halls.

The same basic steps were taken for smaller municipalities like Ahrensburg (population 30,000) on the outskirts of Hamburg (Hübner & Wulf, 2005a). Again a representative survey of residents was performed, followed by a survey of existing sports facilities and a balance sheet expressing the demand, for example, for athletics facilities and hockey pitches.

The issues arising in various types of conurbation are both more complex and more challenging. We are currently advising the three cities of the so-called Bergisch Triangle – Wuppertal, Solingen and Remscheid – which together contain more than 600,000 people in a region noted for its geographical and historical diversity. Each city has been surveyed, with a total of some 27,000 written questionnaires sent out to residents between the age of 10 and 75. Some 1500 separate sports facilities have been identified and their details entered on a database, and a supply and demand account is due to appear in a few months’ time. The final step in the process will be to create a sports facilities development plan for the entire region, based on sound empirical evidence.

Figure 2. Community sports planning in the conurbation “Bergisch Triangle”

With more than 5 million inhabitants, the cluster of adjacent cities along the Ruhr is Germany’s largest metropolitan area. Here, too, we have been working for a number of...
years. Our projects in Mülheim, Bottrop and Herne are now completed, and we are currently acting as consultants to the city of Bochum, with the smaller municipality of Hattingen due to follow towards the end of the year (Hübner & Wulf, 2004b, 2005b, 2007). The entire Ruhr Area has undergone massive demographic change in recent years, and this, along with the changes in the participatory sports landscape, presents municipal and regional authorities with the major task of determining, planning and fulfilling current and future requirements for sports facilities.

In addition to these specific research and consultancy projects, we have undertaken analyses of changes and developments in the sports profile of individual cities. For the city of Münster, for example, we conducted primary research in the form of a longitudinal comparison of sports activities in 1991, 1997 and 2003 (Hübner & Kirschbaum, 2004). This provided an insight into winners and losers in the active sports spectrum across a period of more than ten years.

Finally, individual sports – for example swimming – constitute another focus of our activities. In this specific example a cross-sectional analysis of 10 residents’ questionnaires has provided interesting insights into the spatio-temporal parameters of swimmers, e.g. distances travelled, times and frequency of use (Hübner & Wulf, 2005c).

Our research has always been pursued in cooperation with municipal administrations – in the first instance with their sports departments, but also with statistics and urban development offices. Some 400 German municipal sports departments are linked together in the Working Group of German Sports Administrations (ADS), with which we have been collaborating since the early 1990s. Supported by our own questionnaires, this dialogue has provided valuable information and insights into the changing tasks and structures of sports administration in the Germany of today as it moves into the Germany of tomorrow (Hübner & Voigt, 2004; Voigt, 2006).

2 The issue
Within this framework, the last few years have seen the formation in Germany of a number of university research groups devoted to questions of sports development and the planning of appropriate facilities. Major teams have been working in the south and central regions of the country, some of them establishing centres that operate simultaneously in several cities and municipalities per year (Breuer & Rittner, 2003; Breuer et al., 2004; Eckl & Wetterich, 2005, 2007; Eckl et al., 2005; Führmann et al., 2007; Köhl & Bach, 1998; Rütten, 2002; Rütten et al., 2003; Wetterich et al., 2007; Wetterich & Schrader, 2007; Wopp et al., 2004, 2006).

If we look at the capitals of the sixteen German federal states, we see that there are five in which investigations of this sort are currently in progress – apart from Bremen, where work has already finished and Munich, whose planning project is just going out to tender. Sports department research groups from five different universities are working in these state capitals, in addition to the research projects I mentioned earlier in urban areas such as the Ruhr and the triangle centred on Wuppertal. Other large
conurbations such as the Frankfurt-Mainz-Wiesbaden triangle in central Germany are currently looking at the options for a regionally coordinated sports development plan.

The interest and involvement of university research groups in this field can be seen, broadly speaking, as a response to the impact of social change on the entire spectrum of sports, where it has set in train a dual process of breakdown and modernization (Bette, 1993). The underlying factors here are those of social differentiation on the one hand and individualization on the other. These work in tandem towards the genesis of a highly complex, pluralized and dynamic sports culture that is increasingly difficult to survey. It is so because the panorama of participatory sports has definitively changed, giving rise not only to new activities, facilities and organizational structures, but also to the search for new meanings, new experiences and new fulfilment. It follows inevitably that sports providers must partly offer new products and new premises and facilities (Koch, 1997, 1999).

Let me illustrate the changing face of sports with a historical example. In the days when the coaches of the aristocracy were preceded by a liveried runner, the problems of modern sport did not exist. But already with the very first Olympic Games of modern times – here you see the 100 metre finalists gathered for the start in Athens in 1896 – tracks, fields and arenas had to be standardized to give athletes equal chances. Modern tracks are constructed to DIN norms and offer optimal conditions for those bent on breaking personal and world records. But these are a diminishing group: more and more sport and motion participants have no ambitions at all in this direction. Their interests are in health and personal appearance on the one hand – keeping fit, keeping their body in shape, keeping presentable – and in the social aspects of group activities like hiking or Nordic walking on the other. It is these that now statistically dominate the sport and motion segment.

Over the past two centuries the spread of interest in what are now the established competitive sports brought in its wake a specialist building boom dedicated to creating the functional premises required by this cultural phenomenon:

- open-air and indoor swimming pools took the place of rivers and lakes for swimming;
- playing-fields, pitches and stadiums replaced streets and alleys for football, cricket and similar team games.

As different sports grew in popularity, special spaces were constructed for them, so that we can nowadays distinguish between core facilities covering basic sports requirements and special facilities catering for whatever is the current trend.

In Germany the number of communal facilities has rapidly increased since the early 1960s. Open-air playing-fields and tracks have doubled in number, sports halls have tripled, and indoor swimming pools more than quadrupled. Nationwide, German cities and municipalities can boast more than 60,000 playing-fields, 35,000 halls and almost 7,000 swimming baths and open-air pools: some 100,000 core facilities, in other words, not to mention the 70,000 or more minority sports buildings and, at a conservative estimate, several tens of thousand commercial premises.
The past few decades have seen little change in the structure, plant and equipment of these core facilities, whereas the sports panorama itself has changed drastically. Today the top ten outdoor sport and motion activities in Germany include cycling and inline skating, jogging and Nordic walking, while in the indoor segment fitness training and pro-health gymnastics are taking top positions; the popularity of traditional team sports, on the other hand, is declining. Individually organized sport, with its various forms of exercise, has, in fact, long since overtaken the provision of the clubs that traditionally dominated the German sports scene. I shall go into this in more detail later on (Hübner, 2007).

The change in the profile of participant sport has had profound consequences on the demand for facilities, and many studies show that the traditional fit between supply and demand in this sector no longer holds. Decreasing interest in athletics and tennis, for example, has left us with too many Olympic-style track and field facilities and too many outdoor tennis courts. The demand for smaller sports and fitness halls conveniently close to home, on the other hand, has increased.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Change in the profile of participatory sports</th>
<th>Profound consequences on the demand of local sports facilities</th>
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<td>Traditional fit between supply and demand of sports facilities no longer holds!</td>
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- Too many Olympic-style track and field facilities
- Too many outdoor tennis courts!

| Suggestion | Systematic attention to the dynamics of local sports development: reliable facts of contemporary and future demands gained by empirical investigations |

| Planning and development of sports facilities based on scientific studies |

Figure 3. Local sports development has to be based on scientific studies

However, it is not only the rise and fall in popularity of individual sport types that causes acute problems for everyone involved in sports provision and planning; a
second equally important factor is demographic change. In recent years the impact of
this on the German sports landscape has been dramatic.

We just need to look at three major urban centres in the Ruhr Area, Essen, Bochum and Gelsenkirchen, with their total population of over a million. In 20 years
they will have 26% fewer children and young people than they have today. Even the
18-45 age group will have diminished by almost a fifth. These figures from the North
Rhine-Westphalian State Statistics Office indicate with a high level of reliability a
drastic drop in the young and younger middle-aged population. And what is happening
in Essen, Bochum and Gelsenkirchen repeats itself right across the Ruhr: in this largest
of Germany’s conurbations the statistical profile is similar – Herne minus 21%,
Bottrop minus 20%, Mülheim minus 19%.

The consequences of the demographic change in the conurbation “Ruhrgebiet” are
clear:
– precisely those generations are dwindling that use sports facilities most, and
the facilities themselves will stand increasingly idle;
– revenues will decrease, especially those of public swimming facilities;
– flat-rate sports subsidies paid per head of population in many German federal
states will fall, to the detriment of municipal budgets; and finally
– the question will arise whether a good number of sports facilities already in
urgent need of refurbishment should not be closed altogether.

The situation, I am sure you will agree, is critical, and in order to address it, increased
and systematic attention must be paid to the dynamics of local sports development.
Municipal sports planners, as well as architectural and construction departments and
finance officers, need reliable facts on which to base a prognosis of contemporary and
future demands, and such facts can only be gained by empirical investigation. The
rationale for the scientific study of sports as a social phenomenon is rooted, therefore,
in the behaviour – both objective and subjective – of present-day populations.

In German municipal administrations the provision of sports infrastructure lies
somewhere between the mandatory and the optional, sports administration being
viewed sometimes as a departmental, sometimes as a sub-departmental task (Tokarski
et al., 2006). Despite this vagueness, the awareness of the changing landscape of active
sports and the consequent demand for new facilities has led to the recent compilation
of a set of behaviourally oriented “Guidelines for the Planning and Development of
Sports Infrastructure”. A joint project of federal and state administrations, together
with the municipalities, sports organizations and university sports departments, these
guidelines were issued in 2000 as the fruit of ten years’ intensive work and trials
(Bundesinstitut für Sportwissenschaft, 2000).
Three empirical steps are necessary to determine this behaviour, and with it the present and future fit between supply and demand in the cost-intensive business of providing sports infrastructure, whether on a municipal or a club basis:

– the first step is to ascertain demand for different sport types by means of a residents’ questionnaire to sport activities;
– the second step is to survey existing sports infrastructure and compile a local sports atlas;
– the third step is to draw up a supply and demand balance reflecting existing and – as far as possible – future trends.

These three steps, I would argue, are an indispensable prerequisite for sustained and rational decision-making on the part of state, city and municipal administrations.

3 Method

We come now to the empirical part of my paper. Before we look at existing sports facilities and the question of assessing sports infrastructure requirements, I will present some findings from the most recent nationwide German database. But first a word about our survey methods.

In the past 15 years the Wuppertal research group has conducted 27 residents’ questionnaires on sport and leisure activities (sport and motion) in 20 urban and one rural municipality. Throughout this period a continuous watch was kept on the quality of survey methods and ways of improving them (Kirschbaum, 2003). Here are a few of our parameters:
Local sports activity and sports facilities

– Our sampling focuses as a rule on the 10-70 (or 10-75) age-group as filed in the residential register.
– The sample taken lies between a minimum 1% and a maximum 8% of registered residents.
– For many urban communities a sample weighted by district (or confined to the area under investigation) provides a better picture than simple proportional sampling of all residents, because it takes better account of the specific sports profile and history frequently found in smaller urban units or districts.
– Surveys generally take the form of a 4-page written solo questionnaire entitled “Sports and Active Leisure” – only occasionally have we included this in a multi-topic survey. Most municipal authorities with whom we have worked preferred a written survey because of its greater transparency and equality of chance for respondents, and its lower administrative costs.
– Because of clear seasonal differences in sports behaviour and use of facilities, two separate surveys are made, one for a warm, the other for a cold time of year.
– In order to check the representative quality of the sample in sports behav- iournal studies, local club membership is included in the questionnaire, along with basic demographic information (district, sex, age, nationality, profession, educational qualifications) which is in the most cases available from municipal registration records. In more than half of our surveys this weighting was necessary in order to compensate for over-representation of sports club mem- bers in questionnaire returns.
– In order to ascertain real, rather than socially desirable, behavioural patterns, a preliminary “last four weeks” question is asked. Respondents more accurately remember activities from the time immediately before the survey and are less likely to indulge in wishful thinking.
– A wide pragmatic concept of sport underlies the survey, including not only serious competitive sports but also sport and motion activities in the health and leisure segment that also use local municipal, club, commercial and private infrastructures. A question like “Do you engage in any sports activity?” will fail to reach a wide segment of active residents, and hence of demand, and is therefore no longer adequate to the issues we are investigating.

4 Results

4.1 User behaviour

Now to the results of our surveys. They are the product of 11 studies from the years 2000-2005 and include 7 major cities, whose names – along with details of the sample size – you can see on the slide. The average response rate, after sending a reminder, was just over 40%.
Let me also observe that the number of sports mentioned in the surveys is surprisingly large: respondents in cities of 100,000-200,000 inhabitants may list as many as 70-90 different sports and in larger cities the number may be over 100.

The active sports segment in the 10-75 age-group stands at around 75%, with about a quarter of respondents describing themselves as non-active. On average, respondents name two different sports, and the resultant hit-list shows two sports well ahead of the field: cycling and swimming. Almost half all active respondents cycle more or less regularly, though only 2% count themselves as serious competitive racers. Next in line, with about a fifth of active respondents, is the broad field of gymnastics and fitness training, which (as you can see here) comprises many different activities. Jogging is another large segment (almost 20%), followed by walking, hiking (along with Nordic walking) and football, which together account for places 5-7 on the ranking table. Then come tennis and inline-skating.

These are averaged data from behavioural studies of active participant sport in 11 German cities. Individual cities may show noticeable divergence in sport types and figures, depending on their location – hilly or flat, modern university town or old industrial centre. But the first 7 sports in the top ten hit-list are represented in every city surveyed.
Sports organization in Germany is another interesting question. Whereas only a few decades ago sports clubs had a virtual monopoly of popular provision, this is no longer the case. Today some two-thirds of sport and motion activities are organized privately – a predictable figure, given the high level of informal activity right across the sector. Clubs organize only one fifth of the total, commercial providers a bare 6%. The remainder is organized by a number of smaller players – for example the *Volkshochschulen* (adult education centres), churches and extra-curricular school groups.

![Sports organizations in German cities](image)

Figure 5. Sport organizations in German cities

Asked if they would be interested in starting a new sport, between 20-25% of respondents answered affirmatively, but on a trial basis; 10-20% would like to pursue a new sport regularly. At the top of this list, as you can see, stand activities like fitness training, but also individual contact sports (martial arts, boxing etc.) and water sports. Golf, too – though, because of the expense involved, most respondents would be happy with only an occasional taste of what is still an exclusive sport in Germany.

Beyond this question of starting something new, there is that of changing and giving up specific sports. Here some hard facts are available from surveys we conducted in four cities up to 2005. About a third of respondents had taken up one of their two sports within the previous three years, and about a quarter had given up a sport within the same period. The difference between the yellow and red bars on the chart shows which sports are currently fashionable. In the cities investigated fitness training, swimming, inline skating, jogging and Nordic walking are on the rise; tennis and football – and to a lesser extent individual contact sports – are on the wane.

The broad understanding of sport underlying these surveys also entails a widening of the concept of facilities. Today half of all activities use informal facilities, the non-dedicated infrastructure of parks and woods, roads, footpaths etc. The core infrastructure of sports halls and courts, playing fields and swimming pools accounts for...
only 40% of use. A further significant fact that emerges from the large sequence of studies we have conducted is that on average a quarter of all sport and motion activities takes place outside the home town, three quarters, therefore, within the place of residence. The example of swimming shows that there are places – Mannheim for example – where more than a third of residents travel to neighbouring municipalities rather than use swimming pools in their own city.

Let me summarize the main features of our statistical surveys so far. They depict
– levels of differentiation in local sports;
– the dynamics of choice, tradition and trends in the frequency with which people join and leave specific activities;
– levels of use of both core and non-dedicated facilities;
– the role of sports clubs;
– and finally they show where, how often and how long, how regularly and within what organizational structures local residents pursue their sport and motion activities.

In this way behavioural studies provide exact and detailed insights into the key parameters of sports activities and their participants. Recent empirical surveys carried out by university departments show decisively that the changing face of sport has created new infrastructural demands. As such they are an indispensable tool for municipal planning and development.

4.2 Infrastructure

The second step in this process is to survey existing facilities, both formal and informal. The slide shows the variety of infrastructure used today for sports in the wide sense in which we understand it. This comprises not only core formal facilities for gymnastics, games and indoor sports of all kinds, as well as outdoor playing fields, pitches and swimming pools, but also informal spaces not exclusively dedicated to sport such as schoolyards with sports or games apparatus, urban green spaces and recreation areas, as well as the naturally available playground of the local countryside, with its lakes and rivers, hills, mountains and meadows.

Our database includes not only basic parameters but also detailed functional information about these facilities – for instance pitch and court markings and floor anchor points in sports halls. Special survey forms have been developed for each different type of facility, with the results filed in an Access database.

Like the number of sports, the number of facilities available in cities and municipalities is high. Cities with more than half a million inhabitants will have more than 1000 facilities; cities the size of Wuppertal or Münster have over 900. Even smaller and medium-sized centres have several hundred. About half of these are owned and run by local councils: above all the expensive sports halls, swimming facilities and large playing fields are in the public sector. Some 30% – including more than 40,000 tennis courts nationwide – belong to clubs. Commercial enterprises own approximately 10% of the total, specializing in the smaller end of the gymnastics and fitness segment.
4.3 Balance
The third step in our sports infrastructure analysis is the creation of a supply and demand balance, and here I will take the example of football to indicate how we go about this task. The first thing to note is the diversity of the results:

- some German cities, for example Konstanz and Bottrop, have too few football pitches and we recommend the construction of new facilities (Hübner & Wulf, 2004b; Hübner et al., 2001);
- others, for example Bremen and Rheine, have too many, so we recommend a planned cutback (Hübner & Wulf, 2004a; Hübner et al., 2002);
- cities like Mülheim on the Ruhr have adequate facilities, but their distribution and training schedules need to be revised so that clubs can make full use of them;
- finally there are municipalities like Herne, in the middle of the Ruhr post-industrial area, that will be particularly affected by demographic change in the near future and should, by our reckoning, think of closing some little-used facilities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Five responses on basis of residents' survey</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participant numbers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. length of sports activity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 6. Basic Formula for calculation sports infrastructure requirements**

In order to arrive at these results we use what we call the “Basic Formula for Calculating Sports Infrastructure Requirements”. The number above the fraction bar here represents demand as expressed in five responses on the residents’ survey. These responses provide data on participant numbers, and on the frequency, length, sport type and location of weekly sessions. The figures below the fraction bar are normative ratios representing number and length of sessions and use of available capacity. These may be a matter of experience – for instance how often can a grass playing field be used in summer or in winter; or they may be derived from the dimensions of the facility – e.g. how many players must use a sports complex simultaneously for it to be economically and socially viable.

Let me briefly illustrate the balance equation with the example of football. What is important here is not the details but the underlying idea. The need for football fields is
based on the one hand on the number of players active in team competitions. If we take Herne, for example, some 25½ full-size pitches are needed for the various clubs in the town, not counting the informal requirement outside club organization, or the needs of children under 10, who did not form part of the survey but whose numbers are available in local statistics. These secondary groups may not need regulation football pitches but they do need something at least half that size, amounting to a further six units with a total size of three regulation pitches (Hübner & Wulf, 2007).

The second factor is to ask what facilities are de facto available. Herne has a total of 74 full-size and smaller pitches and fields, but of these only 29½ are suitable for competition football and two others for leisure use. If we now set demand over against supply, we see that Herne in 2005 has slightly more facilities than it needs – to be precise, one full-size and one smaller pitch are surplus to requirements.

Before drawing more definite conclusions on the overall balance, we must, however, look more closely at the local football scene and ask in which of the town’s five districts the footballers live, where they train and where they compete; at the same time we must ask how the facilities are distributed.

Taking those facilities one by one, we ask how many teams use them per week. The diagram shows, for example, that the club Constantin has 280 members and runs six teams in local competitions; but this only amounts to a low level of use of their existing facilities. Another club, Arminia Holsterhausen, on the other hand, has 15 competition teams but also only one full-size pitch, whose use consequently has to be extremely intense (Hübner & Wulf, 2007).

Table 2. Football clubs, their members and teams and the level of use of their pitches in Herne

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Football clubs</th>
<th>Members in football clubs</th>
<th>Registered football teams</th>
<th>Full-size pitches</th>
<th>Level of use</th>
<th>High division</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Youth</td>
<td>Senior</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Number, type, (Address)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VfB Börnig</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1 (Schadeburgstr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC Constantin</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1 (Wiescherstr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV Arminia Holsterh.</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1 (Gartenstr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9.067</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>High=3 low=7 (+6)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The third factor in the equation is demographic development. Staying with our example, Herne will experience a marked reduction in young and middle-aged population in the next decades. The State Statistics Office puts this at almost 21% for the 6-40 year old cohort: a loss of some 14,400 residents in these age-groups. If we presume that football preference retains its current popularity over that period, we can conclude that some 650 fewer young men and boys will be playing in 2025 than today – a drop of 9%. This means that in 2025 (18 years’ time) Herne will predictably no longer need three of its current full-size football pitches.

![Supply and demand balance: football pitches in Herne](image)

These considerations led us to recommend last year that the municipal council should find other uses or users for two of its under-capacity full-size pitches within the next few years, at the latest by 2015. At the same time it should make qualitative improvements by equipping two of its heavily used facilities with artificial turf and floodlights for evening training sessions.

I do not want to go into the details of the supply and demand balance for sports halls and multi-functional facilities. You can imagine – if only because of the number of sports involved – that this is a far more complex business. And even though our methods of calculation are more reliable than they were a few years ago, I cannot deny that a lot more research is still required in this field.

5 Conclusion

In conclusion, therefore, let me underline the massive impact that the changes in Germany’s sports profile will have on existing infrastructure and on the urban and rural municipalities that provide it. They are already facing the need to trim their facilities to meet current and future demand, taking account of predicted, and increasingly acute, demographic changes.
In the “Guidelines for the Planning and Development of Sports Infrastructure” that I mentioned a few minutes ago city and municipal councils do, however, have a new instrument at their disposal: a behaviourally oriented analysis resting on valid empirical data gathered at a local level and collated in the threefold process I have just described. University sports departments in Germany are continuing this work, systematically surveying and analysing local sports activity and its facilities, and putting their findings to practical use in the form of consultations and advice for local politicians and administrators. I hope I have been able to give you a glimpse of the situation as we see it in Germany, and of our work in that context.

References


Local sport between identity and economy

Fabien Ohl
University of Lausanne, Switzerland

Various definitions and uses of identity and global economy
One of the main problems one faces when analysing local sport and its links with identity and economy is the diversity of uses of all these concepts. No chance to understand anything or to decipher the relations without trying to clarify their definitions and uses.

The social construction of identity
There are many dimensions of identity. It can be related to the national or the local, in relation with history, roots, language, behaviour, food, way of life, culture, sport, etc. Usually we can observe two main options. First, identity is perceived as something stable, referring to deep roots. Being German, Swiss, Italian, etc. seems to result of a long process that is still continuing. The historical aspects of national or local identities are often used to reify or to fix a valorizing image of identity denying its historical and social dimensions.

Identity is also a social representation that is changing through generations, very fast sometimes. Being English or Spanish today has not the same meaning as in the past. Identity as a social and historical construction is based on culture, language and cultural practices. Thus, the main changes in the organization of society influence the social construction of identity. Identity that often appears as something stable, collective and determined is threatened by the economic and social changes. Identity is also something that became a more personal construction, often linked to consumption, but based more broadly on many possible cultural items.

For Bauman (1991, 15), modernity “is about the production of order”. Modernity seeks to eliminate chaos and ambivalence, but reproduces them. Order and identity are closely related to work that was more stable. Thus, identity as dramatically changed, postmodernity can be associated with a state of mind more self-reflective and critical and thus undermines the universalistic tendencies of modernity.

Local identity is a resource of self-identity and is also a social construction with various meanings. Local can be very local, a village, a city, but also a nation or a region and many resources such as maintaining the “traditions” (that are usually selected from a specific historical period), defining a local authenticity and inventing new traditions, particularly using sport and the sporting events to build the local identities. But local identity can also be part of personal identity. From the individual point of view, there are many resources of identity, such as gender, age, work, classes, status and also passion including the local sport.
Identity has at least three aspects. An internal identity, defined as how someone perceives himself (e.g. as a father, a sportsmen, an artist), which is, of course, plural. It can also be an exteriorization of identity, at stake the way how you present yourself (e.g. as a local fan, as a woman or as a worker) through appearances, narratives, etc. Self-exteriorization depends on the people you meet and on the circumstances. It can also be an external identity: how others define you. This raises the question of who are the others, when and where are they defining you or your local group, in work, at the stadium, in the newspaper, on the Internet, in face to face relation. The diverse dimensions of identity are, of course, interrelated.

The global economy as a threat to local identities

For many people, including academics, local identities have to face the threat of global economy. Economy is often perceived as external, non-human (which from a sociological perspective is completely false, both for Marx, Weber or Durkheim, economy is embedded in the social). The main idea is that economy through globalization destroys local culture. Delocalization of job, unemployment, economic migration or misery in some places and for specific social categories give good arguments to affirm that the global economy destroys local bonds and bridges between people. The transformation of economy, particularly globalization, has consequence on culture and also on the supply of goods and services. Changes associated with consumption, circulation of people, goods and information influences local culture and activities, including sport.

Within the various market competitions, a strong identity is a remarkable communication resource. Thus, sport, as one of the main marketing resource to recall, celebrate and reinforce national, local, gender, social classes, individual or other subgroup identities, can be attractive for various companies and organizations. But the market competition has been extended. Not only companies are concerned. Cities, local authorities or countries are also competing for symbolic or economic reasons.

As a consequence, there are many economic actors of sport that interact, use sport and put pressure on it. Economy, its globalization, the role of international media in many fields, etc. can be perceived as a threat for identity, because it brings changes in local practices (less traditional games, changes in food consumption, hamburger instead local food, US movies instead of national ones, etc.); it changes work (unemployment, new jobs, traditional producing jobs disappearing); it influences feelings, representations, personal or collective experiences.

Globalization can reinforce the local, with local festivals and folklore. The quest for authenticity also expresses changes in identities. Nevertheless, there is a diversity of perception of the influence of economy on the local and especially on identities. For international upper classes benefiting from the world economy, changes are not perceived as a threat for identity. It gives access to new cultures, new consumption, new sports, more events, etc. For the local worker obliged to increase his efficiency, losing his job because of delocalization, economic changes can be a real threat.
Does local sport really exist?
The local and localism can be something one wants to escape from, because it is judged as too narrow, too rural or old-fashioned, or something that is supposed to recall the real cultural roots. Local sport does not escape from the diversity of social representations. It can be the local boring team as the local traditional sport and roots. Economy can be a threat for local sport if, like in the US, local clubs are bought and moved to another town. But economy and marketing use local identities that reinforce attachment to local sport. Thus, local sport can be various and opposite things, we need to clarify this aspect.

No doubt that local sport exists, at least at the 2007 eass Conference whose main topic was local sport. But local sport identity and definition is far from something clear. We could ask if something is still local and if local sport has ever existed.

Today, sport seems to be characterized by global events (Football World Cup, Olympic Games, etc.), global athletes (Zidane, Henin, Woods, etc.), global goods and brands, global services (ski resorts, surfing spots, golf courses) and global media. In fact, sport has spread over the world as a global product and many dimensions of sport culture have been influenced. Thus, local sport can be seen as a myth or a social construction: “many products and practices traditionally declared to be local may in fact be best understood as products of global market strategizing” (Grainger & Andrews, 2005).

Is that new? After all, coffee seems to be typically Italian but it came from Africa (Khawah seems to come from Ethiopia), and a lot of products that appear to be local are imported, adapted and used as a local tradition even if it is sometimes the result of a company’s global marketing. There is a revival of everything local, “especially those that are successful are likely to be globalized and thereby lose their local character” (Ritzer, 2004, 170).

One could also try to define the “real” local sport by identifying the involvement of spectators. We could imagine that the local sports are those with an important local fan club and with numerous supporters or fans. But even in this case, there is the difficulty to identify who are the spectators that are defining the “real” local club. According to Giulianotti’s (2002) analysis of football, we can observe a diversity of fans. He identifies “supporters” with a grounded identity. Football is their key preoccupation and structures their lives. Are these supporters the local spectators that define the local sport? Can the others spectators, identified as “fans” (sensitive to “brand” values of clubs), “followers” (their involvement depends on circumstances) or “flâneurs” (given attention to superstar celebrities rather than other things), be neglected? Why could not they also be “local” fans? Who has the legitimacy to define the real local fans and thus the real and typical local sports? Paradoxically, some sports are symbol of the local because of a significant involvement of “hard” supporters, hooligans or some with a high attention to identity.

Taking into account the diversity of possible definitions of the local sport or spectator, we can observe that there are ideological uses of the local. Local culture
always seems to be positive, people are proud of it. In most of the cases, local culture is used as a folkloric practice. Local sports are often the international global sports that are played locally; in the local media, local sports are those in which local people perform.

There is an ambiguity of the local. The social uses of the local, its social and historical construction is often under the influence of the global market. In fact, the local can be both defined as something that is produced in a specific place and that is characteristic of this place and as the local uses of sport culture. It means that the local consumers, the local places and the local meaning that is given to the social practices can define the local sport. Nevertheless, the idea of local sport is very flexible and the broader social environment often influences the local context. Thus, local sport can be the sport people do close to their home, most of the global sports are consumed locally. For example, the most global football teams have strong local roots and support (Manchester, Barcelona or Marseille are local clubs with high local support). The local sport can also be consumed as a tourist: when climbing, hiking, skiing, sailing, etc., people consume the sport and the place. It is an experience of consuming exceptional places, original experiences, adventure, etc. The meaning and symbolic profits of skills and experience can be used at home (pictures, movies, photos, narrations etc.). The difficulty to define local sport is also increased by the fact that the local supply has changed. There is greater diversity of sports done and played locally. And the opposition between local sport and global sport is not necessarily pertinent, the idea of “glocalization” clearly recalls the relation and interaction between the local and the global.

The question of the autonomy/heteronomy of sport

Global companies adapt their marketing to the local contexts and deal with the local cultures. They keep their core message and products, but adapt them to the specific local history and values. “Think global, act local” became the mantra of the marketing in the 1990s, but it never truly represented transnational corporate reality (Jackson, Brandl-Bredenbeck & John, 2005).

In the various local/national contexts, people receive, perceive, keep, reject or resist to the global commodities. Therefore, their level of autonomy is at stake. One possibility is that the diversity of cultural values and the specificities of local fields, with their own history, organization, rules, role of state, local actors lead to “disjunctures” (Appadurai, 1990, 1996). It means that the global products fail to fit in the local context, “they get ‘lost in translation’ as they move from global to local” (Jackson, Brandl-Bredenbeck & John, 2005).

We would like to argue that translations or losses in translations can be explained by the local context of fields and their degree of autonomy. Using Bourdieu’s field approach enables us to examine local sports in relation to the social contexts. Thinking that economy is a threat for local sport means that the sporting field’s success is increasingly defined by purely economic or mediatric criteria, reducing its relative
autonomy. We will try to understand in which case that can be true for the so-called local sports.

Sports as a social field
Fields are specific social spaces, with relative autonomy, entry rights and a specific history. In each field there are individual types of capital for which groups struggle. Fields are multiple; there are relations between fields and symbolic struggles within them. One hypothesis is that fields transform, in a euphemistic way, social struggles between agents into symbolic and meaningful relations. Bourdieu conceives the field as a “field of forces”, partially autonomous, in which positions are at stake and determined by the allocation of a specific capital. In each field there is an opportunity to use cultural markers, the most valued cultural goods, which reaffirm distances and differences between social groups (Ohl, 2000).

Bourdieu used the field theory to understand politics, economics, scientific production, media or sports and to analyse the social work of groups to define themselves and to create visibility of their differences, the sense of distinction, in specific spaces (Bourdieu, 1979). The sporting field is a sub-space within the wider social space of cultural production. Its autonomy/heteronomy is at stake. Is the sporting field dependent on other fields? Is it more dependent today than it was before? The possibility of the existence of a specific local sport, autonomous from global influences, embedded in local culture seems to depend on the level of autonomy of the field.

Thus, when trying to understand if local sport, especially its identity, is threatened, some questions arise: What are the possible influences of other fields on local sport? What is the role of the political and economic fields? Do national or local authorities still use sport, including “local” sport, to promote identity, but also health, education, etc.? Has national and local authorities’ autonomy decreased with globalization? Have the media and the economic field challenged their historical role on the development of sport and Physical Education in many countries?

The autonomy of the field of sport
There are several important dimensions of sport field autonomy. First, it is autonomy of time: sport organization or athletes can have a high or a low control of their own time; second, autonomy of space: sporting events or athletes can have various levels of control of their own space, athletes can have limited possibilities to control where they have to work or to play. Autonomy can be on sporting rules: they can be influenced both by political, media or economic pressure. Sport can be dependent on a limited number of actors or not dependent, e.g. a local club can be dependent on a local newspaper, a global club is unlikely to be dependent on one newspaper or on one TV channel.

Thus, to clarify the question of the autonomy of local sport, we need to understand its autonomy of sport against:
1. The broad social space: for example, we need to understand why some people use local sport as a resource of identity. In some cases, the quest for identity can be achieved by racism such as in some football clubs. In this case, what is the autonomy of clubs or of the federation to resist that? What are the relations between the sporting field and the political field? Are there some connections? In some cases, club managers are close to racial ideologies and the degree of autonomy can be low. Changes in the social space such as circulation of people also modify the definition of the local. During the 1960s, the local players used to be sportspeople that were born in the local area. Today, local players and even national athletes can have been born in another place. It is the case of “secondos”, those players that have two nationalities and have to choose between two teams (this is the case in a lot of countries).

2. The media field: there are different types of media (local, intellectual, specialist, TV, Internet, etc.), which are in relation with the various types of sport and events. The small local club is not dependent on TV, but can be partially dependent on the local newspaper. The big clubs of the most popular sports, however, are depending on TV, owing to the media success. The dependence on the media can be both symbolical and economic. For example, the International Table Tennis Federation (ITTF) changed its rules in 2000 to increase its TV audience. As a consequence, all players have to play with a different ball and play an 11 points set instead of a 21. Even the local players, at a low level of practice, had to play with these new oversized balls and in 11 points sets. These changes had direct consequences on the game, but economic consequences were inexistent for most of the players. For the ITTF and the Asian federations, it helps to broadcast the championships and, thus, to attract more sponsors (255 million television viewers – cumulative audience – during the week of the 2006 Liebherr World Team Championships in Bremen (source: ITTF). Companies such as Liebherr or Volkswagen, who target the Asian market, have become interested and bring money and support. But for the European and American audience, it has had no consequences.

3. The political field: in many cases, local authorities are the main resource for local sport. They give the most subsidies and provide access to sporting facilities. They use some sport as the “local” sport to promote identity, but also health, education, etc. Local authorities have high economic costs, but, more often, little symbolical profit. The national authorities are also involved, financially or symbolically. When applying for big events bids, one must have the support at least of the local authorities and in most of the cases of the state. But the autonomy of the states also decreased with globalization. Along history, national authorities often had an influence on sport and PE. The influence they have kept on sport and PE depends on the country and its specific political organization, but in many cases they have kept at least an indirect influence by subsidising facilities, supporting teams or the main events.
4. The field of economy and the sponsors: they are concentrated on the top events and the most popular sports. Local sport such as football, baseball or hockey can depend on their sponsors, but most of them are more depending on the consumer fees and local authorities subsidies. Nevertheless, even if the sporting field is more driven by economy, parts of the specific capital still have autonomy. You win soccer cups with money, UEFA finals and semi-finals are trusted by clubs among the G14, the wealthiest clubs in Europe. But you do not win a race only with money. For example, BMW oracle has dropped-out of the 2007 America’s semi-final cup, although it was the wealthiest team. You also have to run, train hard to win medals, you have to have the cultural and body capital needed for sport.

The sporting field is far from being homogenous, the level and type of autonomy is depending on the area of the field and the specific local or national situation. The local contexts, the type of sport (with high or low media coverage), the size of clubs, the level of involvement of national and local authorities or sponsors influence the degree of autonomy against the economic, media or political field.

There is an evidence of some changes in sport under the influence of the global markets. Sporting rules, finances, players’ migration, appearances, fashion, goods, audiences and also local practices have changed. Players’ styles can be different, but these differences are not often related to their local or national belonging. The reality of the changes is overloaded by social representation of the threat. Fear of globalization is justified because it impacts on work, culture and consumption. On the one hand, it can destroy work and culture, on the other hand it also creates work and transforms culture.

In this context, sport is used as a symbol of the global culture, but it also recalls local identities. Rowe (2003, 287) suggested that the production of identity, particularly that of “local” and “national”, but also of “difference” more broadly, is central to sport, making it “improbable that sport can be reconfigured as postnational”. But all the changes are occurring in specific local context that influences sport culture: “domestic politics, histories, and traditions still play key, often predominant roles, in shaping local culture and identity” (Grainger & Andrews, 2005).

Facing globalization and marketing, local territories have their autonomy. It is never complete, but it always exists. Levels of autonomy, versus heteronomy, depend on the numerous national and local contexts. Resistance to the globalization of sport has been growing particularly in the media field:

the public and political resistance to Murdoch’s takeover of rugby league, and South’s axing therein, demonstrates the contextual specificities of the local mediascape: though the sport media may be increasingly global, domestic traditions, language, and regulation still play key roles in determining national media, and indeed sporting, cultures (Grainger & Andrews, 2005).
Local sport between identity and economy

Sporting field and media field

It is impossible to explore all the possible relations between the sporting field and other fields in this paper. As we mentioned, that must be done in relation with the specific “local” contexts. But we can illustrate our questioning through the interesting example of the media. When one tries to analyse the degree of autonomy of local sport, it is interesting to explore that in relation with the media field. Of course, it does not cover all the possible links between the sporting field and other fields, particularly economic and political, but it helps us to understand how the global economy of the media influence local sport. How is this global economy translated? Does the local sport keep a high level of autonomy? Is there something “lost in translation” in the sporting field? Do the specific forms of capital at stake in the sporting field escape from the influence of the global media economy? We will try to understand to what extent success in the sporting field is defined by the influence of the media and their economic impact on sport, reducing its relative autonomy.

Sport’s dependence on the media can be observed for the main sport organizations. In Europe, it is the case of football. In France, Spain, Italy and Germany half of the incomes come from the media (see figure 1). Nevertheless, the English Premier League, in which advertizing (commercial) and stadium are profitable incomes, is less economically dependent on the media. This dependence is both economic and symbolic. Clubs and players need the media to sell their image or their products and to be recognized on the market.

Figure 1. Financial sources of professional football leagues in Europe. Source: Annual Review of Football Finance, Deloitte & Touche sport analysis, 2003.
In the case of football in Europe, it can be a reciprocal dependence. The media field is also, as sport, (including the journalistic field), a sub-space within the wider social space of cultural production. The question of autonomy is also crucial for the media field. Heteronomy also characterizes the media field. Media are more driven by the economy that influences the cultural production: a mass production, with a low level of critique, and show business role models that are promoted by the market. Localized sporting forms are modified to fit the global market. It can endanger the links between a team and local identity, because, as Ritzer (2004, 25) has noted, “that which is local tends to lack such centralization, while that in which local ties are absent tends to be centralized”.

In some cases the autonomy of the media against the sporting field can also be questioned (Bourdieu, 1996). Sport and media are often very close together; Rowe (2004) uses the expression “mediasport complex”, because in some case sport and media are differentiated.

Some TV channels are also depending on football, if it is their core product. They need the TV rights of the main sporting events to survive or to promote themselves. This is the case for “Canal+” in France. This TV channel provides 374 hours of football broadcasting each year (Desbordes, Ohl & Tribou, 2004), targeting a male, young, urban and upper class audience.

The dependency of the media field on the sporting field can also include other aspects. For sport organizations and sport managers, sport journalism is more frequently perceived as information and celebration of sport rather than the possibility to analyse and criticize sport. J.-M. Aulas, for example, at the head of OL (Olympic Lyonnais, one of the main clubs of the French football league) affirms that a good sport journalist must be a supporter of OL (Nardone, 2007). Thus, to have access to first hand information, and even sometimes to have access to the stadium, no sporting journalist can be very critical against the main sport organizations. Journalists face physical and psychological pressures when publishing critical analyses. Access to the Olympic de Marseille stadium was forbidden to some sport journalist (from l’Equipe, the French sport newspaper), because of their too critical articles.

The question of the autonomy is very different for clubs and federations of “second rank” sports. There economic dependence to the main media, TV especially, is low, however, there is a high symbolic dependence. Even a little air time is important to get some recognition. It happens that small federations or organizers of second rank events pay the TV or produce programmes themselves to obtain TV air time. The “second rank” sports do not depend on the main media, but they can be dependent on the local media. In some cases they need the local newspapers to catch some local symbolic recognition. It helps when asking for subsidies to the local authorities or to increase personal recognition and social capital (Ohl, 2000). In this case also, local newspapers partly depend on sport. Readers are getting older and it is crucial for the newspaper marketing to renew them. It means that sport is a good marketing choice to catch young male consumers.
For sports that are carried out on an individual basis, the dependences are also different. In sports such as climbing, windsurfing, surfing, etc., reputation, images and narration are mediated through specialized media. Individual athletes searching for sponsors need to be in these newspapers. Even athletes that already have sponsors need to insure that their sponsors get a good coverage in the specialized magazines (Aubel, 2000).

The autonomy of sporting culture at stake

The question of the autonomy of sporting culture is one key element of our analysis of local sport and its uses. Local sport has been analysed as an element of the social construction of local culture. This construction and uses are both embedded in the local context, it is still very flexible and partly dependent on people’s empowerment. It is also changing under the influence of other social fields. The construction and the uses of the so-called “local” sporting culture can be analysed as other types of culture. Thus, the debate that occurs in the sociology of culture lightens the discussion on local sport. Socialization and transmission of culture is also at stake for local sport. The family still plays a key role in the transmission of culture. But the question that arises with regard to this topic is: how is local culture transmitted between parents and children? Supporting the local team is often a male culture shared within the family. But as in other parts of culture, children’s autonomy is increasing. We should certainly study more deeply that aspect of the changes. We should also try to understand the changes in the local sport culture in a social class perspective. In other cultural practices, the influence of class culture has changed. Changes in the supply influence local sports culture by bringing an increasing diversity of gear, events and practices. This diversity has contributed to the changing of sporting cultures. In various cases it seems that differences in the uses of sport culture are less important than in the past. Few sports are distinctive sports or typically popular sports (Ohl & Lefèvre, 2007). Peterson and Kern’s (1996) hypothesis of differences between consumers that are “univorous”, doing only one sport, and “omnivorous”, doing a diversity of sport, is valid in some cases. But they associated “omnivorism” with upper classes and “univorism” with middle class. So what about the lower and middle classes that are omnivorous (Ohl & Lefèvre, 2007)? Is sport in contradiction with Peterson and Kern’s (1996) hypothesis? It seems that there is a gap between the “univorous”, the “omnivorous” and people that are excluded from sporting culture. Social classes cannot exclusively explain this gap: appearances, age, gender or migration also contribute to the explanation of the exclusion from sport culture. Despite these excluded, people’s sport culture is often omnivorous and, as a consequence, it is more difficult to identify the local sport culture.

The uses of the local sport culture have changed. In the social context of the 1960s, sports, among other elements of culture, were necessary to recall the social differences between people. In the social and economic context of the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century, life-style as a way to recall differences is less necessary than during the 60s. In this new context, mass
culture is less a threat for upper classes. On the contrary, popular culture can be a resource that helps managers in their professional tasks. Erickson (1996) observed omnivorism among the personnel of the security industry in Canada. She identified omnivores at different levels in the hierarchy. For her, two contradictory elements are involved: ensuring control and a hierarchy on the one hand and enabling coordination by maintaining social links and communications between the different levels in the hierarchy on the other. The ability of managers to relate to a diversity of cultural references makes communication easier within the company and strengthens the positions and legitimacy of authority. Consequently, a high cultural level is less important for managers than knowledge of popular or working class practices, particularly sport, art that appeals to the general public, or restaurants. It means, for example, that the local popular cultural practices can also be transformed under the influence of these new uses of sport.

Whatever the theoretical perspective or the precise sociological objects are, when analysing the so-called local sport and its relation with identities and economy, one needs to consider the relation between it and the broader social space. Field perspective can be an interesting tool. Nevertheless, one must, on one hand, consider the specific local context in which the sporting field and other social fields interrelate. On the other hand, one must focus on the social uses of cultural practices, that both depend on the main changes of culture, but also on people’s behaviour and “bricolages” of culture (De Certeau, 1980).

References


Sport for all – opportunities and challenges in different sport systems

Gertrud Pfister
University of Copenhagen, Denmark

Introduction

Sports organizations have developed hand in hand with “modern” sport, which emerged in the specific historical, social and cultural setting of England at the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century. Besides the standardization of equipment and facilities, the principles of sport – especially the competitions and the striving for records – demanded and still demands agreements on rules and standardization of equipment and facilities. “Sportification” processes have been based on specialization, rationalization and an increasingly powerful bureaucracy. In subsequent years, sport organizations greatly expanded their scope and responsibilities. In recent decades the sports organizations of many countries have added “sport for all” to the scope of their duties.

There are various ways of organizing sport-for-all activities, and I would like to present two different scenarios, each possessing its own principles, rationales, structures and cultures.

I will describe the Danish sport system as a specific form of the “European sport model”.

As a contrast, I will portray how sport is organized in the USA with the aim of demonstrating the huge variability of organized sport, the diversity of sport structures and cultures under a homogenous surface and the interdependencies between sport systems on the one hand and cultures and societies on the other. I will try to address reasons for these diversities and I will share with you some hypotheses about the consequences of the different ways of organising physical activities.

Terms and meanings: some more preliminary remarks

I would like to emphasize that the terminology is a decisive problem/challenge in international comparisons. This is especially true for the term sport, because its meaning varies as much as the concrete sporting activities. In Denmark, there is a differentiation between “idræt”, a broad term for physical activities including sport, and sport, which refers to “real sports” associated with training and competitions. In the USA, the term sport is even stricter than in Denmark connected to performance orientated and competitive activities. But terms are not just words; they are intertwined with structures, meanings and practices. The lack of an overall term for sport and physical activities in the USA indicates that there is no umbrella structure for sport (in a broad sense), but also that the various physical practices including sport for all are not conceived as a unity, as belonging to the same discourse.
Sport for all is a relatively new and somehow “artificial” term, although the concept is old. In various countries sport movements emerged which aimed at inclusiveness, that means the integration of the whole (male) population, such as Swedish gymnastics, German gymnastics/Turnen, workers sports movement, Sokol, etc.

**Sport spaces and traditions**

Sport systems rely on political, social and economical conditions, not only the current conditions, but also the conditions in the past. Traditions determine sport structures and practices, but also the taste of sportsmen/women and sport consumers.

This can be clarified by using the concept of “sport spaces” (Markovits & Hellermann, 2004). Sports and also sport organizations compete for positions in the hierarchically structured field of sport. A certain sport system achieves and sustains power and dominance, because it is interwoven with political, social and cultural practices as well as with everyday life.

Here, chronology plays a decisive role, because the establishment of a specific structure determines the further direction which can be changed only with high economic and/or political efforts (see East Germany). On the one hand, sport systems developed in the nineteenth century according to sport’s immanent needs and pressures. Competitions and records presuppose regulation, standardization and bureaucracy which, in turn, determine tasks and work of sport organizations. On the other hand, sport systems influenced sport ideologies and meanings, practices and policies. Sport claimed, legitimated and defended its resources and its social field. Sport organizations and institutions are “contested cultural territory” and an arena where various groups with different interests and power meet and compete. Thus, sport spaces mirror the power structures in the society (Markovits & Hellermann, 2004, 9).

The key era for the establishment of sports and sport structures was the end of the nineteenth century when sport as a motor and product of modernization spread in the Western world. Sport structures which took hold in this period had a greater chance than “newcomers” to gain ascendancy and to determine the organization of sport in a country up to today. However, I would like to emphasize that sport systems are permanently changing and adapting to the requirements of sports and societies.

**Sport structures and organizations in the USA**

As early as the eighteenth century, American football was one of the entertainments of the young men, who lived on the campus and who spent their spare time not only learning but also indulging in such activities as drinking and fighting. The development and propagation of football – as well as other games and sports like rowing or baseball – was only possible because of the specific living conditions on the campus (Davis, 1911; Riesman & Denney, 1951; Smith, 1988; Miracle & Rees, 1994; Guttmann, 2006). In the course of the nineteenth century, American football increased its popularity decisively, and college presidents and professors reacted with dismay and alarm, regarding games as a waste of time and detesting the violence and brutality.
But soon sports became an important weapon in the rivalry between academic institutions. This led to the gainful employment of coaches and the establishment of athletic departments within the university administrative structure. In this way the colleges gained control over sport as an extracurricular activity. With the spread of college sports at the end of the nineteenth century, a sport system was established which still uses – to my knowledge uniquely in the world – educational institutions as primary organizational basis (Hums & MacLean, 2004).

The question arises why this sport system has not only survived but also still flourishes. The reasons are visibility, status and prestige, all of which are of decisive importance to American educational institutions that depend on the fees of the students and the donations of their former students (alumni) (Brubacher & Rudy, 1997). In addition, the widespread conviction that sport is of pedagogical value continues to play a considerable role to this day (Miracle & Rees, 1994; Pope, 1997). Last but not least, sport and sporting competitions offer numerous opportunities on the campus to create, enact and celebrate community.

Since the nineteenth century, some physical activities and sports have also been organized in clubs. However, sport clubs were either “ethnic” clubs like the associations of the German-American Turners or “status” clubs, which means associations where the upper classes played prestigious sports like tennis or golf and demonstrated conspicuous consumption. Thus clubs could not serve as the organizational basis for a sport or sport for all movement (Rader, 1977).

**Sport for all in the USA today**

In the USA, the most important umbrella organizations (in the nonprofit area) are the AAU (Amateur Athletic Union), an association of 58 sport federations, and the NCAA (National Collegiate Athletic Association). High schools, colleges and universities are still the most important providers of amateur sport. The NCAA represents more than 1,200 colleges and universities, and the National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics (NAIA) has around 300 member institutions, mostly smaller colleges, in intercollegiate athletic programmes. “Intercollegiate athletics” are competitions in various sports and at various levels. However, college sport at the highest level (Division 1) has become big business with high income from spectators’ fees and broadcasting rights. In contrast, intramural sport at colleges and universities has great

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1 Further concerns related to loss of class time due to travel and the betting and drinking associated with the games. The overemphasis on winning led to the recruitment of players who were not students as well as to clandestine compensation paid to the players. However, as an extracurricular activity the game was outside of the control of the faculty, who were unable to thwart the football enthusiasm of the students (Smith, 1988; Gems, 2000, 89).

2 The passage of the Amateur Sports Act by the U.S. Congress in 1978 effectively removed the Amateur Athletic Union’s jurisdiction over amateur sports in the United States and gave it to the United States Olympic Committee (USOC) and national governing bodies for each sport. In addition, at the national level and in each state an association controls competitions at high-school level.
similarity with the sport-for-all activities of European clubs. Intramural sports are mostly competitive but low level sporting activities which are conducted intra muros/inside the walls, that means between the members/teams of the institution on a relatively informal basis.

In addition, there are numerous organizations which provide sports and physical activities for non-elite athletes, especially children (Hums & MacLean, 2004). Administrators of local park districts, community clubs, fraternal organizations and church groups offer athletic training programmes and sponsor competitive teams. Parents and other adults organize teams or clubs for competition in local leagues. Commercial clubs train children aiming at elite sports, in particular gymnastics, tennis, ice skating, etc. Little League Baseball and Pop Warner Football are non-profit organizations dedicated to promoting baseball, softball and American football for children. Pop Warner, a national football association, named after the famous coach “Pop” Warner, provides American football leagues, cheerleading and dance programmes for 360,000 young people ranging from ages 5 to 16 years old. In addition, there are youth leagues for basketball and soccer (involving 17,500,000 children in 2003).

There are several problems connected with these types of sporting activities: the “professionalization” of children’s sport, the use of untrained parents as coaches, the high costs and the lack of consistency as well as financial uncertainty of these programmes. The overemphasis on winning and the focus on highly-talented children fail to take account of not very athletic youngsters who actually need physical exercise. In addition, there are few sports initiatives in rural areas and poor neighbourhoods. Further problems are caused by the great ambitions of parents and children who dream of sport scholarships (free tuition, board and accommodation) at colleges and universities. Overexertion, injuries or burn out syndromes of young athletes can be the consequences.  

The “number one” physical activity of the adult population is working out in a health club, with the fitness industry currently experiencing a tremendous boom. Selling fitness has become a $14.8 billion industry with prospects of even greater future success.

Health and fitness is also “sold” by the YMCA (Young Men’s Christian Association), which curtailed its religious mission in the latter part of the twentieth century (Hums & MacLean, 2004, 123). Today “the 2,617 YMCAs are the largest not-for-profit community service organization in America”. However, YMCAs are not voluntary associations, but function like commercial health and fitness centres.

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4 There are some initiatives directed largely at children’s health and fitness.

In 1970 the President’s Council on Physical Fitness and Sports, a committee of the USA government, originally established to test the fitness of children, extended its scope to include community recreation departments, boys’ and girls’ clubs, and company fitness programmes.
In addition, bowling alleys, tennis centres, golf courses etc. are available for paying users.

**Sport developments in Denmark – shooting, gymnastics and politics**

In Denmark the development of physical activities has always been intertwined with politics, especially with the nationally-oriented farmers’ movement, which was aimed at improving education and had a liberal/left-wing political agenda.

In 1861 the approaching war with Prussia led to the foundation of shooting associations, which were to become one of the roots of the Danish sport system. The aim of these associations was to prepare young men for the defence of their fatherland. Among other sporting activities, the shooting associations adopted gymnastic exercises in the 1870s. (Incidentally, in 1907 women were allowed to participate in shooting, and from 1918 onwards they were admitted as members of the associations.)

After the defeat of Denmark in the war against Prussia (1864) education had become a means of survival, a powerful tool for national regeneration and an instrument to shape and express Danish identity. This type of education – especially for the farmers – had already been provided since 1844 by the so-called “folk (or people’s) high schools”, which did not (and still do not) aim at specific competencies, but rather at “enlightenment for life” (Kavalier, 1962; Korsgaard, 1997). Folk high schools were the first institutions to provide physical activities in the form of Swedish gymnastics.

Gymnastics is another cornerstone in the development of the Danish sport system. It began with Franz Nachtegall, the founder of a private gymnasium in Copenhagen in 1799 (Breds et al., 1987). Gymnastics was introduced to schools and the military in the first half of the nineteenth century. In the following period gymnastics spread, as already mentioned, into the folk high schools. Swedish gymnastics, in the tradition of Per Henrik Ling, emphasized and promised order and discipline as well as a systematic and effective training of the whole body. It aimed at the “deportment” and the minds of young farmers and gained legitimacy via quasiscientific arguments. In the context of the shooting associations, Swedish gymnastics developed both a national and a military orientation. In the coalition of the folk high schools and the shooting associations Swedish gymnastics also became a symbol of democracy.

In the cities other forms of gymnastics, especially various forms of women’s gymnastics, spread and flourished (Trangbæk, 2005).

From the beginning of the twentieth century the importance of shooting declined, whereas gymnastics gained an increasing number of adherents. This led to several splits and mergers, changes of names and concepts in the gymnastic and the shooting

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5 Other professional associations, among them the American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, Recreation and Dance and the Cooper Institute, provide knowledge, develop programmes and educate fitness personnel.

6 For the history of sport and physical activities in Denmark see e.g. Korsgaard (1982; 1986), Ibsen & Jørgensen (2001) and Ibsen & Ottesen (2004).
associations, both including various types of “folk sports” and games like, among others, team handball.

As in other European countries, modern sport also spread across Denmark. It found a stronghold in the cities and was organized in clubs and federations after the English model (Trangbæk et al., 1996).

In 1896 the Danish Sport Federation (DIF) was founded as an umbrella organization. The DIF was oriented towards international performance sport and did not share the national spirit of the shooters and gymnasts.

The foundation of the DIF and the growing attraction of modern sport forced the shooters and gymnasts to not only distinguish but also distance themselves from the DIF and, consequently, to define the uniqueness of their objectives and programmes. They rejected the idea of doing sport for sport’s sake and warned against overexertion because of its debilitating effects on bodies and minds. Sport should be “folksport” based on the harmony between body and mind; it should contribute to “folkeducation” and should be a positive contribution to nationhood.

The more the sporting practices of the various organizations came to resemble each other, the stronger was the emphasis which had to be laid on ideological differences, especially between “modern sport” and folk sport.

By the late twentieth century a high percentage of Danes had become members of one or more of the five sports and “folk sports” organizations which existed in this period. The fight for members and their overlapping programmes led to discussions of a merger. The DIF took the initiative by proposing that the “folk sports associations” should join its organization. However, this proposal was rejected and is still rejected today.

Instead, a merger of the various “folk sport” and gymnastics organizations took place. In 1992 the DGI was founded, which still adheres to the ideal of “folk sport” and emphasizes Danish values like equality, democracy, and community.

At the same time the DIF increased its activities in low-level competitive as well as recreational sports and changed its structures accordingly. A central aim of the DIF was now to promote sports participation among the Danish population.

Divisions and splits within the Danish sport system followed the lines of class distinctions to a lesser degree than in other European countries, although Denmark did have a small workers’ sports association. But there were various other ideological conflicts and lines of distinction in the social field of sport (in Bourdieu’s sense of the term) – between the shooters, with their focus on defence on the one hand, and the gymnasts, whose ranks were filling up with more and more women on the other. Other lines of distinctions run between the liberally oriented farmers, who supported the shooting associations, did Swedish gymnastics and were engaged in folk high schools and folk sports, and the more conservative city dwellers, who were adherents of the international sports movement. Whereas gymnastics and “folksports” thrived in the

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7 Among other things a committee for “mass sport” was established.
countryside, the sportsmen (and later also women) in the cities attached increasing importance to competition and performance.

**Sport structures and organizations in Denmark today**

In Denmark sport is looked upon as being part of Danish culture and thus administered by the Ministry of Culture (since 1976). Since the twentieth century various concepts and laws have guaranteed financial subsidies of the state for “mass sports”. Accordingly, the use of sports facilities is free of charge, and the umbrella organization receives financial support. In addition, an allowance is provided for expenditure on instructors for children and young adults. The money comes for the most part from the tax on gambling (since 1948). Denmark supports “sport for all” with a higher amount of funding per inhabitant than any other European country (Ibsen & Jørgensen, 2001; Ibsen & Ottesen, 2006).

Despite considerable support from the state, one of the main principles of the sports organizations is autonomy.  

Denmark is the only Scandinavian country with three major sports organizations instead of one: the Danish Sports Federation (DIF), the Danish Gymnastics and Sports Associations (DGI) and the Company Sports Federation (DFIF), which provides sport and physical activities at the workplace.

The Danish Gymnastics and Sports Associations (DGI) cater exclusively for “sport for all” and also today focus on fellowship, health and education, with Danish traditions and values still playing a decisive role. DGI associations offer numerous activities from handball to swimming. Competitions are organized, but only at a relatively low level. Gymnastics still plays a dominant role, which explains the relatively high percentage of women (47%) among the organization’s members.

All three sports organizations have a pyramid structure with the clubs at the base and regional and umbrella organizations rising over them. All are based on the principles of democracy and solidarity as well as volunteering and reciprocity. The principle of reciprocity means that the work of volunteers is balanced by the efforts of others. Parents who are willing to coach youngsters in a club, for example, know that their children will be taken care of when they want to play in a league.

All three organizations coordinate sport in Denmark and represent and advise its members in dealings with the state and the public. Especially the DIF and DGI name, as their central objectives, a wish to contribute to Danish society in the form of

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8 “DIF commits itself to maintaining the autonomy of sport but acknowledges the great social importance of sport. Therefore it co-operates with the authorities to solve social tasks, e.g. by making it easier for the socially less privileged to participate in sport” (DIF, 2007).

9 Founded in 1946, it is a national organisation with around 350,000 members (DFIF, 2007).

10 The DGI highlights its internal democracy and its intention “to strengthen the voluntary associations as the framework of sport, emphasising the importance of fellowship, challenge and health in order to promote the educative qualities of the association’s activities” (DGI, 2007).

11 See on the sport structures and the principles of sport associations which are similar in many European countries Jütting (1999; 2001); for Denmark see Ibsen (1999).
education, democracy and integration. The umbrella organizations conduct numerous and various initiatives and campaigns, ranging from programmes designed to increase the activity level of the population to projects furthering the integration of immigrants. The promises regarding health and immigration meet the expectations and demands of Danish society and the Danish state, which, as already mentioned, supports sports organizations in various ways.\footnote{12}

In Denmark sport is also played informally and organized by different providers in different settings. Private firms have established themselves on the “sportsmarket” alongside municipalities and various organizations such as associations for senior citizens. In addition, informal groups use the numerous bicycle paths, parks, beaches and even the streets for physical activities. Although the monopoly of sports clubs as sport providers has ended, clubs are still the most important suppliers of physical activities.

I hope that I have been able to show how the specific social and political conditions in the nineteenth century influenced the way in which sport was organized and played, and how tradition has had a decisive influence on the current sport systems and ideologies in both countries.

A first conclusion and a first comparison

In Denmark the sport movement started out as mass sport (of men) with a national orientation, and – in spite of numerous adaptations – this strand is still alive in the DGI. Since the nineteenth century, the Danish sport movement has shared the characteristics of the European sport model, but it did not merge to become one organization. On the contrary, various ideologically and politically diverse organizations emerged and existed side by side. The Danish sports organizations show clearly that the “European sport system” is far from being uniform, that the structures change continuously and that there are numerous adaptation processes, controversial discussions, power struggles and rearrangements dependent on the discourses and hierarchies in the social field of sport.

The structure and organization of sport and physical activities in the USA differ decisively from the European sport model. In the USA sport means competition and performance in a specific type of sport. The concept of “sport for all”, based on inclusion, mass participation and the principle of “taking part matters more than winning” had few adherents. The early women’s physical education movement wanted “sport for all”, but were superseded by the men’s sport organizations and sport model. The importance of performance in a highly competitive society and the win-at-all-costs mentality impedes the development of non-competitive types of sporting practices.

\footnote{12} The DIF and the DGI have different structures, different ideological standpoints and partly differing missions. However, they share the same grassroots membership, with many clubs and their members belonging to both organisations.
In the USA there is no umbrella organization responsible for all types and areas of sport (in the broad sense of the term). Instead, quite a number of institutions, organizations and companies exist side by side: the schools, colleges and universities, the communities, the health and fitness clubs, the YMCA and other commercial providers. A major focus in the USA lies on competitive sports for children and young adults.

In the following part of my lecture I will explore the impact of the different sport systems on the prevalence of sport participation. I can only focus on very few indicators. There is enough data available for a more in-depth comparison, although this is not easy because of the different questions and samples.

Sport for all in the USA – participation rates

In the USA children and adolescents are involved in physical activities (PA) to a considerable degree. 77% of children aged 9-13 reported participating in free-time physical activity, and 39% reported participating in organized physical activity. The Youth Risk Behaviour Surveillance (2005) showed that thirty-six percent of high school students, 27.8% of the girls and 43.8% of the boys, had participated in at least 60 minutes per day of physical activity on 5 or more of the 7 days preceding the survey and had such met the currently recommended levels of PA. 68.7% of the students, more boys 75.8% than girls 61.6%, had been vigorously or moderately physically active and met previously recommended levels of PA. PA in physical education and extracurricular sporting activities at schools are included in these figures.

A 2006 report indicates that around 41 million American youngsters play competitive youth sports (Hilgers, 2006). This sounds like a success story, but it has, as already mentioned, negative aspects as, among other things the “professionalization of children’s sport”, premature specialization or the exclusion of children who do not show any talent for sports.

According to the National Centre for Health Statistics the percentage of adults engaged in vigorous physical activities is 48%, but only 24% take part in vigorous activities three or more times a week. Around 40% of the residents in the USA are inactive, 38% of the white, 51% of the black and 53% of the Hispanic population (Bernstein et al., 2006).

According to Putnam (2000) bowling is by far the most popular sport in the USA, followed by fishing and fitness activities. Fitness clubs reportedly have 39.4 million members – which would mean that 13% of the American population (including babies

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13 See the various information of the National Centre for Health Statistics (CDC, 2007).
14 http://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/PDF/SS/SS5505.pdf. See also the various information of the National Centre for Health Statistics (CDC, 2007).
15 “We see a lot of kids, even young kids, doing it just for the scholarship now.”
   “One of the biggest concerns in youth sports is parents who push their children into ‘premature specialization’, where children focus all their skills on one sport and endure year-round training. It can lead not only to burnout, but also to sports injuries” (Hilgers, 2006).
and old people) are member of a fitness club. However, membership of a club does not necessarily mean that one also trains more or less regularly there (Goldsgym, 2007; Smith-Maguire, 2007).

In addition, YMCAs serve 20.2 million men, women and children in 10,000 communities in the United States (YMCA webpage). Because of the sport system described above, it is not surprising that in 2007 only 3.6% of American volunteers (26.7% of the adult population) did voluntary work in the area of “sport, hobby, cultural or art”.

Sport for all in Denmark – participation rates

In Denmark 88% of all children (age group 7 to 15) regularly participate in PA, with 78% of these spending two hours or more per week on their particular activities (Bille et al., 2005).

The Eurobarometer “Health and Food” (2006), a representative survey of all countries of the EU, edited by the European Commission, showed that Denmark was among the top European countries in respect to the physical activity of its population.

According to the Eurobarometer 62% of Danish adults are involved in some form of vigorous physical activity. This concurs with representative surveys in Denmark which have shown that around 58% of the Danish population take part in physical activities at least once a week. 30% of the population were active three or more times a week.

According to Bille et al. (2005), 35% of the Danish adult population (43% of men and 27% of women) are members of a sports club. This means that Danish sports clubs have the highest membership rates in Europe in relation to the population. Denmark has 5 million inhabitants. The DIF has 1.6 million members (39% of whom are women), while the DGI has 1.3 million members (47% of whom are women). However, it is possible to be member of both organizations at the same time. According to a representative survey, in 2004, 11% of the Danish population (14% of men and 9% of women) did voluntary work in the area of sport (Koch-Nielsen et al., 2005).

But sports clubs are not the only sport providers: 14% of Danish people are members of a fitness centre or club.

According to the Eurobarometer survey, 88% of the Danish respondents agree that the area where they live provides many opportunities for physical activities, with 86% reporting that there are local sports clubs and other local sport providers in their

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17 Together with those of the Netherlands, Germany, Finland and Luxemburg, the Danish respondents reported a higher degree of participation in physical activities during their leisure time than respondents from other nations. One in three of those active in some sport (18% of the adult population) takes part in competitions.
neighbourhood (EEIG, 2003). With regard to sporting opportunities Denmark is among the three best countries among the member states of the EU (2006).

This very rough overview of participation and activity rates in both countries reveals clearly a considerably higher physical activity rate in Denmark, especially for the adult population, but also for children and young adults.

**Sport in the welfare triangle. Theoretical considerations**

Cross-cultural comparisons need theoretical concepts, which provide both a frame and criteria for explanations and evaluations. Theoretical approaches can provide arguments and further the interpretation and understanding of correlations and developments.

Sports organizations can be characterized and compared according to their place in society using a model of the welfare state with its dynamic interrelations between the various sectors, namely the state, the market and the private (informal) sector (Ibsen & Jørgensen, 2001; Ibsen & Ottesen, 2004; Jütting, 1999, 2001). Evers (1990), among others, proposed the triangle as a symbol of the relations between the sectors with their specific principles, rules, forms of organization, patterns of action and logics. Pestoff (1995, 1998) and others have employed the concept of “civil democracy” or civil society for direct citizen participation in the production of personal social services and have placed this sector as a public space at the centre of the triangle. According to Jütting (2001), the

third sector (non-profit organizations) produces collective goods on the basis of joint orientations via the voluntary and unpaid services of its members. Driving power and aim is the mutual benefit. The relations of the participants are characterized by collective solidarity and mutual appreciation.

In Denmark one can observe a close symbiosis of the state and the non-profit organizations of the civil society. For 200 years, the Danish state has been responsive to voluntary movements, which have played an important and active role in constructing Denmark, Danish values and the Danish welfare system. Thus, now as before, civil society activities receive more political support than the market.

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18 Only 3% of the Danish respondents stated that they did not get any physical activity when moving from place to place. 88% of the Danes got at least a little (26% a lot) of physical activity around their house, and there are various opportunities and courses offered among others in the context of evening schools for adult education or by the municipalities.

19 According to Anheier and Seibel (1990) and others, the development of a voluntary sector depends on numerous conditions reaching from freedom of association to democracy, social stability and economic development.

Using the welfare triangle model for an analysis of historical developments, it becomes clear that many changes are shifts from a predominantly state and public orientation to both a more private and a more civil society orientation.
Danish sport has always been based to a high degree on personal initiative, the self-organization of the population and voluntary work – even if there are currently problems and discussions. Thus, organized sport is a matter for civil society. However, the state provides financial support for the autonomous clubs and federations in the hope that they take over tasks in the social sphere, solve current problems and contribute to the public welfare. Welfare in Denmark can be characterized as universal and based on a high degree of redistribution of wealth via taxes. Sport and health are considered to be issues which concern the welfare state and assets which should be provided for the general public (see e.g. Madsen, 2006).

In the welfare triangle Danish sport is located mainly in civil society with some extension into the area of the state and a small segment in the market field. The market is a relatively small but growing segment in the Danish sport system. Here, one has to consider that sport is a specific organization in the non-profit sector. Sport is an area which is characterized by a co-production of services that means the working together of employed staff and voluntary “consumer-producers”. Co-production is related by most analysts to cost reduction, higher quality services and increased democratic opportunities for citizen participation. In Danish sports associations the members participate actively as co-producers of the services that they themselves consume. Co-production and volunteering in sports associations are based on altruistic motivations and self-interest at the same time (Pestoff, 2005).

According to Pestoff, it is “a delicate problem of designing institutions that enhance citizenship rather than crowding it out. Instead of relying on the state as the central top-down substitute for all public problem-solving, it is necessary to design complex, polycentric orders that involve, besides public governance, private markets and community institutions.” The Danish sport system with its various organizations seems to meet this demand at least to some degree.

Americans are “reluctant to rely too heavily on government” (Salamon et al., 1999, 261). Therefore, America has a long tradition of voluntary associations, not least because of its own particular history, in which society developed before the government. “Americans at all ages, all stations in life, and all types of dispositions are forever forming associations” Alexis de Toqueville wrote in the early nineteenth century. “Today, as 150 years ago, Americas are more likely involved in voluntary associations than are citizens of most other nations” (Putnam, 2000, 48).

According to the data derived from the Johns Hopkins Non-Profit Project, 49% of Americans report “contributing their time to non-profit organizations” (Salamon et al., 1999, 264). However, volunteers are only around 4% of non-agricultural employment. As shown above, volunteers do not play a very large role in the area of physical activities and sport, at least not for PA among adults.

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20 Among other things, instructors for youth sports are financed and sport grounds and gyms are provided.
In the USA, physical activities are provided by educational institutions, private health and fitness centres and – in the case of children’s activities – by a variety of non-profit organizations which sometimes compete with schools. Thus, sport is a section of the market, and only to a lesser degree of civil society which provides sport primarily for one specific age group, namely children and adolescents.

Where in the welfare triangle should we place the physical activities of the adult population? It is clear that health clubs and bowling centres belong to the market area. But what about the colleges and universities which also offer PA?

PA at public schools and colleges could be placed in the public sector, although the state intervenes only in a few cases in extracurricular activities. As already mentioned, sport programmes at schools and universities aim to a large extent at marketing these institutions. Intercollegiate sport – at least at the highest level (Division I) – is in many ways profit-oriented and “big business”. Can we then place college sport in the market sector – or at least sport at private colleges and universities?

According to the Johns Hopkins survey, non-profit institutions are firmly entrenched at the higher education level in the United States (Salamon et al., 1999, 270). Numerous colleges and universities are non-profit institutions, often founded by a church and thus exempt from taxes. Can we then place college sport in the sector of “civil society”? This would obscure the large differences between the Danish and the American sport systems because the same terms – sport, schools, universities, non-profit – are used for very different institutions and circumstances. Non-profit higher education institutions in the USA differ decisively from voluntary associations as e.g. the sport organizations according to the European model. They function according to the principles and logic of the market. High student fees and alumni donations yield large incomes which are not distributed to owners and shareholders but reinvested in the schools. The work in the schools is done exclusively by paid employees. In the Johns Hopkins survey the educational sector counts for a large part of the third sector, but in reality school and colleges act as businesses. This is also true of the YMCA and other church-related sport providers. All are now organized and operated along business principles and practices.

Evers (2004) presented a framework which understands the third sector as a part of a mixed welfare system, which consists of the state, the market and the informal private sphere. The third sector is looked upon as a dimension of the public space in civil societies. It is perceived as an area between the sectors. From this perspective, third-sector organizations are polyvalent organizations with social and political as well as economic roles; they are understood as hybrids, sharing and combining resources and rationales from different sectors (Jochum et al., 2005).

American sport providers in the non-profit area like colleges or the YMCA could be interpreted as intermediate and hybrid organizations which are placed in the overlapping fields of the non-profit sector, the market and – to a small degree – the state sector. The role of the state is primarily to control sport and physical education

22 The state intervened in sport affairs several times, e.g. with the Amateur Sports Act 1978 which
in schools. In the USA the level of public support for the non-profit area is the lowest among all developed countries (Salamon et al., 1999, 275).

In the USA sport is not looked upon as a task, or duty, of civil society. This can be explained by the American perception of sport as a competitive, performance-oriented activity of predominantly young people. Thus sport appears not as a common good which has to be provided for by the state or the civil society. Health and fitness of the adult population are looked upon as products, which can be bought on the market.

As the Danish case shows, the location of the sport system in the field of responsibility of civil society has various benefits for mass participation. Voluntary associations provide sporting opportunities for a broad variety of target groups in all age groups. Members have a broad choice and also have, as co-producers, an influence on the activities. As studies show, sports participation in a voluntary association encourages continuing commitment and can provide “social capital” (Ibsen & Ottesen, 2004). Membership, but also volunteering in a sports club, is passed on from one generation to the next and thus represents a social heritage.

The relatively high degree of sports participation in Denmark can be ascribed – at least partly – to the Danish system with the DGI as a distinct sport-for-all association. In addition, one can assume that the competition between several sports organizations forces all of them to react to the needs of their “clients” and provide programmes of high quality.

A further question refers to the impact of both systems on the gender, race/ethnicity and class of the participants. But this would be the topic of another paper.

References


specified that all Olympic sports would be administered independently. Another example is “Title IX” which guarantees both sexes equal opportunities in educational institutions, also in the sport programmes of high schools and universities.

With the broadening of its mission in the 1990s, the DIF added “sport for all” to its activities and became a strong competitor of the DGI. Several times during the last decade the DIF propagated a unification of the two major sport federations. This forced the DGI to fight for its space, to mark itself off and define its unique tasks and services in and for Danish society: “folk sports”, inclusiveness, education, Danishness, etc.


Papers of the Parallel Sessions
in alphabetical order
Classical dance in India and Europe: an intercultural comparison

Kulkanti Barboza
University of Münster, Germany

Abstract: These days, classical dance in India and Europe portray two different concepts of dance which I would try to illustrate while comparing Indian bharatanātyam with French ballet.

The analysis focuses on ten “universal” concepts, namely the idea of space, time, body, earth, gender, power, health, action, aesthetics/expressions and realization which are essential for both dance-systems and which reveal the inherent meanings of dance in their own socio-cultural contexts. As against the common belief, both dance-systems can be described as “cosmic art forms”, since their main aim is to re-integrate the transcendental order into society. But in contrast to Indian dance, French ballet changed fundamentally in the 18th century from a traditional to a modern art form, emphasizing modern values like individuality, secularization, performance-orientation, performance pressure and the absolute understanding of space and time. Without imposing any specific value system on another society, this structural approach to body and movement culture is an attempt to make intercultural understanding possible. It is based on theories of ritual and symbolism and supported by biomechanical data.

Keywords: body-culture, movement-culture, dance, intercultural studies, ethics.

The following article focuses on a socio-cultural comparison of one of the many classical Indian dances called the bharatanātyam on the one hand and the classical French ballet on the other. This treatment contains some excerpts from the research work carried out by me for my PhD thesis which was submitted in 2006 at the University of Münster. The title of the thesis was, “Representative and symbolic signs of classical dance in India and Europe: An intercultural, comparative analysis of Indian bharatanātyam and French ballet” (orig. “Repräsentative und symbolische Zeichen des klassischen Tanzes in Indien und in Europa: Ein interkulturelle, vergleichende Analyse des indischen bharatanātyam und des französischen Balletts“).

Looking at the various topics of the 4th European Association for Sociology of Sport (eass) Conference in Münster (Germany) as well as at the development of the science of sports in general, one can observe that the establishment of cultural values, the creation of identity and gender and certain aspects of health and migration do perform an important role in the field of body and movement culture. These therefore play an essential part in the process of understanding movement cultures – irrespective and regardless of whether they originally belong to European or non-European societies.
Undoubtedly, dance is part of this body and movement system, but unfortunately, it is not taken as seriously as it should be and is sadly often treated more like “fast food” in understanding culture and art, rather than a diet that makes for a healthy development of the above.

Dance being a universal phenomenon in non-verbal communication, it almost magically transcends all possible borders of the world and imparts cultural and sometimes even religious values effortlessly.

My structural comparison of two classical dance systems, viz. Indian bharatanātyam and French ballet, is an attempt to make intercultural as well as intra-cultural understanding possible between the two. I will attempt this by taking into consideration the following:

- two different societies (India and France) and
- two different historical eras, namely the 16th/17th and the 18th/19th century respectively.

The research also indicates simultaneously that to have a proper understanding of any dance system as well as the person of the dancer or indeed a particular dance performance, a deeper knowledge of the socio-cultural background in which the dance is situated and from which it derives its inspiration, is necessary. Besides this, the analysis of Ballet dance will clearly show that cultural values are not static but dynamic and do change during the particular historical process.

The investigation undertaken in the current research focuses on ten “universal” concepts of movements, namely the idea of space, time, body, power, earth, gender, aesthetics/expression, action, health and realization. All of these are essential for both the dance systems.

The first five concepts are very closely linked to the physical action, since dance movements always relate to space, earth and time and always necessarily need a body and energy or power to be performed.

For this reason, the very specific movement patterns have been captured by biomechanical methods of measuring.

The final interpretations, however, which reveal the inherent meanings of dance in their own socio-cultural context – Max Weber (Käsler, 2002) would call it the “Wertidee” (value idea) – are based on theories of ritual and symbolism.

As against the common belief that Indian dance is sacred and Ballet dance profane, both dance systems can be described as “cosmic art forms”, since their main aim is to re-integrate and reinforce the transcendental order into society.

Some characteristic commonalities and differences as reflected in both dance systems are explored and can be analysed as follows:

1. French Ballet as well as Indian bharatanātyam take place in a sacred space and at a sacred time: The notion of time as well as space, however, is in a manner of speaking, relative, not absolute. The space-time configuration does not exist a priori but needs to be actively created or re-created according to the macrocosmic structure. The created sacred sphere enables the entire community to participate in the ritual action where the performed themes are of
mythological origin and are repeated periodically. Differences are seen in the valuation and partition of the sacred spheres. The Indian dance takes place in a tripartite world, which is described as the netherworld, the earth and the heaven. These are, in opposition to Western ideology which is deeply influenced by Christian faith, neither morally valued nor even devalued, but are equal. It is to be noted that both humans as well as deities occupy all three worlds. The earth is considered as being a goddess and accordingly, movements relate to the earth and to the air equally. In French ballet, the earthly sphere (“profane”) is subordinated to the celestial sphere (“heaven”/“sacred”) and movements towards the earth (demi-plié; grand-plié) serve only the action in the air (such as jumps). In a Ballet you find the opposite poles of heaven and earth which are not equally but unequally ordered spheres.

2. In these performances, the body of the performer is considered of divine nature, since it is in the sacred setting that the Indian or Roman/Greek deities become alive. The deities are not merely demonstrated but are as such represented – taking the Latin word at its origin (repraesentare), signifying “to make present again”.

3. Both dance systems show a characteristic gender performance. In Indian dance you can find the ideal of androgyny, since each dancer performs male and female roles one after the other or even simultaneously. Most of the steps and items for all dancers are identical and compulsory. In the Ballet dance indicates many changes from the 16th to the 19th century, but all of them show a dualistic male-female distinction which demands gender-specific movements.
   a) In the Renaissance period, female dancers perform important “transforming” roles.
   b) In the Baroque period, male dancers perform both roles, because female dancers were not allowed on the stage; but nobody was allowed to switch roles from male to female within a demonstration.
   c) During the Rococo period, the emancipation of female dancers took place and this interestingly culminated in the Romantic period.
   d) In the Romantic period, the ballerina was an active transformer/mediator, whereas the male dancer was a passive “porteur”. The Grand Pas de deux, the very core of a ballet performance, is a duet in which one male and one female dancer perform together. It reflects a very characteristic feature of classical European dance: The two opposites – male and female – are integrated into a perfect union. In contrast to this, in Indian dance the cosmic whole encompasses the male-female-opposition. The invisible Absolute, called brahman, or puruṣa is neutral and becomes manifest in its male-female distinction.

4. The entire action and expression in Indian dance and Renaissance ballet is objective, and it is free from any individual expression, so much that it even denies a space for any personal feelings and interpretations. Some of these are indicated by the strict classification systems – which are inevitable for any
classical dancer – and by the facial expression. Indian dancers, for instance, make use of clearly codified face movements. In the 16th/17th century, Ballet dancers even used to perform using masks. Besides this, the formal and objective character reveals the ritual nature of traditional dance which allows dancers as well as observers to participate in the action and its socio-cosmic renewal.

In contrast to the Indian dance, French ballet in the 18th century changed fundamentally from traditional to a modern art form:

The first steps were already initiated during the Renaissance period, but especially the work of the great ballet reformer Jean-George Noverre (1727-1810) helped bid farewell to European dance tradition. In his script “Lettres sur la danse et sur les ballets” (Noverre, 1760), he focuses on the subjective expression of a dancer and her or his individual constitution of the body. From this time onwards, the original representative, holistic art form of the Renaissance/Baroque era changes to a symbolic, modern art form of the 18th century which does not have much in common with its Indian counterpart any more, since it emphasizes modern values such as:

– individuality/subjectivity,
– secularization,
– performance orientation,
– performance pressure,
– the absolute understanding of space and time and
– the conquest of the world/stage.

Such a basic change of values did not take place in classical Indian bharatanātyam and was at no time intended by any traditional dance school or dance master, although India became a “modern” society and even the classical dance scene has changed in many aspects. But Indian bharatanātyam is still considered as being a cosmic art form, and the moment it leaves its sacred or spiritual setting it is no longer called “classical” or “traditional”, but “semi-classical” or movie dance, for instance.

Describing and interpreting the cultural and epochal values of a dance system should be the first step to approaching different body and movement cultures of our world and could be used as a beginning for understanding societies – both within and outside the European Union.

References
Sport identity and motivation of Austrian competitive athletes

Silvie Bergant, Petra Hilscher and Otmar Weiss
University of Vienna, Austria

Abstract: This study gives evidence that sport is an essential element in the personality of Austrian competitive athletes and points out how deeply sport shapes their identity. In addition, a motivation profile of Austrian professional, amateur and up-and-coming athletes is provided. Based on previous sport sociological motivation research, the categories “Fitness”, “Competition and Career”, “Enjoying Sport”, and “Social Contacts” were evaluated to obtain this profile. The survey is based on 1,977 interviews with Austrian male and female competitive athletes.1

In general, Austria’s competitive athletes identify strongly with their sport – particularly youngsters. Whereas sport is unisono used as an ego booster, professional sport is increasingly felt to be work, and the sport identity is on the decrease. “Enjoying Sport” motivates more than anything else, the agreement is unanimous: “We go in for sports simply because we enjoy it”. As expected, “Career” is the strongest motive for professionals, the amateurs’ dominant motive is “Fitness”, and the young talents see sport as a means to make “Social Contacts”.

The paper describes the sport identity and motivation of Austrian professional, amateur and up-and-coming athletes, and it shows clearly that sport is an excellent way to reinforce one’s identity.

Keywords: sport identity, social identity, personal identity, sport motivation, competitive athletes.

Introductory note

Sport is gaining more and more importance in modern societies. It is shaped by and derives symbolic significance from its close links with society. Consequently, sport is a formation which expresses the socio-cultural system in which it is established. With its classic, socio-culturally valid and transparent norms, sport forms a social subsystem which enables athletes to realize and confirm their identities (Weiss, 2001, 393).

By means of a representative sample, this paper shows that sport is part of the identity of Austrian competitive athletes. Using Mead’s (1973) differentiation between “I” (personal identity, uniqueness of the individual) and “me” (social identity, societal predetermined role), identity has been divided into two aspects. The personal sport

1 With the exception of one sample from different fitness centres, all interviewees participate in competitive sports. During the survey period from 1994 to 2000, 814 professional athletes, 473 up-and-coming athletes and 690 amateur athletes were questioned.
identity shows to what extent the individual sees him or herself in the role of an athlete, whereas the social sport identity states how much the expectations of other people mould the image an athlete has of himself or herself.

In addition, a motivation profile of Austrian professional athletes, amateur athletes and up-and-coming athletes is proffered. In general, the exploration of motives is difficult because one’s own actions are not always clear to oneself, though they are subconsciously present. Usually it is not easy to verbalize motive forces – even if they are known. Besides, the differentiation between inborn and received motives must be noted. Within this study, it was assumed that seeking after exercise is not inborn but is a motive which gradually evolves (cf. Norden & Schulz, 1988, 83). Based on previous sport-sociological motivation researches (Beard & Ragheb, 1983; Norden & Schulz, 1988) which categorized sport motives, categories were evaluated to obtain a motivation profile of Austrian competitive athletes. The following categories are included: “Fitness”, “Competition and Career”, “Enjoying Sport” and “Social Contacts”.

This paper summarizes the evidence that sport is an essential part of the identities of sportsmen and women. It shows the effects of popular sports on sport identity and sport motivation, and, additionally, it discusses what criteria characterize successful competitive athletes in particular.

The study focuses on Austrian competitive athletes who practise their sport continuously and in competition. In the following table, a description of the survey design is outlined.

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**Sport and identity**
To quantify the significance of sport in general, the importance of sport was compared with the importance of other areas of life. Coming right after “family”, sport is second most important in the life of up-and-coming and professional athletes. For amateurs,
friends are more important than sport, which ranks third. For all interviewees, sport outranks profession. Overall, it can be summed up that family, friends and sport are central in the life of the competitive athletes. All the other aspects are subordinate and their significance varies individually from important to not important at all.

Figure 1. Significance of sport compared to other areas of life (n=1945)

As is detailed above, sport is second most important to professionals and up-and-coming athletes. Here it can be seen that Austrian competitive athletes consider themselves to be sportsmen or women – which is also illustrated in their personal sport identity. In comparison with the others, the youngsters identify most strongly with their sport, but all the other athletes in unison use sport as an ego booster. However, it must be added that professional athletes during their career increasingly feel that their sport is more like a job than a need for self-affirmation. Thus, their sport identity decreases. In general, the personal sport identity of all interviewees is very distinctive.

Figure 2. Personal and social sport identity (factors, n=1977)
The social sport identity was tested by means of several questions which expressed the expectations of the social circle towards the athlete. More than half of the sportsmen or women think that other people see them as athletes. Active athletes do in fact have a higher personal than social identity, but nevertheless a good portion of them also thinks that their surroundings appreciate them as athletes as well. This combination between one’s own personal sport identity and the ideas of others builds an excellent basis for the formation of identities.

**Sport and motivation**

The following section summarizes the established sport motives of Austrian competitive athletes. What pushes people to take all the stresses and strains such as expenditure of time and financial expense? Different statements had to be either agreed or disagreed with. These statements correspond to the four motive categories that were mentioned before: “Fitness”, “Competition and Career”, “Enjoying Sport” and “Social Contacts”.

The study confirms that the competitive athletes are confident about the beneficial effects of sport concerning mental and physical strength. All statements about negative aspects of sport were rejected, but the positive impact of sport on health was not consistently answered.

Of the four motive categories, “Enjoying Sport” motivates more than anything else; the agreement is unanimous: “We go in for sports simply because we enjoy it”. Both, “Social Contacts” and “Fitness” are also important for the athletes. The “Competition and Career” motive clearly ranges behind all other motives (cf. figure 3).

![Figure 3. Sport motives of Austrian competitive athletes (n=1977)](image)

But dividing the interviewed athletes into the three individual groups, we get a different picture. As expected, “Career” is the strongest motive for professionals. Youngsters stress the importance of social contacts and the pleasure in competing. At
the early stages of every sports career, it is most of all interesting to meet friends. The desire to go in for sports professionally becomes important at a later stage. The amateurs’ dominant motives are “Enjoying Sport” as well as “Fitness”.

All in all, Austrian competitive athletes can be divided into two groups: on the one hand, there are the active sportsmen and women who do their sports competitively but for whom fitness and the social aspects of sport are of greatest importance. On the other hand, there are the professionals who do their sports to earn money and as their career. The following correlations could be circumstantiated:

– If one sport motive dominates, all the other motives become less important. For example, if making money and career are the most relevant goals, then all the other motives take a back seat.
– Professionals earning less money are more motivated by their enjoyment of sport.

Career athletes

…are in general older and internationally successful. They spend more than average time and energy on exercising and are to be found in sports that are most frequently present in the media. In general, they are male.

Sociable athletes

…are primarily young amateurs. In competitive sports, these athletes are most probably to be found in team sports.

Fitness athletes

…are amateurs. Competitions serve as self-motivation but they are not top priority. The major motor which spurs them on is to achieve more fitness.

Selected Results

Characteristics affecting personal sport identity

Personal sport identity varies according to different circumstances. For instance, a close correlation between sport identity and sport motives can be seen. In this process, detailed motivation is secondary as long as the athletes can state any reason for taking exercise. People with a well-defined personal identity often do sport because they “enjoy” it.

As mentioned above, up-and-coming athletes identify most strongly with their sport – which in turn depends on the degree of presence of the sport in the media. If young sportsmen or women are successful in popular sports such as football or skiing, their ego builds up through this sport and they identify themselves completely with the sport (“I’m a football player”).

The personal sport identity of professional athletes shows dependence on socio-demographic structures: as the athletes grow older, their priorities change. In their younger days, sport is a need for self-affirmation. This feature loses value as
characters develop and as sport becomes more and more a matter of profession – so to say as sport becomes work. In particular, this tendency is noticeable in women.

Correlation between the amount of training and the motivation
The assumption that excessive training decreases motivation was tested on the basis of the total sample. It can be seen that intensive training and the motive “Enjoying Sport” are inversely proportional. The loss of the “Enjoying Sport” factor caused by tough training occurs particularly in young athletes.

Characteristics of successful athletes
As expected, the income of a competitive athlete correlates with the sporting success, the popularity (presence in the media) of the sport, the amount of training, and the importance of sport in his or her life itself. In addition, competitive athletes who make good money have a higher social sport identity, which means that these people care more about the expectations others have of them. One further fact should be mentioned: they are male.

A detailed explanation regarding the phenomenon of success in sport cannot be given within this study, because certain necessary biographic information was not available. However, some correlations could be determined. Successful athletes are mostly experienced and interested in making a career of sport. Besides that, they are confident about the positive effects sport has – beyond competitions and medals. Moreover, both intense support within the family and a high social sport identity are to be observed.

Sex differences
Top-class sport is the domain of men. For them, sport is more important in life than for women. Furthermore, they have a higher personal and social sport identity, and it must be kept in mind that they earn more money through sport (for comparable performance). Male professional athletes draw more than half of their income from sport, whereas women draw 40%. This disparity is already significant between girls and boys.

Looking at the sport motives, a difference between men and women can be seen: “Competition and Career” is a major motive for 81% of male athletes but only a stimulus for 19% of female athletes.

A special case: the national sport of Austria – Alpine Skiing
In this context, the subject of the study is the impact popularity of a sport has on sport identity and motivation. The object was to determine whether skiing – as the national sport of Austria – is especially suitable for the formation and reinforcement of identities. Regarding the results of the professional skiers, extreme values can be observed. For skiers, their sport is more important than for any other athletes. They train to a greater extent, and they earn more money. 97% of all interviewed competitive alpine skiers carry out their sport to make money and a career. Intrinsic
motives such as “Fitness” or “Social Contacts” are of no significance. Only “Enjoying Sport” represents a further relevant motive.

As expected, professional skiers have a higher social sport identity than other professional athletes, but, surprisingly, their personal sport identity represents the Austrian average. Amateur skiers, however, have an above-average social and personal sport identity. From this it follows that amateurs ascribe greater importance to the motives “Enjoying Sport” and “Social Contacts”. They know that they cannot keep up with professional skiers and that is why they do not even toy with the idea of success or career. What is crucial is that it depends on whether sport is regarded as a hobby or business. For professionals, skiing is a hard graft and breadwinning, for amateurs it is a favourite occupation. Thus, it can be seen that in the formation of identities it is not important whether the practised sport is a national one or not.

**Conclusion**

Austrian competitive athletes see themselves as sportsmen or women and they think that other people see them as athletes as well. Sport is an inherent part of their personality and second most important factor in the life of most athletes. In general, the study shows that sport is an excellent way to reinforce one’s identity.

“Enjoying Sport” is a chief motive which is available for all competitive athletes. However, youngsters may lose their pleasure in sport as a result of too intensive training. The top-level athletes’ main motive is “Career”, whereas amateurs do their sports on account of “Fitness”. Young athletes count on sport for the “Social Contacts” they can gain. The characteristics of career-minded athletes are that they are male and older professionals who perform in a popular sport. The typical sociable athlete is a young amateur.

**References**


A sociological analysis of the World Nature Games – Brazil 1997

Kátia Bortolotti Marchi
Federal University of Paraná, Brazil

Abstract: This study aims at giving a detailed description of the World Nature Games (WNG) during the governor Jaime Lerner’s administration (1995), which proposed a project to promote the potential of the West Coast of Paraná State, alongside with a partnership with a Spanish group (GFE – Associats Consultors, Barcelona). The WNG’s aim was to modify the economic profile of the West Coast’s area through tourism activities. The WNG proposed a number of sport activities of international involvement in an attempt to promote local tourism and economy. This manuscript works with an alternative point of view of the WNG, in which memory of the game was written from its primary and secondary sources and from the experiences of those who participated in the project. The configurational sociology of Norbert Elias was used as a theoretical and methodological background to point out some categories, such as emotion theories, leisure time and game mode. It was attempted to understand the interdependency among people and their relationship with nature through Pierre Parlebas’ approach.

Keywords: nature, emotion, leisure, history, sport sociology.

The World Nature Games (WNG) took place in the region of Foz do Iguaçú and Guaíra – where the beautiful Iguaçú Falls are located. It is an area of more than 1,400 square kilometres formed by the Itaipú Lake. With the privileged geographic position, being placed in the heart of the Mercosul, one of the world’s great markets, the region still has a huge potential to become a tourism centre including sportive, recreational and cultural attractions.

The event had a sportive stamp, showing the relationship between man, sports and nature. It was supposed to effect the international promotion of the possibilities to develop the region, especially when it comes to tourism, sports and leisure, where people could take part in healthy activities and seek for new excitements.

The main characteristic of the sports included in the event was the interaction with nature, where natural resources (rivers, falls) were fundamental. The final goal was to boost the partnership between man and nature, with sports as a mechanism. The second purpose was to organize the competition with sports that could be practiced in the region, by common people, all year long.

The sorts of sports included in the WNG had a competitive form, and were played by high-level athletes. This was to present the disciplines to the public allowing them to actually practice the sports in the entire center-west region, after the end of the
games, as a leisure option for them. Most of the disciplines carried out do not demand too much training. It is possible to do rafting, rappelling and others at the same weekend, after some basic instructions.

The Games’ organization required some inedited and tough effort, especially when the competitions were uncommon and played in different locations. The WNG are intended to take place each four years, always in the west coast of Paraná State, Brazil. Thus, it would not be a strict market event to release a tourism project. It had additional statements (analogous as the Olympic Games) and even was part of the official sportive IOC’s (International Olympic Comitee) calendar, although, for some reason, it was not perpetuated.

This essay’s ultimate objective is to organize, empirically, the World Nature Games memories through the ascertainment of information from the primary sources, from the experience of those who participated in the project, with specific points, to delimitate the original proposal of the WNG, and analyse it through the perspective of Parlebas and Elias.

This way, it will contribute to the assembly of the historic register of an event with global amplitude, which took place in Brazil, exactly on the west coast of the Paraná State.

According to the mentors of the project (BCA – Engenharia & Consultoria, São Paulo and GFE – Associats Consultors, Barcelona), it should not be “urban sports” (done in delimited yards), neither Olympics sports, so as not to compete with the more important sports event of the world. Also, they should not use closed surfaces so as not to deform the natural aspect of the event.

The aspects of the included sports in the event were topologies, visual, economics, temporary, urbanistic and sportive related. The disciplines included in the WNG were ballooning, skysurfing, canoeing, slalom canoeing, rafting, fishing, sailing, archery orienteering, climbing, golf, cycling, equestrian events, and triathlon.

Empirically, it is able to realize that “domestic sports”, those done in courts, gymnasiums, athletic tracks, soccer pitches, pools, have been complemented by sports with direct contact with nature, in wild or semi-domesticated areas, as we shall deeply discuss later on. Where the competition among athletes becomes a secondary aspect, the ability of the participants to push their limits, in confrontation with nature, becomes the primary aspect.

The context shows more than a simple sportive activity, but a true lesson of balance, determination and respect of the environment, where the landscape is an essential feature. Rivers, mountains, tracks and wind arise during the practice of sports, delineating amazing sceneries and excitability.

The physical activities practiced in the wild attracted thousands of people. Each new day, new spots were revealed for rafting, climbing, rappelling on vertical rocky walls, rivers crossing, long-distance trekking, and canyoning, among others.

These disciplines are considered post-modern sports and demand technology for their practice. According to Elias (1992), for it owns public, traditional sports have been losing the unforeseeability, the fresh, the excitement, the satisfaction, and
therefore, they have become a routine. Rules were created and modified by the rise of sensitivity of the public and to avoid violence in the practices, so they were changed often. These changes intended to channel new touches.

Elias’ (1992) theories allow the judgment of the social meaning of sport, and works in the direction to establish the fundamentals of the emotions sociology theories, that underline the self and the social control of violence and the long duration process where it is possible to verify changes in the behavior and sensibility patterns. It is about a development theory.

In Elias’ (1992) article about the genesis of sport, we can consent to the understanding of the development, the sport’s outlines, and the shifts of behaviour in people and their respective societies. When sociology and sports established in the nineteenth century, the second was not considered a reliable social issue, and there was a certain unconcern for sport by sociology.

A lot of sports have a religious root, as the Australian Maoris, whose rituals cause excitement and particular feelings. Durkheim (2000) believes that a society has to conserve and boost the feelings, and set thoughts to grow into its unity and personality.

Sport was ignored as an object of sociological reflection, and it was considered vulgar, a leisure activity to give pleasure, which surrounds the body more than the mind, and with no economic value. In the WNG, the opposite was shown, sports as a mechanism to promote tourism and economic development.

Sports can be a means to improve the understanding of social relations, such as competition and cooperation, conflict and harmony; alternatives that exclude each other and have a complex and evident interdependence.

Elias (1992) shows that human emotions are a way to rebuild the long duration process of the human’s nature history. The term “sensible” has two different meanings. The first, quite general, is related to the reactions of the organism, in a somatic and behaviour aspects, such as fear. The second one has the emotion related to the expression where the sensible component prepares the person for an action.

The study of emotions should not be made separately, but with the personal relations. Therefore, we cannot analyse the WNG without dealing with the sensations and emotions of the athletes when defying nature.

Recently, more developed typologies arose, placed between the sort of sporting disciplines and the observed personality of the practitioners of these disciplines.

In Bourdieu’s (2003) research, the sportive preferences were determined by the quantity and structure of the capital. In an anthropological view, according to Caillois (1990), ethnical groups are classified by theirs peculiarities. This allows recognition that a great amount of corporal action essays focus on psychology, social-politic and anthropological views.

According to Parlebas (s/d), sport is a motive action and the person is seen as a “being who moves”. The motive action, in a general view, allows analysing all the physical activities, individual or general. One of the purposes of praxiology is to find out the internal logic of each motive situation, and it allows classifying each sport by its own actions.
We want to know what happens with the players: if the relations between them occurs in the body-to-body contact or from distance; if there is any logic in the game, of solidarity, antagonism or violence. Is it possible to find out the interaction system in every discipline? For this answer, Parlebas (s/d) makes use of the following criterions:

1) The relation between the player and the environment

This relation is influenced by the information the practitioners have about the environment, and it structures their motive actions. When the element is known, as courts or pools, the amount of information tends to be null. However, when it comes to floating elements such as rivers, oceans, the amount of subtracted information is variable, it is analogous to theirs acquaintance with the situation. They bet on their triumph possibilities, risk to commit mistakes, all connected to their skills.

Parlebas (s/d) believes in a domestic/wild dimension to sort out the games, according to the uncertainty awakened in the players:

- Domestic element: when it comes about a standard, motive actions get to be automatic due to repetition. It is not necessary to make decisions during the action, since you are not supposed to meet any unexpected situation.
- Wild element: when the element is not standard, the practitioners must be aware of obstacles, and be prepared to take decisions constantly, since they do not know what comes ahead.
- Semi-wild element: the space is barely marked; its perimeter is delimited by gates, flags or seamarks. It is hard to prejudge the foreseeable level of the environment.

As an example, canoeing can be mentioned: speed canoeing in lanes as a domestic element, slalom canoeing in a flagged circuit as semi-wild element, and descending canoeing in rivers, brave waters, as a wild element.

2) Motive interaction among practitioners

There are different shapes of motive interaction. The games observers found unknown phenomena in usual psycho-sociology situations. A verbal communication may be “negative”, due to its socio-affective tenor; on the other hand, it does not possess any particularities and it uses the same phonemes that a “positive” intervention does. Consequently, we are able to discriminate two opposite categories of interaction.

- Motive’s interplay of cooperation: interaction between fellowship mates characterized by the transmission of an object (stick, ball), by a socio-motive favorable list (released player), or an appreciated place. It can also be an “in touch” solidarity action.
- Motive’s interplay of opposition: characterized by the antagonist transmission of an object (ball), by a socio-motive unfavorable list (prisoners players can be eliminated by a simple touch), or a disregarded place, sometimes by the rescue of a transmission of opposition.
The *praxica* interaction between pugilists and fencers to defeat the adversary is not of the same nature as the interaction between relay-race runners or mountaineers, which is to help each other seeking a common success.

**Final considerations**

When this study was started, the target was to reproduce with fidelity the WNG concept and, from that, to look for the answers to some questions that have arisen from our involvement in this event as well as from our academic perspective. Questions that had emerged, for example, were: why does this new perspective of sports attract so many people? How can we read and analyse the WNG, from a different perspective than the tourism or economic view?

According to Elias (1992), there was a time when sport as a sociological object was ignored, it was regarded as vulgar, or a secondary issue, or just as a leisure activity only with the effect of pleasure, surrounding the body rather than the mind, with no economic meaning. In the WNG, sport was used with the purpose to develop tourism and the local economy. Nevertheless, our focus was to identify another view of the WNG and its disciplines, beyond tourism and economic aspects, investigating the interaction between man, sports, nature and the constant seek for emotions acquired in the sportive play inside a non-standardized element, wild and viable.

During the games, with the exception of climbing, every other discipline had a competitive element, although it was reported, through the mass media, websites and specialized magazines, that those disciplines were practiced just for leisure purposes.

The study showed that most people develop certain attitudes, behaviors, *habitus*, that are opposed to the stress that they grow themselves, and they seek to get free of all the tenseness in leisure activities, for what sport is a suitable means.

This cathartic, mimetic movement and the quest for a “controlled lack of control” during the leisure practices, in a certain time, points towards the professionalism and the magnificence of nature sports. The focus and the values in leisure activities have been deflected. Even with the mass media sensationalism, a notable amount of participants of different age kept practicing and looking out for new sports. We can just look at a few examples. Leisure entrepreneurs compounding endless packages tours aim at these activities. In this perspective, sport is a socioeconomic phenomenon, every time more related to merchandizing, a profitable activity looking for a market share. However, that does not necessarily implicate that the nature sports professionals have the same goals.

It has also been evidenced that the technology evolution has originated implements and inventions, like paragliding and *asadelta* which allow us to fly, faster boats which allow rafting, hidrospeed, and mechanical equipments such as the mountain-bike, the 4x4 system, permitting to shift on all different surfaces. The purpose of this technologic development is the sophistication and improvement of the materials in order to improve security, the quality of the exercise and, fundamentally, in consonance with the esthetics and the magnificence of these sports.
To conclude this essay, the initial hypothesis can be corroborated, an investigation of the nature games has to be based in its dynamism. The enchantment that it causes in the people, practitioners or viewers, may set a precedent for future essays that could deal with social representations, the magnificence of sport and its insertion in post-modernity. However, the intention, and what was done in this essay, was established by the view of Elias and Parlebas.

References
Time and islands: the spatial politics of football

Roberto Bottazzi
Royal College of Art, United Kingdom

Abstract: “Since the birth of the state in the seventeenth century, the city became its organisational model.”

What does it mean to live in a global culture where ideas, people, goods, and even buildings can travel around the world? If the volume and scale of such migrations can no longer be overlooked, the theoretical tools we have to engage with these phenomena still appear inadequate. The two main current critical positions in regard to globalization are either the neo-liberist one that passively supports it by invoking a laissez-faire attitude or the one expressed by some fringes of the no-global movement that simply oppose change. However, both positions lack tools able to accept these mutations and work with what is available. In other words, they are not operational. The paper will draw a parallel between the evolution of global football and that of global urbanism to devise paradigms for this mutated condition. One of the main thesis of the paper is that globalization will increasingly shift the attention from semantics (how things look) to organization (how things work) and on this very ground a comparison between two seemingly disparate fields is actually conceivable. The growing urbanism of the new raising cities in the Persian Gulf based on artificial islands and mountains will be juxtaposed to the secessionist, and equally insular nature of the G14 (the association of the major European football clubs). Similarly, the evolution of the figure of the international manager will be analysed by comparing the Yugoslavian Bora Milutinovic and the Dutch Guus Hiddink.

Keywords: globalization, football, urbanism.

Introduction
What do football and urbanism have to do with each other? Beside the obvious connections between architects and the construction of stadiums or sport arenas, they have both been pressured by market economy to turn themselves into global brands that will then freely circulate.

If these plans have been successful in disciplines such as Golf and Formula 1 racing, they have not worked equally well for football, since its position is still trapped somewhere between its long history built on local traditions and global promises of world-wide expansion. Hence, there is no paradox if today we are witnessing an

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unprecedented wave of foreign lobbies interested in investing in English teams\(^2\) whilst also trying to reinforce their local presence through the construction of new facilities\(^3\).

In football, global and local keep getting in each other’s way. Despite the marketing gurus behind the major European football clubs consider this peculiar situation a temporary glitch that will be soon taken care of by increasing the clubs’ global visibility, it is worth treating this condition carefully rather than dismissing it as craze. In fact, the friction between local and global is instrumental to unmask some of the rhetoric behind the arguments of both those who stubbornly protect local interests and those who think that globalization is a sort of wax to lubricate contradictions.

**Paradigms**

To avoid falling back onto either of the two positions described, this research seeks a different approach to the issue of globalization. Rather than attempting to formulate a single definition of it as the abovementioned views did, we will construct a discontinuous, incomplete picture of it through several paradigms. These are exemplary stories each bringing up a specific aspect of the theme discussed and yet capable to trigger analogies that go beyond that of the mere fact narrated. As Giorgio Agamben outlines in reference to Foucault’s work:

> Foucault does not use the panopticon only as a singular type to inquire into a historical fact, but rather as a paradigm, that is as an example to comprehend a much larger phenomena that emerged due to its very existence.

Where the previous descriptions were totalizing and essentially inert, paradigms provide an agile, open-ended, and operative tool to dissect globalization.

**Organization and politics**

Before drawing a parallel between architecture and football, some concepts must be clarified. As suggested at the beginning, in this paper the word architecture takes a slightly different meaning from its common use. One of the consequences of the massive demographic explosion that urban centres have been undergoing is that architects and planners have to deal with issues previously unknown for the profession. Due to sheer increase in the scale of study, the disciplinary focus has shifted from the individual object – the signature building – to the organization of all operations (protocols, regulations, etc.) that will then allow the singular object to happen. In this context, architecture has no longer to do with style, form or other

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\(^2\) At the moment this paper has been drafted, a third of the English Premiereship teams are owned by foreign investors (Manchester United, Manchester City, Chelsea, Fulham, Liverpool, and West Ham). Other clubs (such as Arsenal, Southampton, QPR, among others) are also object of speculation from foreign groups.

\(^3\) More precisely, Manchester United, Arsenal have just altered their stadiums, whilst Liverpool, Portsmouth have announced plans to build brand new facilities.
strictly disciplinary parameters, but rather with networks, connections, potentials. These have a germinal character; often invisible and seemingly inconsequential they are actually capable to infiltrate and cause large changes; their weak approach is their strength. Following Foucault’s claim, this paper also implies that the skyline of cities is primarily the result of their organization, a diagram built in the very essence of the city.

At the level of organization, urbanism and football share more than it would initially appear. Football has also witnessed the emergence of new institutions (such as G14) or new characters (such as the global manager) where aims and organization would actually coincide.

The following two instances illustrate how organizational structures have been deployed in football to either dissipate contradictions or to produce genuine novelty through unexpected combinations.

These two examples conflate a number of pressing issues involving politics and space: their scale suggests their global character and implications; the mix of heterogeneous ingredients reveal the often incoherent logic of global enterprises; and finally they sketch out a strategy to operate on a global scale.

**Islands**

Islands seem to be more popular than ever. Whether conceptual or physical, they are springing everywhere from Dubai to even football.

By their very nature, islands allow independence and control relying on a double movement: first separation from whatever culture in place on the mainland, and then redefinition of new rules (whether authoritarian or libertarian).

However, in times marked by fads and abrupt shifts, such clarity is hard to maintain. Football clubs witnessed that when they built their own private paradise.

G14 is football’s definition of an island. Founded in 2000 by the richest teams in Europe to be “the voice of the clubs”, the organization is supposed, among other things, to replace old, superseded organizations – such as UEFA is in founders’ vision – to provide a more agile, up-to-date model suitable to global ambitions of football teams. Behind the rhetoric of increasing competitiveness and spectacle, the actual objective is to eliminate uncertainty by creating an independent league where traditional “accidents” – such as relegations – do not exist.\(^5\) The admission to the group is exemplary of G14’s political agenda: only a unanimous invitation by the current members will allow new teams to enter. For this very reason, clubs such as Chelsea or Benfica (respectively the most popular football club in the world and one of the richest clubs) are both not part of the organization. Again, reality got in the way to muddle the efficient picture envisioned by G14.


\(^5\) Their latest attempt to implement their plan was allegedly in March 2006 ([The Guardian](http://www.theguardian.com), March 18, 2006).
Currently, the enclave of the richest includes a second-league team (Juventus) and other sides whose fortunes have made them average members rather than leading groups (PSG, Marseille, Bayer Leverkusen).

But their misfortunes do not stop at this point. A league with a fixed number of teams implies the same matches every year: the expectations created by games that could potentially only happen once a decade would be spoiled by uninterrupted availability.

Founded to increase the spectacular and sensational character of football, G14 achieved the opposite result: it was deemed predictable and boring. Also, the G14’s positivistic claims to be more flexible and malleable than existing organizations turned out to be actually tame differences through generic and repetitive formats.

Although they have been the scope of numerous philosophical and historical studies, the conceptual meaning of islands that is presented in this story is simultaneously a mockery and praise of what islands are about. Islands are an elementary device; their twofold process clearly determines their existence and scope. Still, in the case of G14 or in some urban examples such the artificial islands of Dubai, what strikes is how their semantic value shifts to opportunistically meet any demand or artificially generate desires. While G14 quickly re-shapes its agenda to invert its original mandate – update football management is actually a masquerade to prevent actual competition – in the same way, Dubai’s islands are quickly resold as either symbolic or pragmatic entities in order to justify their existence. In between these oscillations, a blurred zone of suspension emerges, an area where anything can suddenly be proposed.

(Just-in) time

The fascinating figure of the international manager has often caught people’s attention. Long before Sven Goran Erickson managed England, Bora Milutinovic had been travelling around the world coaching national teams. Born in Serbia, after an unexceptional club career he became the only manager to have led five different teams to the World Cup (Mexico, Costa Rica, USA, Nigeria, and China). Beside his professional skills, his successes were also due to his histrionic personality able to win over people’s trust. Milutinovic’s motivations were a mix of love for the game, internationalism, and empathy for the underdog.

On the other hand, Guus Hiddink has replaced that romantic vision with skills more apt to global travelling. Born in the Netherlands, a country with a colonial past, he speaks good English – the official language of globalization – and has also succeeded in the outstanding result of bringing South Korea and Australia to the knock-out stage of the World Cup.

Hiddink’s capacity to scan the entire globe and acknowledge diversity and uniqueness have made him the first truly global manager. These qualities allowed him to teach Korean players “the culture of disobedience” to enhance their individual skills during the 2002 World Cup. In 2005, he went even further to design his organizational masterpiece. The unique combination of mobility, calendar management, and sys-
tematic assessment of what available allowed him to simultaneously manage PSV Eindhoven in the Netherlands and the Australian national team and attain record-breaking results with both.

Conclusions
What emerges is a lesson relevant to architecture as well. The shortfalls of the logics described always emerge when they presumptuously try to account for the entire development within a discipline. Conversely, their strength is directly proportional to their capacity to accept inconsistencies and partial revelations. The image of globalization arising is a rather turbulent one.

Distant from pseudo-scientific accounts based on neutrality or positivism, the present condition is perhaps better described by binaries; pairs of qualities that can be opportunistically or serendipitously interchanged. Global and local, complex and simple, symbolic and pragmatic, natural and artificial, old and new seem to co-exist happily, be that on a football pitch or on a blueprint for a new development.

Architecture should embrace these characteristic rather than protect untenable ideas by developing strategies able to make the most of mistakes and unpredictable factors. Agility and cross-disciplinary skills will be necessary in this endeavour.
The symbolic dimension of Japanese budō

Wojciech J. Cynarski and Kazimierz Obodyński
Rzeszów University, Poland

Abstract: In the perspective of humanist theory of martial arts and axiological reflection on far eastern martial arts practiced today we analyse the symbolic dimension of budō mainly of Japanese varieties and from the European perspective. In the theoretical reflection we reach for selected concepts of symbolic culture and art, theory of archetypes and symbols, symbolism of Chinese and Japanese cultures. For the needs of the present study 30-year participating observation of the first of the authors in the environment of martial arts in a few European countries has been used (as a method of research).

In order to show and interpret the understanding of the symbolic dimension of Japanese budō in European environment of Asian martial arts, which is the main aim of scientific exploration undertaken here, we have made an attempt to describe specificity of the way of martial arts in the context of related forms – feast, ritual or sport. We also present here examples of symbolism of classical schools of martial arts as well as of modern organizations of martial arts and combat sports as it appears in the world movement of martial arts.

Keywords: martial arts, budō, symbol, symbolic culture.

Introduction

Budō (ways of martial arts, ways of non-aggression) is a set of different varieties of ways, martial arts and combat sports of Samurai origin (sensu stricto understanding) or any known today varieties of this kind (sensu largo). Experts in martial arts draw attention to specificity of this field of psychophysical culture. For instance, Roland J. Maroteaux indicates significant difference between martial arts and combat sports, which differ especially in the aim of exercise but also in their deeper sense (Maroteaux & Cynarski, 2002-2003).

In the perspective of humanist theory of martial arts and axiological reflection on far eastern martial arts practiced today (Cynarski, 2004a), we analyse the symbolic dimension of budō mainly of Japanese varieties and from the European perspective. In the theoretical reflection we reach for selected concepts of symbolic culture and art, theory of archetypes and symbols, symbolism of Chinese and Japanese cultures.

In order to show and interpret the understanding of the symbolic dimension of Japanese budō in European environment of Asian martial arts, which is the main aim of scientific exploration undertaken here, we have made an attempt to describe specificity of the way of martial arts in the context of related forms – feast, ritual or sport. We also present here examples of symbolism of classical schools of martial arts as well as of modern organizations of martial arts and combat sports as it appears in the world movement of martial arts.
Explanations concerning the symbolic dimension of far eastern martial arts do not have very rich literature. American researchers analysed symbolic contents of martial arts practiced today mainly on the example of aikido (Westbrook & Ratti, 1970; Grossman, 1998). Various interpretations of the colours of belts indicating firstly the level of technical advancement are also known, as Mircea Ungurean (1994), Caile Christofer (2006) or Roland Habersetzer (2005) do that in their works. In certain research symbolic meanings of expressing forms imitating fight as well as the connections between martial arts and the cinema or theatre are taken into consideration (Mintz, 1978; Cynarski, 2004b; Pańczyk & Cynarski, 2006). Semiotic analysis of Korean tangsoodo in the perspective of humanist theory of martial arts and anthropology of martial arts by Cynarski is also realized by Marcin Kostyra (2006).

For the needs of the present study 30-year participating observation of the first of the authors in the environment of martial arts in a few European countries has been used (as a method of research).

Symbolic culture and art; archetypes and symbols

As the creator of the philosophy of symbolic forms states “a man cannot do more in the sphere of language, religion, art, science than create his own symbolic world which allows him to understand and interpret, formulate and organize, synthesize his human experience and make it universal” (Cassirer, 1977, 400). A special place in “symbolic culture” by Cassirer (1977, 315) is occupied by art which “may be defined as a symbolic language”. Thus, any artistic statement would be the same as “symbolic language” which should also apply to various forms of psychophysical expression in martial arts. As Maria Zowisło (2006, 68) explains,

an important and new discovery of the romantic philosophy of myth was indicating symbolism as the essence of mythological imagination. In the philosophy of art by Schelling final overcoming of dominating in mythography until then allegorical interpretation of myth for the benefit of a symbolic approach. Schelling used the notions of a scheme, allegory and symbol. The scheme presents this what is particular through this what is general, allegory – what is general through what is particular and symbol being a synthesis of those approaches is an identification of what is general and particular in what is particular. (...) The symbol is an autonomic meaningful entity. True art has a symbolic character. It is a continuation of myth creation in religion.

The very “esthetic experience” refers – according to Pierre Guiraud (1974, 79) – not only to beauty but also to this what is real, sensual and may be perceived in the impressionable shape. Art is recalling beauty, creating a vision, reflection of conditions of life, it is an expression of form and matter, is a state of mind, expression of faith, transmission of knowledge. It is an expression of man’s feelings, his love, ambition and needs, just like language, gesture and movement. We refer the notion of
art to conscious human activity aiming at transmitting feelings to those who experience those feelings in the same way. Thus, an artist is the one who evokes and preserves (in movement, mime, words, sounds, visual forms) his visions, knowledge, experiences and faith (Cynarski, 2002-2003).

Martial arts are close to the concepts of understanding art of this kind. A martial art is creative activity directed towards the subject, autocreation connected with overcoming the weakness of the body, with self-perfection of character through discipline of obeying ethical principles etc.

Jung (1976) searched for universal symbols. Erich Fromm, on the other hand, drew attention to the fact that the meaning of symbols is changeable and culture-conditioned (Fromm, 1977, 39). This thesis is confirmed by a comparative analysis of meaning of particular symbols in different cultural circles (Cynarski & Đuriček, 2001). Let us take Long or dragon as an example. Chinese mythology and cosmology distinguishes various categories of dragons. However, generally speaking the dragon is a good-natured creature, a symbol of masculine power, wisdom, emperor’s power, rain etc. (Eberhard, 2001, 234-7). On the other hand in the culture of Judeo-Christian roots dragon is associated with the biblical image of Satan and in legends about European knights it is associated with a physical manifestation of evil. But the heroes of Chinese mythology also fought with evil like one of “the eight immortal ones”, so-called Lü Dongbin who had “a sword killing demons” (Eberhard, 2001, 141-2). Dragons used to be helpful in this fight.

According to E. Fromm (1977, 28-43) all myths were written with the use of a “symbolic language” and a symbol remains in a crucial relation to inner experience. This thesis is confirmed by introspective research and cultural analyses of people penetrating mystical traditions of meditation systems of the East (Jung, 1976; Dolin & Popow, 1988; Maliszewski, 1996), but – in opposition to Fromm’s opinion – Carl G. Jung interpreted certain symbols as “archetypes” correctly. A universal archetype of this kind is “warrior”.

Introvert (in Jung’s terminology) spiritual culture of the East and far eastern martial arts – in their symbolic aspect – differ from western sport in the problem of “placement”: external observation and evaluation is not as important here as direct and “internal” practice and spiritual dimension of the experience.

Symbolic language of Fromm and Jung describes not only the images from dreams, explains the content of a myth or a fairy tale. Similarly to Mircea Eliade the neo-psychoanalysts mentioned above also referred their observations to cultural situations occurring on the “borderline” or “within” the sphere of sacram. Fromm wrote about the individual experience where in our consciousness we find out about unconscious things in the following way, “I bear in mind a symbolic ritual where a certain act, not a word or an image, represents inner experience” (Fromm, 1977, 227). It is not important here that this quotation concerns the Jewish Sabat. Sport games or other “rituals” from the field of physical culture may be interpreted similarly. In particular Asian martial arts are rich in symbolic contents.
Symbolic culture in budō

The fight itself has a crucial symbolic and archetypical sense accompanying both the oldest myths and their contemporary cinematic shape (Mintz, 1978; Mikoś, 1996). In case of certain signs of physical culture it is sometimes difficult to decide whether it is more about a feast, ritual or sport. It applies to e.g. Mongol wrestling, middle-Asian horse wrestling, Japanese sumō or kyūdō archery. Both Mongol wrestling combined with archery and horse races at the Naadam festival (Kabzińska-Stawarz, 1991; Napierała, 2006) and Shintoist sumō wrestling originate undoubtedly from ancient ritual fights. In turn kyūdō – Zen archery – is, similarly to kata forms taught in classical schools of martial arts, a form genetically related to ritual dance or theatrical performance (Cynarski, 2004b). We find here symbolically meaningful gestures whose understanding (interpretation) depends on the line of transmission and, thus, on the tradition of the school.

Chinese taiji or old-Japanese sumō contain religious-philosophical symbolism where almost every movement or gesture is meaningful. It also applies to many forms of preserved to this day varieties of budō.

It is necessary to distinguish original symbols coming from images of reality characteristic for those times and the ones developed in bushi culture in the period of the prime of martial arts. The first group contains semi-symbols: shouts, colour, ancient elements and refers to unconscious archetypical sphere. The second one has a richer set of words, gestures and body movements as well as symbols of sometimes multi-layer structure of meanings. A technical scheme (“kata”, Japanese form) is an encoded set of situational solutions, usages of techniques and tactics in fight which is passed from the master to the pupil. However, interpretation of particular movements is usually taught at more advanced level. Sometimes symbolism is created for the needs of a new school or style of fight through reaching in emblems, names and ideas to cultural tradition of the East.

Semi-symbols, e.g. ancient elements (earth, wood, metal, fire, water) appear in Taoism and hale their expression in strategies and techniques of fight. For instance, it applies to 15th century Tenshin Shōden Katori Shintō-ryū fencing school in which certain problems of fight tactics are explained according to Taoist theories of In – Yō (Chinese Yin – Yang) and the concept of Five Elements (Otake, 1977, 2-3, 25-34). It is also in case of medieval Japanese Takeda-ryū school which in its emblem presents the Sun and the moon – the image of In–Yō powers – on the background of a chrysanthemum.

The magical “mandala” circle analysed by Jung as a primeval symbol of unity and a scheme of self-integration of ego (Jung, 1976) appears both on the planes of temples and training rooms as well as in psychical training of warriors. The mystical image of the world in the system of tantra Buddhism is also – in the scheme of a mandala – an image of a personal microcosm (Dolin & Popow, 1988, 31-38). We may distinguish institutions with symbolic influence (warrior’s rite of passage, knighting, schools of knightly ethos and education), a person – symbol (“saint” Bodhidharma for kung-fu or
Morihei Ueshiba for *aikidō*, material expression of an idea (e.g. “dōjō” – “the place of the way” for the *budō* adepts). Dōjō is a special place; a place of ascetic effort for transgression and perception – under the guidance of a teacher – of the way of non-aggression and the way of life. It is a material place – symbol of training and esoteric or, in other words, inner development (Cynarski, 2005).

**Symbolism of classical schools of martial arts in European perception**

As M. Eliade (1993, 416) stated “A man always remains a prisoner of his own intuition of archetype”. The myth of reintegration for the sake of reaching the state of balance of oppositions in the nature of the divine (Chinese elements *yin-yang*) seems to be very significant. Certain myths hidden in symbols have been preserved since prehistoric times and appear in martial arts – e.g., 1) the symbol of absolute reality, indestructability and power – *vajra* or diamond and thunder, also “hardness” and folded fist (e.g. in Tibetan Buddhism *vajrayana* Chinese-Japanese ideology „kongō zen” of the *shōrinji kenpō* school, old-Hindi fight *vajramushti*); 2) *yin-yang* (female and male elements, negative and positive ones, darkness and light being in dialectic dynamic balance); 3) labyrinth and purification (e.g. the legendary final exam in Chinese Shaolin monastery); 4) bonds and tying up as well as following as presented in the spiritual interpretation of the way of martial arts – the yoga of bravery and honour; 5) symbolism of the centre and cosmos which is strongly emphasized in *aikidō*; 6) iconographic symbols and myths of sacrifice and regeneration which appear both in martial arts and many contemporary sports. In *budō* myth is the basis for the sacred order of things in which people repeat the actions of gods and heroes (Cynarski, 2002-2003).

Thus, the concepts of Eliade and Jung with archetypical explanation for certain symbolic meanings seem to be – also in the perspective of the humanist theory of martial arts – one of justified approaches in interpretation of hidden meanings of those arts. However, this understanding is not confirmed by observation of the environment of martial arts in Europe.

Classical schools of martial arts, as the two mentioned above, are very little known in Europe. In the martial arts environment *aikidō* is identified with classical martial arts, which is not correct. On the other hand, contemporary *aikidō* preserves certain rules and symbolism from the times of *bushi* culture or from even older Chinese traditions. It concerns the notions of *ki* – inner energy, the centre, macro- and microcosm, harmonizing energies of contradictory powers (*in–yō*), spherical movements (Westbrook & Ratti, 1970).

Similarly it applies to the present-day *karatedō*. Mircea Ungurean distinguishes master’s levels of *tatsushi* and *kyōshi* with the features of a tiger (*toranomaki*) and dragon (*ryunomaki*) respectively (Ungurean, 1994). Over-technical *kyōshi* level is often connected with having an honorary degree (e.g. 7 dan) and – in many schools of Japanese tradition – white and red belt. Master’s degrees from 7 to 10 dan describe the level of maturity (*iro kokoro*) and the stage of spiritual mastery “ri”. Phoenix is an indestructible bird of the *hanshi* level or of the master-professor. It is a symbol of
Japanese emperors, power or even immortality. NB the shihan title means the function of a teacher of a higher rank. “Master” – hanshi on the 9 dan or 10 dan level – is often distinguished with a red belt. Sometimes the highest titles of meijin (Japanese master) or sōke (an heir and a guardian of tradition) are given. Exceeding the scale honorary degrees of 11 and 12 dan are conferred more often post mortem and only to exquisite masters.

Here are some examples of symbols appearing on the emblems of schools and organizations of classical Japanese martial arts: 1) the emblem of the Takeda family accepted by Sōkaku Takeda for the Daitō-ryū school – four rhombuses or diamond (hardness) in an oval (softness, harmony); 2) Takeda-ryū Sobudō of Hisashi Nakamura – Japanese national emblem “kiku” or chrysanthemum with images of the sun and the moon (yin-yang elements); Katori Shintō-ryū Kobudō Yoshio Sugino – a bush and leaves of bamboo – in reference to the legend of the invincible creator of the school.

Symbols of archetypical origin include typical for an art forms of expression, references to old cultures and mythologies (archetypical semantic code), religious elements and mystical-magical semiotics appearing in martial arts. Yin-yang symbolism is present not only in Taoist so-called internal kung-fu styles (neijia) but also in aikijutsu, aikido techniques, Korean hapkido and certain karate styles.

**Symbolism of modern organizations of martial arts and combat sports**

The way of martial arts has a deeper symbolic meaning being a way of transgression and transcendence. It is achieving subsequent master’s degrees and continuous aiming at widely understood mastery. It may also have a “geographical” or tourist dimension when it becomes the route of a journey undertaken for the sake of studies and research on martial arts as it is in case of many contemporary experts (D.F. Draeger, R. Habersetzer, M. Maliszewski, R.J. Maroteaux, L. Sieber, S. Sterkowicz).

Participation in significant shows, in competitions, teaching license being “an internal pupil” (uchi-deshi) are milestones of this way, often repeated in biographies of real experts, on which sensei (Japanese teacher) is the guide. Without a teacher one cannot become a master on his own. Although it happens that in Europe many instructors (Japanese shidoin) and holders of low master’s degrees (Japanese yūdansha) – require to be titled “sensei” or they call themselves “masters” but this is a sign of deviation resulting from commercialization of this sphere of human activity.

Colours of belts are differently explained by different authors – martial arts specialists. Their symbolism may refer to the level of moral and spiritual development on the way of martial arts. As R. Habersetzer explains, it may mean getting ready for life and death fight. It is about developing vigilance (Japanese zanshin). White colour may be associated here with the state of relaxation, yellow with the state of mind without tension and anger. Orange describes achieving the state of pure intuition, red refers to full concentration and being ready for defensive reaction. Black colour indicates the stage of acceptance of possible death. As the French karate expert writes,
the code of the colours outlines how the physical and mental engagement progresses at the time of a real confrontation (on the level of survival) (...) We can see that in fact, in the Martial Arts, it is more about mental conditioning then specific techniques. The ultimate weapon is the spirit (...) (Habersetzer, 2005, 4).

Of course in combat sports practiced today where guarded by regulations fight convention is current the practitioner does not experience the stress of life threat.

Functioning on the martial arts market schools and organizations refer to far eastern symbolism. The symbol of shōtōkan karate style is “tora” or tiger. Today divided kyokushin karate organization preserves the Okinawa “kanku” symbol or “glance at Heaven”. The emblem of aikibudō organization of Alain Floquet is tsuba (hilt-guard of a Samurai sword) with the image of a crane. German DDBV\(^1\) association combines a Japanese sword (“katana”, a symbol of justice, nobility and honor) with the Asclepiads snake (medicine). In the logo of Idōkan Poland Association we find a “embusen” ring (eternity, infinity), Shintoist “torii” gate the entrance to the way of martial arts, a symbol of classical tradition), “kiku” and a sword (Japanese knightly traditions).

Kōdōkan jūdō is at present more an organization of the Olympic sport than a school of martial arts. Its emblem – sakura, the cherry blossom – is a symbol of a short but magnificent life of a Samurai. However, in Japan cherry (sakura) and chrysanthemum (kiku) have codes of many meanings, they have numerous historical, political and religious relations (Shimizu, 2006).

Summary
Symbols of countries and cultures of Far East create a mixture of contents of emblem of practiced contemporarily styles, schools, varieties and organizations of martial arts. The cherry blossom and the sword, dragon and tiger, phoenix or crane , an emblem of an ancient noble family or folded fist have become icons thanks to which practitioners of numerous varieties of martial arts may identify with a given school or master as well as associate their studies “on the way of a warrior” with Asian cultural roots.

Specificity of the way of martial arts is significantly different from genetically related forms – feast, ritual or sport. This difference consists in the esoteric dimension, spiritual sense of self-perfection on the way of martial arts and inner experience inscribed into the way of achieving mastery in budō. However, understanding of the symbolic dimension of Japanese budō in European environment of Asian martial arts may be different (more or less adequate) and also it may depend on the channel of transmission. This common perception often results from typical for global mass culture confusion in slogans and icons. Old symbols of elitist knightly schools turn into labels of companies on the commercial market of service.

\(^1\) Deutscher Dan-Träger und Budo-Lehrer Verband e. V. – German Association of Holders of Dan Degrees and Budō Teachers in Munich.
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Analyzing international sport events from the aspect of project management

Gabriella Dancsecz and Lajos Szabó
University of Pannonia, Hungary

Abstract: In recent years, more and more attention has been devoted to international sport competitions. The positive effects of a successful event can be felt not only by the organizing sport association and the local athletes, but also by the organizing towns, regions or even countries.

The purpose of the present research is to define the organizational success factors of international sport events organized in Hungary and selected European countries as well as to gather solutions and management methods that contribute to the success of sport event projects.

The study covers the approaches of project, event and sport management. The research model presents success criteria and success factors of sport event projects as well as relationships potentially existing between the elements of the model.

We apply empirical analysis and secondary research to investigate the elaborated research model. At the stage of empirical survey, we carry out personal interviews with a few organizers in order to learn about their experience and gather information from organizers using questionnaires. In the secondary research, we analyse the documentation of certain sport events to investigate deep level problem areas.

According to the foregoing interviews and analyses, not only hard, technical factors play an important role in organizing successful international sport events, but soft, relation-oriented factors are also at least that much determining.

Keywords: sport events, project management, project success.

The role of international sport events

National sport associations and sport movements of West and Central Europe play more and more significant and year-by-year extending roles in organizing international sport events. The reason for this is, on one hand, providing financial background for sport organizations, on the other hand, the propagation of sports and national athletes (Nyerges, 1998).

Beside sponsorial supports, one of the main devices of finding resources necessary to sustain sport movements is organizing sports competitions, which can provide considerable income for sport organizations following an experienced, competent, and committed organizing work. Furthermore, it can promote the propagation of national teams and their participation before local spectators.
International sport events have a great effect on the tourism and economy of the organizing country, region or city as well, for, beside sport delegacies and official attendants, there are crowds of supporters and spectators arriving at these events, who get fascinated by the tension of competitions and the intense experience of sport triumphs. During their stay, the so-called sport tourists coming to competitions not only buy entrance tickets and emblematic objects, but they also spend money on accommodation, food, traveling and sightseeing, which increases the income of local economy, particularly of the service industry (Dreyer & Krüger, 2004).

In addition to this, the promotional value of events is an important, collateral profit for the organizing city or region, as tourists spread the fame of successful events and the host localities, not to mention the television broadcasts, which convey pictures and news of events to millions of viewers.

It is a wide-ranging and extremely complicated task to organize such large sport events, to manage the duties and activities and to co-ordinate the participants work. Therefore, nowadays it is ineluctable to apply the methods of project management and event organization for the sake of organizing successful and efficient events.

The purpose of the present research is to define the organizational success factors of international sport events organized in Hungary and selected European countries as well as to gather solutions of organizing and management methods that contribute to the success of sport event projects.

**Success of international sport event projects**

According to the definition of a project – that is, each activity shall be treated as a project that means a single, complex task for the organization, and has a definite aim, budget as well as deadline for accomplishment (Görög, 2003) – international sport events can be considered projects. In accordance with the definition of project management – that is, project management incorporates preparing, planning, implementing and coordinating tasks; furthermore, it includes the management and control of these activities in favour of an efficient and successful completion of the project (Holzbaur et al., 2003) – the process of event organizing can be regarded as a project management activity.

Studying the successful results of sport event projects arises the question when to consider a project successful. Among several approaches mentioned in literature towards project success, the most commonly accepted conception is the so-called project triangle, according to which a project can be regarded successful if it is carried out by an appointed deadline and under cost constraints, fulfilling specified quality parameters (Turner & Cochrane, 1993).

However, this approach does not satisfactorily evaluates project success, as the latest experiences show that several completed projects considerably exceeding time and cost constraints have achieved great business success in the long run (Shenhar et al., 2001). Hence nowadays experts tend to measure project success applying multi-dimensional models that contain more aims and aspects.
Analysing the characteristics of projects, Baker, Murphy and Fisher (1988) denoted as criteria of project success the fulfillment of technical requirements and mission of a project as well as the satisfaction of project owners, customers, clients, and the project team itself. In his hierarchical model, Görög (1999) defined project success, in a similar way, on more levels, measuring the realization of primary project aims as well as the satisfaction of the project owner organization and the interest groups involved in the project.

As defining project success seems to be an extremely complex task, it is necessary to attempt to reduce subjectivity and to make criteria measurable in order to achieve effective evaluation.

**Project success criteria and project success factors**

Studying the question of project success, we need to distinguish the concept of project success factor and that of project success criteria. Project success factors are facts and circumstances that influence the accomplishment of a project, whereas project success criteria are principles and requirements on the basis of which project results can be evaluated (Lim & Mohamed, 1999).

This is the approach that is mentioned in “the Project Excellence” model, elaborated by the German Project Management Association. In this model, from the two points of view in evaluation, project management, or organizational category contains the factors that can be controlled by the project manager in favour of a successful realization of the project, whereas the project results category can provide clues to the evaluation of the results achieved by the organization.

It is essential to know the criteria defined towards project results, on the basis of which the project success can be evaluated, for it is possible to fulfill the requirements expected and to identify factors of efficiency and success only if we are aware of the demands.

**Task orientation and relation orientation**

When analysing the project organizational side, the factors affecting project success, two groups of critical success factors can be defined, which date back to the task orientated and relation orientated categories established within the frame of researches of personal management at Ohio and Michigan Universities. Task orientation focuses on objectives, achievements and activity of staff, whereas relation orientation focuses on interest towards staff, teamwork of colleagues as well as on the relationship between different departments, customers and clients (Blake & McCanse, 1992).

Researches done at Ohio and Michigan Universities had similar results concerning the definition of task orientated and relation orientated managing styles; however, it largely differed in a way that researchers of Michigan considered the two categories exclusive, whereas according to researchers of Ohio the two kinds of managing styles may coexist (Bakacsí, 1998).

Hence, according to the results of Ohio State University and further researches based on these results successful managers shall complete two objectives. On one
hand, they shall accomplish the appointed aims by effectively structuring activities and actively managing resources and processes. On the other hand, they shall complete the objectives concerning relationships, fulfill the demands of workers, and that of team integration by encouraging participants and applying adequate managing style (Ulrich & Fluri, 1992).

![Figure 1. Task and relation orientation (Ulrich & Fluri, 1992)](image)

This twofold objective also emerges in the area of project management, during the implementation of projects. Task orientation, in this respect, consists of business activities, systems and processes applied by the organization in order to accomplish the project, whereas relation orientation focuses on individual members of the organization, groups involved and communication (Kendra & Taplin, 2004).

**Analysis of success factors and criteria of international sport events**

The research model, elaborated based on analysis of professional literature and practical experience, presents success criteria and critical success factors of sport event projects as well as relationships potentially existing between the elements of the model.

In the model, factors contributing to the success of sport event projects are split into three main parts: task orientation, relation orientation and random impacts. The partition into task and relation orientation is based on the professional analysis presented above, whereas the category of random impacts was formed during the analysis of concrete events, as we can deduce from experience that unexpected incidents (e.g. extreme weather phenomena, terror activities, riots, etc.) can impose significant influence on the efficiency of events.
These three factors together affect the success of sport events, which we intend to measure on the basis of criteria defined towards project results, that is, by analysing the implementation of objectives and the satisfaction of people involved in the project in accordance with professional literature and the “Project Excellence” model.

Figure 2. Research model

We apply empirical analysis and secondary research to investigate the elaborated research model. In the stage of the empirical survey we make personal interviews in our country and with the organizers of sport events held in Germany in order to learn about their experience. In addition to this, we gather information from organizers of international sport events, held between 2000 and 2007, using questionnaires in Hungary and in selected countries.

The statistical analysis of questionnaire results is carried out in accordance with the evaluation model, in which we do main component and factor analysis to group indicators, and regression analysis to study supposed correlation between elements of the model. Then we execute a route analysis concerning the direction of existing connections.
In the secondary research we thoroughly analyse the documentation and evaluation of certain Hungarian and German sport event projects to investigate deep level problem areas.

**Conclusions of interviews and documentation analysed so far**

We have interviewed the main organizers of the European Swimming Championship 2006 and the operative director of the Canoe World Championship 2006 in Hungary just like the project manager of the 2006 Football World Cup in Germany. Furthermore, we analysed the documentation of these events.

As far as task orientation is considered, the analysis of these events have demonstrated that defining the objectives along with elaborating the schedules and budget plans in details strongly contribute to achieving the aims, and keeping time and cost limits. It is essential to assess and attend to the demands of people involved in order to make them feel satisfied. For instance, preliminary mapping of athletes’ demands (traveling, accommodation, food, recreation, training possibilities, accurate information on times and places, etc.), and conscious preparing for fulfilling the demands are needful to support competitors to the largest extent in achieving their best sports accomplishments possible.

It is very important to find appropriate suppliers, to co-operate with them effectively, to keep everything under permanent control, and to observe deadlines in favour of providing adequate resources. This is what caused some problems in case of several events, especially because of misunderstandings and delays resulting from the lack of permanent control and discussions.

The proper defining of the tasks, responsibilities and competences is essential, as based on organizers’ experience, failing this may result in a considerable overlap or the lack of responsibles may lead to the failure of implementation. Furthermore, it is also essential to set out a detailed schedule followed by its regular updating, for the event can be organized based on it and it also serves as the project documentation available for the process and the officials.

In the scope of relation orientation, one of the important factors is employing participants who are proficient and competent in their specialities, can work effectively in a project team, and maximally contribute to the realization of the sport event. The common aim, the successful event and the participants’ willingness to prove motivate efficient team work, according to organizers.

The important factors of co-operations are establishing a good relationship with the relevant international association, gaining its support, as well as sharing a national and local commitment, which can strongly contribute to a successful event in case there is a positive attitude, however, in case of a negative attitude it may put difficulties in the way of carrying out the event, for instance in the way of constructions or renovations of buildings.

Regarding the communication, the satisfaction of spectators, athletes, sponsors and the media greatly depends on the continuous attention towards everybody involved in the project, and on the communication with them.
The open and straight communication within the organizing committee, the availability and contactability of the management and the encouragement of teamwork facilitates the stream of information within the committee, the efficient co-operation as well as the commitment and active participation of members.

The analysis of accidental effects indicates interesting results, as in case of most events some programmes had special plans prepared for rainy weather and for supplying electricity when required due to a shutdown. However, such an incident may exert a huge effect, as the example of European Swimming Championship on Margaret Island showed, where a monsoonlike storm interrupted the programme and the broadcasting and timing equipment got soaked. The difficulties caused by this extraordinary storm were overcome by changing the schedule, substituting equipment thanks to MTV, by setting up a protective net and by the help of numerous volunteers and assistants. Although finally the problems could be solved, a preliminary risk analysis, and preparation for extraordinary situations can be useful on any similar emergency.

**Expected results of the research**

The preparation and finalization of the questionnaires are being done at the moment, which is going to be followed by forwarding the questionnaires and evaluating the results statistically. Parallel to this, the realization of personal interviews and the analysis of documentation of selected sport events are going on.

The statistical analysis of questionnaire results and the research results based on experiences gained from case study level investigations reveal the factors that influence the successful organization and implementation of sport events, along with the activities and methods that can contribute to the success and efficiency of international sport event projects.

As a result of the research a sport event organizational life-cycle is going to be compiled, which can help the extremely complex and wide-ranging work of the organizers of international sport events – from the application for organizing a competition to its implementation and the follow-up analysis – and the effective integration of various areas and functional activities relating event organization; moreover, it can provide guidance for organizing successful sport events.

**References**


Civilizing processes and hurling in Ireland: 1884-2000

Paddy Dolan and John Connolly
Dublin City University, Ireland

Abstract: This paper examines the sport of hurling in Ireland through the theoretical framework of sport and leisure developed by Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning. Through an analysis of newspaper reports of games, of rulebooks and codes of play, as well as historical data on increasing social differentiation and integration, we argue that hurling has undergone sportization and civilizing processes. The increasing emotional restraint of spectators and players can be explained by the changes in the overall structure of Irish society during this period, particularly with increasing interdependencies between people.

Keywords: hurling, sportization, Elias, civilizing processes, Ireland.

Introduction
The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate the applicability of the figurational approach to the Irish national game of hurling. Hurling is a field game of fifteen a side played with broad, flat wooden sticks (hurleys) and a small ball (sliotar). The ostensible object of the game is to accrue scores through propelling the ball (on the ground and “in the air”) between goalposts, either under the bar to score a goal (worth three points) or over the bar to score a single point. The goalposts resemble the H structure of rugby, and each team has a goalkeeper. The goal of this paper is to trace the major changes of the game since its first written codification in the late nineteenth century. Such rule changes reflect the changing expectations of players and spectators alike, and, more generally, the shifting taste for displays of open violence. We contend that the behaviour of both players and spectators has become more civilized (in the technical sense as used by Elias), in that spontaneous displays of aggression towards players, officials and opposing supporters have declined. It is our contention that these changing thresholds of violence have occurred with the “sportization” of hurling and within a broader context of increasing social interdependencies beyond the field of play. The paper shows various aspects of these intertwined social processes – the convergence of rules; increasing social co-ordination around the scheduling and completion of match fixtures; the advancing threshold of repugnance concerning overt displays of violence; the shifting power ratios between players and governing officials; spectator self-control; and the shifting figurations comprising people in Ireland. These aspects will be discussed in turn before the various threads are connected in the conclusion.
Rule convergence and game standardization

The main organizational basis for the nascent standardization of the game of hurling began with the establishment of the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) in 1884 (see de Búrca, 1989, 71-99). There had of course been a game called hurling in Ireland for many centuries, but the earliest evidence of written rules appears to be the Killimor rules of 1869 which were for a club based in the West of Ireland (Lennon, 1997, 1). However, prior to the formation of the GAA in 1884 the specific rules were probably agreed on a game-by-game basis around the generally accepted parameters of local tradition. For instance, in the Killimor rules the duration or total number of goals to be played was agreed by the captains of both teams before each game (Lennon, 1997, 3), indicating that aspects of each game were negotiated on a local, immediate basis. As Mandle (1987, 3) notes, “not until teams from different areas met would differences in rules become apparent”. This realization led to attempts to standardize the rules of the game, so that hurling could become a truly national sport.

In the early years of the GAA, the organization of games themselves was often precarious; teams often arrived late, even for All-Ireland Finals. It was not until 1910 that the scheduled games were actually played within the year of the designated national championships (Mandle, 1987, 150). A delimiting of the number of players also occurred; the GAA rules of 1884 allow for between fourteen and twenty one players aside, further reduced in the 1895 rules to seventeen and to fifteen by 1915 (Lennon, 1997, 11, 46, 99). These continued attempts at standardizing the number of players (and therefore the structure and flow of the game itself) took place within the then acceptable standards of tardiness prevailing in broader Irish society at the time. Elias (1993) notes that as societies become more functionally complex and as social interdependencies increase and intensify, there is growing pressure to be on time, which in effect means adjusting one’s conduct to enable the reciprocal performance of inter-related functions. However, such a culture of punctuality requires time to become established and varies according to the specific density of the social networks within which each individual is socialized. In social networks of relatively short links of interdependencies, the pressure to be punctual is less pressing; in turn, it is difficult to impose such standards on people attuned to a more autarkic social life. Thus, the culture of timing and scheduling of events had become more advanced by the framing of the 1943 rules, when the postponement of matches seven days hence was prescribed (Lennon, 1997, 199). As the institutionalization of roles (referee, linesmen and umpires) developed and became more defined with respect to controlling the game, the sport also underwent a rationalization process in terms of the commencement of each match. Initially, all players except the goalkeepers lined out in the centre of the pitch before the ball was thrown in. This was gradually reduced to two from each side by the 1966 rules, suggesting the heightening significance of structural positions on the field of play.

It is important to point out that the organization of games had also been hampered (and in other respects advanced) by escalating hostilities between Irish and British
forces during the War of Independence (1919-21) and during the Civil War in 1922-23. Transport lines were destroyed and this had the unintended consequence of limiting the movement of players and spectators alike. We see here the interdependence between political and leisure processes within the same figuration (mutually dependent network) of people occupying the same territory; the “production and consumption” of games, as leisure pursuits, depend upon a relatively pacified social space which in turn depends upon state monopolization of the means of physical force. Indeed as a result of this pacified social space, the game also underwent a further civilizing (and sportization) process in respect of the tolerable threshold of violence on display.

**Thresholds of violence**

While it is difficult to be certain that violence has actually declined in the sport of hurling, we can state with considerable confidence that the “threshold of repugnance” (see Elias, 2000, 414-21) towards displays of violence advanced. The numbers of rules increased and indeed many were formulated with the expressed intention of placing greater scrutiny and surveillance on players in an effort to discipline them and implement the developing standards of fair play. Even within the earliest GAA rules players were expected to exercise some control over themselves regarding the use of physical force, though these standards of aggression control were relatively modest; for example the 1889 rules state: “No player to catch, trip, push from behind, or butt with the head” (Lennon, 1997, 35).

At this time the rules were not applied by neutral social functionaries but by partial observers, and the lack of “mutually expected self-restraint” (Goudsblom cited in Wouters, 1987, 422) regarding the use of aggression meant that three umpires for each team were appointed. Obviously, player drunkenness at matches was at least frequent enough to warrant the inclusion of a rule prohibiting such conduct. The rule against striking emphasizes the affective rather than instrumental use of violence (see Dunning, 1986); it was envisaged that players might resort to violence out of temper but not instrumentally in pursuit of strategic advantage. While the rules forbade the “intentional” striking of an opponent with the hurley, it was expected that the game be played in a “manly” fashion. Indeed the game in its infancy as an organized sport was juxtaposed at the time against the less masculine leisure pursuits of the British such as soccer, cricket and rugby. So the symbolic and social distinction between English and Irish groups, colonizer and colonized, moderated the parallel social process of declining physical violence in national sport, especially hurling. As part of this relational dynamic the followers and players of the opposing games were also juxtaposed in terms of strength and willingness to defy ostensible authority. This defiance was related to the relative success of land agitation struggles from the 1880s onwards that reflected the shifting power relation between tenant-farmers and landlords in favour of the former. The use of physical force in these conflicts underpinned the social acceptability, and indeed necessity, to display aggression in other contexts, such as sport. There were of course always limits to the acceptability of
violence, but the prevailing culture of violence at this time can be characterized as ambivalent; it was understood that people may resort to violence to protect property or to attack opponents, and this disposition, or habitus (see Elias, 1991; Elias, 2000), could spontaneously emerge during games of conflict.

Players at that time seem to have had a higher pain threshold, which is in keeping with a more violent game; teams in both the 1889 and 1891 All-Ireland senior hurling finals played in bare feet due to waterlogged pitches (Mandle, 1987, 76, 79). The 1897 rules attempted to improve the social scrutiny of rule transgressions by compelling referees to submit reports of “rough play” to central authorities and to ensure “no nails, spikes, or iron tips (were) on the boots of the players”, (Lennon, 1997, 52). An individual player was not only under social pressure from the referee to place limits on his aggression, but also through the entire team itself as the rules of 1897 allowed for the suspension of the whole team should any player threaten the referee. However, the advancing threshold of repugnance towards violent displays did not proceed smoothly nor in a unilinear direction. As the escalating conflict between Irish nationalist groups on the one side and English and Irish unionist groups on the other become more pronounced during the second decade of the twentieth century (and the ethos of violent confrontation for political ends became more acceptable), the organizers of the sport made reference to the military function of hurling. In 1911 a future president of the GAA stated: “We want our men to train and to be physically strong so that when the time comes the hurlers will cast away the camán for the steal that will drive the Saxon from our land” (McCarthy quoted in Mandle, 1987, 162). As the tensions rose, hurling’s mimetic function subsided and it was presented as an actual preparatory ground for military conflict. Social groups during this period advocating a separately governed territory of Ireland trained for imminent armed conflict with hurley sticks.

Hurling games could be abandoned due to player violence, as occurred in the 1915 provincial semi-final (Mandle, 1987, 174). Player violence and spectator violence tended to be inter-related in that the latter often followed the former up to the 1960s. The 1933 Munster hurling final included fights between players and the striking of one player with a hurley stick, which led to “a pitched battle with upraised hurleys, swinging dangerously at one another” (Irish Press, 7 August 1933, 9). The 1936 All-Ireland semi-final finished abruptly when one team walked off the pitch in response to one of their players being injured in a “fracas” (Irish Press, 17 August 1936, 14). During the game, “There was a penchant to draw wildly and players suffered minor injuries as a result. (...) Even when the ball was not in their immediate vicinity players were often vigorously tackling each other unnecessarily” (original emphasis) (Irish Press, 17 August 1936, 14). The emphasis on the latter journalistic comment may indicate that this was unusual and/or exciting, but the critical assessment of player conduct is based on the futility of the violence in respect of its instrumentality. The moral denunciation of players is muted by comparison. Journalists characterized both these matches in the 1930s as “exciting” specifically in regard to the moment when violent conflict arose on the field of play. While the 1933 game was described as “unpleasant”, the players were not described in terms of individual or group disgrace.
By contrast, the action of the spectators who invaded the pitch were characterized as “disgraceful”, suggesting a higher standard of spectator self-control than player self-control at this time.

Gradually, however, players were expected to exert greater self-control. As discussed above, from 1950 the rules do not include a prohibition on head butting nor the wearing of boots with nails, spikes or iron tips (Lennon, 1997, 273). This indicates that these practices had become so taboo that they did not need to be explicitly stated any longer. From 1973 the referee was expected to consult with linesmen and umpires for the infringement of rules, and players could be cautioned for striking the goalposts with the hurley (Lennon, 1997, 274), requiring players to monitor and control their emotional urges, such as anger or frustration, to a much higher standard. The 1975 rules extend the prohibition on intentional striking of another player with the hurley to include bringing the hurley “through careless play in contact with the person of another player”, so that players not only were expected to refrain from deliberately striking another. The greater “wildness” of earlier play was increasingly restricted; players had to think about the potential injurious consequences of their use of the hurley stick prior to any attempts to propel the ball or secure its possession further increasing the demands on players to control their conduct on the field.

These rule changes are not merely bureaucratic of course; they reflect changing norms and values concerning how the game should be played and in particular the degree to which aggression should be released or constrained, and the balance expected between social and self-control in the exercise of that constraint. This is not to suggest that the sport became devoid of physical aggression. Tensions between opposing players could still lead to aggressive confrontation, but they were increasingly subject to social observation and scrutiny not only by referees and umpires, but also special adjudication panels who could view video footage of games. For example, two players were sent off shortly after the start of the 1998 Munster final “for a serious exchange of blows” (Moran, Irish Times, 20 July 1998), while others were subsequently subjected to a Games Administration Committee which viewed video evidence of the incident. Yet, while the expectations of limited aggression, and the degree of social observation, increased over the course of the twentieth century, the inter-team tensions remained strong. Consequently, player self-control on the field continued to be somewhat fragile. The need “to stand your ground” against threats and intimidation from an opposing player in a sport that structurally developed into an inter-related chain of dyadic contests on the pitch meant that spirals of violence could erupt rapidly if unchecked by social observation and potential sanction. The public attitude to displays of violence also became less forgiving over the twentieth century. Journalists were more willing to name players who engaged in violent conduct in their reports compared to newspaper reports of the 1930s for example, which tended to refer to a player only in terms of his team. The social desire to diminish the displays of overt aggression is also clear from the introduction of helmets in the 1970s on a voluntary basis, and the compulsory wearing of helmets for players under the age of twenty one from 2005 (Flynn, et al., 2005, 495). Though the growing social constraint towards
self-constraint on the field of play has not proceeded smoothly, this process has been more evident in relation to the conduct of crowds at matches.

**Spectator involvement and detachment**

In the early decades of the standardization of hurling and the GAA organization, spectator interference with play and crowd encroachment or invasion of the pitch were quite common. As the century progressed, match crowds became less directly involved in the game, i.e. more detached, and the emotions of the game were increasingly experienced through the eye (Elias, 2000, 171).

The 1886 GAA rules conferred on the referee the power to award a score if a shot destined for the goal “had not struck a bystander” (Lennon, 1997, 20), indicating that spectators were prone to attempts at diverting the trajectory of shots. By 1897, the GAA rules empowered the referee to terminate the game due to “interference of spectators”, and clubs were expected to take precautions “to prevent spectators threatening or assaulting referees, officials, or players, during or after matches” (Lennon, 1997, 52). During the 1903 All-Ireland final (though played in 1905 due to organizational difficulties) the referee disallowed a goal on the basis that a spectator had participated in the play leading to the score, a decision which precipitated a pitch invasion and the abandonment of the match (Mandle, 1987, 146). Violence amongst spectators or between players and spectators was often directly related to violence on the field. For example, the Munster final of 1933 was terminated early by the referee with the game awarded to one of the teams when a “melee” amongst the players led to a pitch invasion “with crowd from the sidelines joined in the encounter, camáns and fists being used. The row was soon stopped, but the pitch could not be cleared of the crowds” (Irish Press, August, 7th, 1933, 1). Supporters disrupted matches when their team were in danger of losing and for more spontaneous reasons – usually due to injuries suffered by players. Displays of emotion were directly interdependent based on the figuration of opposing players and supporters.

But rule changes did not immediately produce changes in the conduct of crowds at matches. During the closing stages of the 1950 Munster final supporters ran on to the pitch to celebrate scores, even though this spontaneous reaction hampered their team’s chances of success (Irish Press, July, 24th, 1950, 7). The journalist also reported fighting in the crowd between opposing supporters, while a spectator had attacked one player during the game.

In the latter decades of the twentieth century supporters still expressed their excitement or indignation with brief pitch incursions but these gradually became less frequent and violent. The GAA authorities became more successful in controlling the crowds through effective deployment of stewards at pitch-side. Despite some temporary reversals, we contend that there has been a gradual transition from more direct spectator involvement towards more detached forms of support encompassing greater emphasis on visually experienced excitement. We argue that this transition, and the more fragile player civilizing process, is connected to broad figurational shifts.
Figurations of Ireland

Here, we attempt to provide the changing social context for the development of player and spectator conduct at hurling matches in Ireland. We argue that since the late nineteenth century the network of mutual dependencies affecting most people in Ireland became more extensive and all-pervasive. More and more people of diverse class positions had to succumb to a wider variety of social pressures to control themselves and attune their conduct according to specific power relations. However, these changes did not proceed evenly, though there was a specific order or structure to the changes. Greater functional specialization and social differentiation increased over the nineteenth century bringing more and more small and subsistence farmers into a developing network (figuration) of exchange based on different phases in the production and distribution of food (see Clark, 1978, 31; see Ó Gráda, 1994, 255-70). This in turn led to the expansion of nodes of administration and commercial exchange, towns and cities, which required more extensive transportation networks and more effective control of security through state institutions to ensure safe carriage of goods.

Farmers were of course interdependent with each other and with landowners and eventual consumers but the everyday existence of farmers and agricultural labourers were subject to less pervasive and varied social pressures compared to those living in urban areas engaged in professional, manufacturing and service occupations. As Elias (2000, 380) notes the effect of specific figurations on individuals depends upon their role and position within them; someone on the periphery may not perceive the effect of other’s behaviour on their own life chances, while those more centrally located are compelled to exercise a more “steady control of conduct”. Thus, as well as urban-rural differences there are inter-class differences and dynamics within cities which affect habitus formation. Irish society towards the end of the nineteenth century had undergone a process of agrarian class transformation (see Clark, 1978), whereby the axis of conflict and tension shifted from relations between farmers, landholders and labourers to those predominantly between farmers and landowners. We argue that such a shift provided the tentative social conditions for the establishment of a rule-making and standardizing organization, namely the GAA. Declining violence and enmity between “native”, Catholic agrarian classes allowed attempts to pursue regular organization of games. More pronounced social tensions (between landowner and tenant-farmer) overlapped other group distinctions along ethnic and religious lines, giving the organization and connotations of hurling a particularly national and patriotic tone. The continuing high-class barriers between tenants and mainly Protestant landlords loyal to the Union with Britain, led to a symbolic realignment of the social acceptability of different sports, which operated in an inter-related, dialectical spiral. Rugby, cricket and tennis (British games) became taboo for the “true Gael”.

The shifting power ratio between farmers and landlords, informed by the increasingly confident rhetoric of the Irish nation, was also echoed in the increasing fortunes of the urban working classes in respect of their employers (see Keogh, 1982). These groups too tended to be nationalistic. Members of these groups led the process
of national “independence” through violent challenges on the British state monopoly of violence. The ambivalence to violence has been shaped by the parallel processes of the success of these social groups in securing a measure of autonomy from Britain through violent conflict, and the sense of failure and shame in the very partiality of that success – part of the Irish nation remained under British jurisdiction.

Another indicator of increasing social interdependencies and denser figurations is urbanization; an increasing feature in the Irish nation-state over the last one hundred years (see Vaughan & Fitzpatrick, 1978). The political economic situation in Ireland also became more expansive and outward looking as politicians sought to increase employment opportunities (and stem emigration – a source of shame to ideals of nationhood) through attracting foreign investment from the 1960s onwards. This again expanded social interdependencies and further enmeshed Irish people within a globalized system of production, exchange and consumption. The social figuration of Ireland had become more interdependent with, and more integrated into, a diversity of nation-states.

**Conclusion**

We argue that these social processes of increasing social interdependencies, differentiation and integration gradually placed greater constraints on spontaneous, violent emotional displays, which in turn inculcated in people less aggressive conduct while engaged in playing and watching hurling. However, due to the uneven, contradictory and at times reversing nature of such civilizing processes within the general development of growing social interdependencies, these changes in the culture of violence in sport have been fragile, ambivalent and non-linear.

As illustrated, gradually violence on the field became more shameful, but this remained somewhat fragile due to both the uneven nature of Irish social development, and the structure of the game itself which stands for “we-group” pride. It is for this reason that violence among spectators has become more unacceptable; while it may be regretted that players still occasionally lose their tempers, spectators are expected to control themselves to a much higher degree (and we argue that they have increasingly been able to do this). These are relative movements; spectators still look for excitement but by and large manage to control their urge to participate in play or attack referees and opposing players. Indeed this self-control of emotion for the duration of the game often leads to celebratory releases in the form of pitch invasions once the final whistle goes! In conclusion, our findings for the Irish sport of hurling support the merits of the figural approach developed by Elias and Dunning; our main caveat (and this does not contradict their theories) is that more attention needs to be paid to specifying the complex and contradictory figural dynamics of each nation-state, as all countries have followed unique trajectories.
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Local sport development: solutions and opportunities of the Internet

Richard Förg
German Sports University of Cologne

Abstract: Municipal sport with its variety of supply and demand is a complicated system. On the one hand, citizens must investigate a huge number of suppliers to find the optimal supply. On the other hand, sports clubs, commercial sport suppliers and the local sports protagonists each have their specific information demands.

A municipal sport gate in which all suppliers and all offers and locations are listed and can easily be found could solve the problem. Some local sport authorities and associations follow this idea of a municipal website – but struggle to keep it updated. The technology of a “User Generated Content”, which is used in popular websites like YouTube, MySpace or Wikipedia could contribute to solving this problem.

The article dwells on the development of the Internet, points out the information needs and finally summarizes the requirements for a modern, Internet-based sport information system at the level of a local district.

Keywords: local sport development, information management, sports and Internet.

Sports and information/knowledge management via the Internet

The significance of a future-oriented information management for municipal sports was already stated in the year 2002 by Rittner and Breuer. As a starting point, the rapid social change was seen, which increases the environmental complexity for the sports institutions and organizations. According to the authors, a functional information management is required to react faster and tailored to suit the market need (Rittner & Breuer, 2002).

Regarding the quantity of information in modern societies, an abundance of information could be the unwished result of information seeking. According to this, it seems obvious to take into account the quality of information primarily. An adequate treatment of information has to be suitable for management and has to enhance the transparency of information for the local sportsmen.

Increasing importance of the Internet for sports in general

In the trend sport analysis of the Ruhr-district in the year 2000, the Internet was already a relevant source of information: 10% of the questioned persons said to use it for information. It was followed by local sports federations (6%), sport specialized trade (3%) and sport authorities (2%).
Since the number of users of the Internet has increased from around 30% in the year 2000 to more than 58% in the year 2006\(^1\), it has to be expected that the Internet has further increased in its meaning as an information source.

The significance of the Internet to transport information to the citizens economically can be illustrated also with a statement of the former German Chancellor Schröder, who stated on 14 May, 2001: “We have tied ourselves down to the year 2005 to offer all services of the federal administration online” (Federal Ministry for Education and Research, 2001).

Advantages and disadvantages of the Internet

As advantages of the Internet compared to traditional media, the following aspects can be pointed out (e.g. Glotz & Meyer-Lucht, 2004):

Interactivity and integration of user knowledge

The information on the Internet can flow easily in two directions. Conversational or two-way media is a key characteristic of the so-called “Web 2.0” which encourages the publishing of one’s own content and commenting on other people’s. In this context, the internet is described as a “lean forward medium” where the users show a higher activity than users of television and radio. The current success of websites like YouTube, MySpace or Wikipedia shows the development of integrating the users and giving them space to represent their own knowledge and needs. This so-called “User Generated Content” (UGC), also known as “Consumer Generated Media” or “User Created Content” refers to various kinds of media content, publicly available, that are produced by ultimate consumers (Knöppel, 2007).

Low costs

The technical costs for the suppliers have been reduced considerably within the past few years and are much lower than in other media. For the users, the Internet offers the possibility of informing themselves on certain topics extensively. In terms of economic theory it can be stated that transactional costs in the form of search costs and decision costs can be reduced.

Permanent access

Information is accessible on the Internet all the time. Thus, for example, the opening hours of the sport authorities or the accessibility of the town’s sports associations can be complemented with a round-the-clock information source.

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\(^1\) The study Onliner Atlas, published in 2006, mentions a share of 58.2% Internet users for Germany for the population aged 14 years and older and another 6.1% which plan the use. In the group of the 14-29-year-old, already more than 86% say “to be online” (TNS Emnid, 2006).
Topicality
Sports’ dynamics require media which feature change. The Internet has remarkable advantages in topicality compared to a printed version.

Duality of the media
The Internet is mainly known only as an electronic medium, but an Internet database also can be transformed very quickly into a print product. There are already successful examples for this in the cities of Stuttgart or Munich (Germany).

The disadvantages of the Internet are the following:
- The Internet is not accessible for all households, primarily older and underprivileged people are lower represented among the Internet users.
- Preconditions of use: the use of the Internet requires a certain degree of (technical) know-how. On average, the abilities of the users are not developed sufficiently yet.
- Information overflow: the safeguarding function to avoid information overflow of the classic media like radio, television and press does not exist, since there are no journalists as gatekeepers who reduce complexity by their selection of information.

Internet as an information source for municipal sport
The municipal sport system
Municipal sport with its various sports, sports clubs, sport associations, commercial suppliers and local authorities represents a highly complex system. Thus, the citizens must investigate a high number of suppliers to find the optimal supply.

In the year 2006 in the city of Cologne with about one million inhabitants there existed approximately 500 commercial sports suppliers and about 800 sports clubs in nine sport associations (Kaiser, 1999). Besides the commercial suppliers and the sports clubs, privately organized sports are getting more and more important – by now they have the greatest share in the local sport engagement (see figure 1, next page).
Figure 1. Organizational structures of sport in different German cities. Surveys of the Institute for Sport Sociology of the German Sport University

Information needs

Regarding the information requirements, a specification of Krcmar (2003) seems to be profitable. Following Krcmar, the common information demands can be divided into individual and organizational or institutional demands. Furthermore, there can be an objective and subjective information demand.

Information requirements of the citizens

To illustrate the (subjective) information requirements, a variety of surveys in German cities can be found (e.g. population surveys on sports in the cities of Mönchengladbach (2006), Bocholt (2003) or Essen (2000)). In these data, a distinctive desire for information about sports can be observed and the lack of information is the most important structural factor for not doing any sports. To an even higher degree this applies to young people and to the female people asked.

From the statements of the sportsmen, an information deficit can be seen. Between 50 and 60% of the people asked do not regard the information offer of the local authorities positive, particularly the age group of 14 to 18 years. Seven central questions arise from the citizens’ view:

1. Which kind of sports takes place?
2. When does it take place?
3. Where does it take place?
4. What are the conditions like?
5. What is expected from me personally?
6. With which people does one have to work?
7. How does the sport contribute to my health?

Information requirements and wishes of the local district authorities and the local umbrella organizations

In interviews with the representatives, the following needs and wishes concerning the communication with sports clubs and sports participants arise (subjective information requirements):

1. contact list, organization/supplier register,
2. central calendar of events,
3. current information about the sports behaviour of the population,
4. supply overview,
5. representation of sports relevant, statistical data,
6. introduction of a sports facility management system,
7. creating a sports-related transparency in the local district.

According to a far-reaching data competence of the local sport organizations, at least one more (objective) information requirement has to be added: the need of data bases of policy fields which have a close connection to sport such as health and youth policy.

The current situation of the information processing

Information in search engines and Internet catalogues

Whether the existence of search engines like Google, Yahoo or Metager makes the information provision of other sides superfluous is a question which is frequently discussed.

As a first systematic, the search engines generate their results using search words which are integrated into header lines of the Internet pages. The second systematics of the search engines is the number of links from other sides to a certain Internet page as a criterion for the significance (so-called page rank). The ranking in the search results, however, is dependent on quantity and is irrespective of quality. The operator of an Internet page can put his offer consciously very high on the list without providing corresponding contents on the page.

It turns out that the search engines and catalogues on the Internet represent an effortful and extensive link collection whose contents are commented on. They facilitate an easy way to enter the Internet for a user, but have two fundamental problems refering to local sport:

1. The information is incomplete. Looking at the example of the city of Freiburg, it can be noticed that the search engines find only a fraction from the about 280 sports suppliers on a general search inquiry (e.g. “Sport in Freiburg”).
2. Although the search inquiry “Münster Fußball” (soccer) provides 1.170.000 hits in the google search engine, people looking for information can hardly make statements about the quality of the (sport) offers. The presented results show an
outdated mixture of suppliers and supplies: the local professional sport club, medical advices, reports, etc.

Figure 2. Results of Google search inquiry “Münster Fußball”. Source: www.google.de, 23 June, 2007

It can be summarized that search engines and Internet catalogues with their systematics are not able to deliver to the information needed. The concept “more is better” must be classified insufficient. The aim should be not to find as much information as possible but the relevant one.

Information provision at the municipal level

An investigation into the Internet presence of German cities makes obvious that the sports-interested citizen already gets a variety of information about the municipal sports about different offers. The offers of the sport associations and the local sport authorities have in common that information is restricted to organized sports.

Beside the information about the local sports clubs, some municipality-driven Internet pages provide inquiries about single sports. The pages of town sports associations are very different. It turns out, though, primarily in the topicality of the contents that many district and town sports associations work on an honorary basis.
Two basic problems occur in the Internet offers of many cities: first, information on self-organized sports and the sports locations is hardly taken into account. Second, the sports-interested citizen usually receives incomplete and different information about sports clubs in his district – a fact that shows that municipal authority and town sports associations care for two different distributors of the sports clubs.

Good-practice examples were found above all in the Internet offers of the cities of Göttingen, Viernheim, Munich and Stuttgart. The conception in Viernheim also provides, for example, information about the municipal hall bookings besides the offers described above.

In Göttingen the reorientation of municipal sports offer was used to conceive two communication means which can be valid as a benchmarking for further local districts: on the one hand, the print magazine “leisure arena” is published monthly and 70,000 copies are sent to the citizens of the town. On the other hand, the supply is complemented by an extensive Internet page through which not only sports clubs and sports can be investigated but a query of the offers is also possible using single target groups as well as weekdays and times of day.

In the field of information management of municipal sports, further good-practice example is found in Munich and Stuttgart: the supply includes an overview of the commercial sport offers.

It can be summarized that at a municipal level some interesting approaches exist which are noteworthy for the conception of a sport information management. However, the information about informal sports offers usually is limited to mentioning the municipal swimming pools. The offers of the free suppliers are hardly considered by the municipal Internet pages.

An example of the (low) quality of the information which is presented at a municipal level is found at the town sports federation of Cologne (see figure 3, next page). All sports facilities and locations in this case were checked using the keyword basketball. For the entire city of Cologne, twelve sports facilities and locations were found. It has to be suspected that this is only a fraction of the real number. If the user looks at the information provided for basketball structures, one gets a picture in eleven cases in this form.
Notable in this example is that the citizens hardly receive sufficient information about the sports they asked for – although an approach of information management is recognizable.

**Central requirements of a modern municipal sports portal**

To cope with the task of covering the information requirements of the sports-interested population and the municipal sports protagonists, two main problems can be pointed out, which are described in the following.

**Topicality and completeness of the information about sports offers**

Using the example of the city of Cologne, the “bottleneck problem” of the information provision shall be clarified with respect to the updating of the data:

The over 800 sports clubs and the more than 500 commercial sports suppliers offer most different sports offers in a five-digit range. Furthermore, there are several
thousand sports opportunities of informal sports practice. The information of the suppliers, offers and sports locations changes permanently: there are additional ones and some do not exist any more.

For the updating in Cologne, as in every other local district, not more than one or two persons are responsible. As a rule, this is established at the municipal authority or at the town sports federation. The following typical problems which are like a “bottle-neck” arise in the context of a central administration of information:

- The information offer cannot be presented completely.
- Changes cannot be included completely, from which a lacking topicality arises.

To keep the wealth of the information updated seems hardly possible for the municipal suppliers: this would require a lot more staff members which cannot be provided by the institutions in consideration of their financial situation.

Only a data maintenance of sport suppliers of the local district in the sense of a User Generated Content (UGC) system seems to be able to solve the problem. This notion is not very far-fetched, since almost every sports club or fitness centre run their own Internet page.

Information about locations of self-organized sports

In local districts there is a high need of information, because a large part of the sports engagement takes place outside of organized structures. This informal sports engagement usually does not take place on standardized sport facilities. It is dependent on information on the opportunities of practicing sports in particular, e.g. the state of the asphalt covering as a location for skating or cycling. The self-organized sportsmen have far more information about such kinds of sports opportunities and locations than the municipal sports administration and local sports associations.

There are no attempts till now to include this (tacit) knowledge of the sportsmen and the citizens into the information processing. It therefore seems obvious to suggest the transfer of the system of a “user generated content” to the municipal sports information management.

Profit is recognizable in two different ways: on the one hand, the sports-interested citizen receives information about sport locations from other sportsmen. On the other hand, the sports administration receives information about the use and the wishes of the active population.

Current developments of municipal sports could be registered by the sports administration and the sports suppliers contemporarily and, thus, represent a valuable base for targets of the development of sports.

Conception of a citizen-oriented municipal sports portal

The functions which a municipal sports portal should have under an interactive redress on knowledge of the population are represented in the following. A municipal sports website nowadays should have altogether at least five different functions:
1. Current information function for citizens and protagonists. The care of the data is essentially done by the sports suppliers themselves. The data of the commercial sports suppliers can also be written down in the system. The ones interested in sports can go back to current data. To ensure the realization, a head office data system should be created. For this the existing data of the town sports federation and the sports association can be used.

2. Generation function and collection of knowledge. Not only the protagonists of sports have extensive knowledge they can provide. The citizens who can publish their knowledge through a sports portal can also function as an information supplier.

3. Memory function. All data relevant for the organization of a sport can be stored centrally. An extensive database which in the long run can develop into a memory of the municipal sports arises from the continuous storage of the information over the medium term.

4. Notification function of the enquirers by e-mail. By sending automated e-mails, the suppliers can provide their respective target group with suitable information about the sports engagement (so-called “push function”).

5. Navigation function. The provision of relevant information creates an increase of knowledge and, thus, it could influence the population in the direction of a healthy behaviour.

Recommendations for the realization of a municipal sports portal

With regard to the current condition of the municipal sports system, the following aspects can be recommended:

1. Integration of as many protagonists and as many stakeholders as possible. By the integration of as many protagonists as possible a distribution and decentralization of tasks arises. Furthermore, this facilitates the generation of more information and therefore more knowledge about the municipal sports.

2. Training of the protagonists. The success of an information management depends on the readiness of the protagonists to commit themselves. They should, therefore, be informed about the potentials of the application and get a corresponding introduction.

3. Cooperation of the local districts. The described difficulties concern all the local districts. A uniform method can therefore contribute to the solution of the problems of a variety of local districts. The development of a system to which all local districts can go back makes such a more developed system possible at lower costs for the individual local district. Moreover, a uniform system offers the chance to compare different local districts and sports regions and to learn from the knowledge for the development of sports in general.
References


www.google.de, access on 23 June 2007.

Sports clubs and sexual orientations – findings about a region’s perceptions dealing with urban versus rural differences

Alexandre Gerwinat, Martin K.W. Schweer and Karin Siebertz-Reckzeh
University of Vechta, Germany

Abstract: The topic of different sexual orientations in (professional) sports still remains underrepresented in research. Homophobia and related behaviours of discrimination are prevalent challenges in the field of sports and sports clubs. Especially rural regions are often considered to be more traditional regarding sex-role-attitudes which should result in more homophobic attitudes. Economically, tendencies of intolerance in a social community are increasingly cause of problems. This can lead to negative effects on whole regions and societal structures in the long run. In the current study, the authors investigated if homophobic perceptions are amplified when individuals with a rural socialization background are questioned. A larger sample of students (n=789) was questioned about the meaning of sports clubs for physical activities, corresponding values and sets of attitudes. Results show higher rates of club-membership for individuals of a rural socialization background. However, no indicators for differences in the perception of sexual orientations were obtained. Findings rather appear as a stereotyped view on rural regions in sense of an outgroup bias. Nevertheless, data reveal that sports clubs in rural regions pass up a chance of promoting tolerance regarding different sexual orientations.

Keywords: social psychology, sexual orientations, sports clubs, social perception.

Introduction
Sports are widely accredited to account for many different functions in our society. A large amount of findings dealing with the influences of sports for example on health regulation or coping with performance expectations exists (Weinberg & Gould, 1995). Furthermore, social cooperation can be regulated by sports. In this sense, sports can serve as a vehicle for promoting tolerance (e.g. Scheid, 1994). Important impulses for processes of social integration and the conveying of values can come from sports clubs in particular. Widespread ways of active child- and youth-work in sports clubs constitute an important part of early educational and socialization processes (Deutscher Sportbund, 2001). Assuming that development constitutes a lifelong process, participation in sports clubs is also related to socialization processes during adulthood (Heuwinkel, 1990). This leads to the question in what way sports clubs are seen and used as a context for promoting tolerance.
This study focuses on the topic of sexual orientations in mass sports and professional sports. This topic is gradually being addressed in the mass media (e.g. Barnes, 2006; event informing about homophobia in football, see “Fußball ist alles….“). In scientific research, however, massive deficits still exist, especially if a sport psychological perspective is addressed. For example, findings on the long-term effects homophobic views and related behaviours can have on athletes are missing. Also, systematic transfer of approaches from social psychology regarding processes of social perception and categorization remains to be done for the fields of mass- and professional sports. The present study’s particular questions address this field by focussing at sports clubs and related categorization processes.

**Sexual orientations and sports**

Sexual orientations considerably contribute to social identity (e.g. Cox & Gallois, 1996). They can also be characterized as either conforming or disconforming inside a particular society. Heteronormativity as an important term in this context describes the current and traditional view of the assumed normality of heterosexual relationships (e.g. Haller, 2002). Social categorizations and by consequence also the classification into sexual orientations follow subjective assumptions on sexuality, relationship patterns and associated characteristics and behaviours. However, the current dimensional term regarding sexual orientations in scientific discourse does not match the widespread “everyday” categories which operate rather with clearly distinguished categories of hetero- and homosexuality. But these very subjective conceptions for perception and behaviour are, due to their relevance, crucial for social interaction. In the field of sports, such categorizations of sexual orientations are highly salient. First, activities in sports are closely related to the human body, second, sports and some specific disciplines in particular are related to sex-specific patterns of perception. Professional sports, for example, are often regarded as a traditionally male domain with a high prevalence of male stereotypes (Alfermann, 1996). Homosexual orientations seem to be consistent with these particularities as long as they do not interfere with existing schemes – an effect which shows already during youth (Schweer, Siebertz-Reckzeh & Fotiou, 2007). This means, for example, that a female soccer player being categorized as homosexually oriented matches with male stereotypes of behaving. Even though topics of sexuality and related issues are decreasingly seen as taboos until today (BzgA, 2006), empirical (and anonymous) studies regarding sexual orientations of professional athletes are still faced with huge difficulties due to the fear of the athletes. This reveals the current sensitivity of the topic. It is certainly due to these current difficulties that only estimations on the portion of athletes differing from heterosexual categories exist (Fiedler, 2004); regarding potential effects on drop-out, empirical data still lack completely.

**Socialization and the genesis of categorization phenomenons**

Processes of categorization are a phenomenon of social perception (Forsyth, 2005). Patterns of expectancies and attitudes as well as moral values are examples of personal
variables which influence the filtering and processing of information from our social environment. These personal antecedents are acquired and stabilized during socialization. From an interactionistic viewpoint, socialization is a process in which the individual is encountering its environment. This process occurs in terms of accommodations amongst others to existing norms of a society (Hurrelmann, 2007). It can therefore be assumed that the resulting cognitive structures are shaped interindividually on the one hand, but that cultural and subcultural similarities exist also. Stereotyped patterns of perception are therefore characterized by a more or less high pithiness in a (sub-)culture (Forgas, 1983). The focus of the present study is, therefore, directed at one of the factors of socialization background, namely at the regional context of childhood and adolescence. In the face of a changing society, rigid role expectations towards both sexes have become looser. This changing process took course in different ways, e.g. depending on social background, even though also a trade-off can be stated. Nevertheless, the question arises in how far rural versus urban socialization backgrounds involve characteristic patterns of perception and categorization. Baur et al. (2002) have investigated sports participation of girls in rural regions of Germany. Tendencies of girls’ increasing participation can be seen as an indicator for decreasing differences in sex-role-attitudes. Nevertheless, the authors still emphasize sex-specific barriers in access to sports and, therefore, propose to take steps in order to increase girls’ memberships to sports clubs in rural regions. The question in how far traditional attitudes still restrain access to sports in rural regions still deserves attention in research. Regarding sexual orientations, a higher rigidity can be assumed, whereas empirical data lack so far.

Questions of research and method

The present study analyses the significance socialization in sports clubs has for tolerance towards different sexual orientations. In doing so, the contrast between urban and rural contexts is taken into consideration: do the participants’ specific patterns of perception and behaviour relate to a rather rural or rather urban socialization background? Objective data concerning the socialization background (e.g. population density) was not included. Instead, a subjective categorization was favoured in order to account for the psychological relevance of the environment. According to this subjective way of categorization, 61% of participants have spent the largest amount of their childhood and youth in a rather rural context, 39% in a rather urban context. Mobility for the whole sample is rather small; until present, 47% of participants (n=346) have stayed in a rather rural context, 24% (n=173) have stayed in an urban context. The following analyses refer to the following questions:

Do groups of participants with different socialization backgrounds differ regarding

– membership in sports clubs and the significance their families ascribe to sports clubs?
– motives for sport-related activities?
– the perception of sex-roles and sexual orientations?
— the evaluation of the potential for integration of sports clubs regarding sexual orientations?

734 students (thereof a high amount attending a teacher training for primary or secondary schools) at the University of Vechta were included in the study. Female students are overrepresented (78.5% female vs. 19.8% male). Assuming that students represent aspirants of the highest educational level in Germany, a rather high degree of tolerance could be assumed regarding different sexual orientations due to rather progressive thinking. This expectation is further supported by the fact that the majority of the sample is female. Hinrichs and Rosenberg (2002) have already reported that female students show higher acceptance for homosexual or bisexual orientations than male students. Results of a previous study (Schweer, in press) also showed that women show a higher awareness of potential problems homosexually oriented people face in society than men do.

The self-developed standardized questionnaire included items concerning club membership in addition to basic personal data. Furthermore, motives underlying sports-related activities and various attitudes regarding sex-roles and sexual orientations were included using a five-point agreement format rating, ranging from 1 (not at all) to 5 (completely true).

Results

Socialization background and sports club memberships

Among those participants viewing their socialization background as rather rural, 43% are members in sports clubs. This applies only for 30% of the students from an urban background. Significant differences were found regarding these frequencies ($\chi^2=12.13$, df=1, $p=.00$). Sports clubs, thus, have a much higher significance in the life of people in rural contexts, whereas the family as a central agent of primary socialization can promote this affinity to a high degree – participants with a rather rural socialization background have experienced significantly more agreement to sports club membership (see table 1).

Table 3. Family attitudes towards sports clubs with respect to socialization background

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>rather rural (n=449)</th>
<th>rather urban (n=273)</th>
<th>T (df)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“In my family membership to a sports club was explicitly appreciated.”</td>
<td>3.16</td>
<td>1.34</td>
<td>2.80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: T-Values (equal variances assumed), the mean difference is significant ($p<0.01$).

Socialization background and motives for sport activities

Motives for sport activities are numerous and interindividually differing. Considering urban vs. rural differences shows that motives linked to socializing play a higher role
for sports in rural contexts. Regarding performance-oriented motives, no significant differences were found. Moral values such as teamplay and fairness are emphasized by the whole sample, whereas significant differences regarding socialization background were found as well (see table 2).

Table 4. Participants’ motives for sport activities with respect to socialization background

<table>
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<th>rather rural (n=449)</th>
<th>rather urban (n=273)</th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Teamplay and fairness are particularly important in sports to me.”</td>
<td>4.07 0.99</td>
<td>3.89 1.16</td>
<td>2.14 (670)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Training is a way to meet new people in a new environment.”</td>
<td>3.36 1.07</td>
<td>3.15 1.06</td>
<td>2.45 (665)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“I do sports to meet people with similar interests.”</td>
<td>2.57 1.08</td>
<td>2.36 1.10</td>
<td>2.47 (655)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: ranking following means, T-Values (equal variances assumed), all mean differences significant (p<0.05).

Results show that in a rather rural contexts membership to a sports club is clearly closer linked to social motives. Here, another significant effect of socialization shows.

Socialization background and the perception of sex-roles and sexual orientations
Participants were asked directly in how far they regard sex-roles in rural regions to be more bound to traditional structures. Here, the participants’ answers were found to be more inconsistent. One interesting result shows that participants who have moved from an urban context into a rural one see their new social environment as much more conforming with traditional sex-roles (see table 3, next page). Possibly, these results show an underlying ingroup/outgroup bias (e.g. Forsyth, 2005) leading to a stereotyped perception of the new environment.

Participants regard rural regions as a context which offers less tolerance for people with homosexual orientations than urban regions (see table 3). Group 1 consists of individuals who grew up in rural conditions and still lived there at the time of investigation. The same applies for group 2 for urban conditions. Here, those who have moved into a rural region after spending their childhood and youth in rather urban contexts (group 3) show much more accentuated answers.
Table 3. Sex-roles with respect to socialization background and mobility

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Group 1 (n=346)</th>
<th>Group 2 (n=173)</th>
<th>Group 3 (n=98)</th>
<th>sig. contrast</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“I believe that homosexually oriented people experience more difficulties living their sexual orientation in rural regions than in urban regions.”</td>
<td>3.78</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>3.86</td>
<td>1.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“In rural regions male and female activities are defined more traditionally.”</td>
<td>2.93</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>3.09</td>
<td>1.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“I believe that some disciplines in sports fit better to boys and others fit better to girls.”</td>
<td>2.86</td>
<td>1.38</td>
<td>3.05</td>
<td>1.30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: ranking following means, significant contrasts of mean differences according to Scheffé (p<0.03).

Without referring to a particular regional context, participants were asked in how far certain disciplines in sports are rather suited for girls or for boys. The participants’ answers showed a moderate agreement regarding this question. Considering, though, that a sample of students was asked, the answers reflect a highly conforming view of sex-roles in sports. Given a high dispersion of answers, it has to be added that certainly more individually developed patterns of evaluating sex-roles in sports can be assumed which have not been taken into account in this study. Regarding urban vs. rural contexts, no further differences were found.

Socialization background and perceived potential of integration by sports clubs

Referring to the potential of integration by sports, the total sample was reduced to those participants who have already made experiences in sports clubs (see table 4, next page).
Table 4. Means and standard-deviations for sports clubs members’ perceptions of homosexual orientations in sports with respect to socialization background

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perception</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Sport activities are a good way for gay people to experience acceptance and tolerance.”</td>
<td>2.95</td>
<td>0.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Sport clubs are more important for gay people in rural regions than in urban regions to experience tolerance and acceptance.”</td>
<td>2.56</td>
<td>0.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“I believe that many coaches still act according to traditional sex-sterotypes.”</td>
<td>3.23</td>
<td>1.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Coaches are important contact persons for gay adolescents in sports clubs.”</td>
<td>2.57</td>
<td>1.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The participants evaluated sports as a domain in which homosexually oriented people might only experience a limited amount of acceptance. Against this background, it seems plausible that sports clubs in rural contexts do not seem to play a higher role for participants than in urban contexts regarding the promotion of tolerance. This view is shared among all students, no matter of their socialization background. Coaches, incorporating an important role model function in sports clubs, are evaluated as rather showing a role conforming behaviour with respect to both sexes. In accordance to this, they are not viewed as important relating persons for people with homosexual orientations. No significant differences were found in the perceptions of sports clubs and coaches between rural and urban socialization contexts.

**Discussion**

First of all, the results show the higher significance of sports clubs for people in rural regions compared to urban regions. Higher rates of club memberships among students who grew up in rural regions give support to this. This is, furthermore, supported by the fact that socialization processes by families in rural regions promote a membership to sports club stronger than in urban regions. This very link to social structures leads to a more accentuated view of participants with a rural background on sports being closer related with social motives. Interestingly, this effect was also shown with regard to moral values such as fairness and team play. Sports clubs, therefore, do possess an important potential of integration in rural regions.

The question in how far sex-roles have remained more traditional in rural contexts is evaluated inconsistently by the sample. A high degree of conformity in rural regions is reported by those participants who moved from urban contexts into rural ones. If
this phenomenon is interpreted as an ingroup/outgroup bias, stereotyped patterns of perception do not seem to be removable by direct experiences involving the outgroup, they rather seem to accentuate further. This also questions attempts to reduce intergroup conflict or biased perception by the mere contact between groups (Hewstone & Brown, 1986).

In stark contrast to the evaluation of changing heterosexual relationships, participants regardless their own socialization background assume that in rural regions intolerance towards homosexually oriented people is higher. By consequence, the fact that the potential of integration by sports clubs is evaluated as very moderate seems even more problematic. Facing the high importance of sports clubs in rural regions, these regions pass up a potential opportunity for promoting tolerance. Especially coaches who provide important orientation functions for adolescents (Schweer & Gerwinat, 2007) could contribute considerably in this context. On the other hand, results also show that the behaviour of coaches is perceived as rather conforming to sex-roles. In addition, they are not considered as important contact persons for homosexually oriented persons in sports clubs.

Sports clubs and by consequence coaches offer a chance for promoting tolerance which should not be underestimated. This can be pointed out even more for rural regions. From an economic viewpoint, progress also depends on tolerance to some degree as it has been argued with respect to diversity and creativity in organizations and regions (Florida, 2005). On the other hand, findings indicate that the topic of sexual orientations has been underrepresented in research on sports itself. An increase of open-mindedness as well as the consideration for personality- and career development regarding this topic is therefore of substantial importance for further activities in educational psychology.

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Youth beliefs about health status

Rui M. Gomes
University of Coimbra, Portugal

Abstract: The core of this paper focuses on characterising the consumption of sports leisure by the students of the University of Coimbra, and relates that consumption with unequal differentiated access to public and private facilities. This is the problem underlying the main objectives of the research:

1. Describe and understand the use of sports leisure time within daily time-budget.
2. Describe and understand the uses of leisure time in general and particularly, the sports leisure times.
3. Characterize the sports leisure activities, including maintenance activities at home, new risk activities and emerging physical activities, thus evaluating all possible modalities of leisure consumption.
4. Understand the differentiated consumption of sports leisure time and activities, according to differentiated access to facilities, to gender and to unequal social, economic and cultural capitals.

A survey of 744 students, between 17 and 28 years, respond to a questionnaire. The variables considered in the study are: time-budget including the sport leisure time; perceptions about spaces of sport and cultural practices; characterization of cultural, sport and physical activity; perceptions in relation to the motives to sport participation. The results highlight the importance that individuals place on health and psychological well-being compared to other reasons for participation in physical activity.

Keywords: youth, leisure activities, health, well-being.

1 Introduction

Besides the changes in its morphology, whatever prevails throughout time is time’s symbolic structure, although it is always subject to differentiated appropriations, class-based distinctions, gender variations and singular generational subjectivities. Therefore, the diversity of times will have to be grasped according to its generational appropriation. This paper glances over the scenario of intra-generational relationships. And why does it become so much more self-explanatory when we take the university youth as the object of the study? First, because we choose, as an instrument of analysis, a conception according to which there is no such thing as youth as a social group. Instead, there would be young people in their specific class belongings, and their particular conditions of existence, that would ultimately make up their social locus. Approaching this aspect more closely, analysing the dilemma between leisure time and the time for obligations in a social group that is moving forward towards the world of employment arises as particularly interesting. In fact, very often – even
among some theories of youth sociology – the condition of being a youngster is associated with certain common lifestyles and modes, in an attempt to demonstrate how the consumption society is prone to reproduce certain homogeneous patterns of massive tastes and cultural consumption. Such a standardising effect would be further incremented by the condition of being a student, and therefore we would be facing university socialization as the privileged setting for the production of supposedly similar subjectivities. We depart from a different angle of analysis, as we focus on verifying the influence of social class in determining the usage of physical leisure times, areas and activities. Although it is known that the children of low middle-class and middle-class parents are over-represented among the university population, it is assumed that significant variations in dispositions, tastes and lifestyles correspond to different social and educational capitals. Then, the very condition of being a student presents as a circumstance which would favour the development of aspirations to upward social mobility. Although it may not always be achievable, it has, nevertheless, an affect in approaching the tastes and consumptions of targeted social groups.

The choice of a leisure physical activity is justified by the rampant boom of the physical leisure offer we have witnessed over the past few years. Presented as a value of use, when it mainly promotes well-being and recovery for work performance; as a guaranteed result technique in health maintenance, as a trading value for body rating; or as an identity reproducing social movement, the active body makes its appearance in a scenario of collective references trapped in deep crisis. The common objective of activities associated with physical exercise may be characterized by what Foucault (1994) refers to as “conversion to the self”. Nowadays societies, with very strong educational features, have developed an unprecedented fascination for the self-knowledge and the self-esteem, side by side with the proliferation of a new “therapeutic sensibility” (Lipovetsky, 1989). The reflexivity of social life is to be added to the consumption of the “consciousness of the self” (Giddens, 1992): presently, knowledge related with health, nutrition and sexuality sciences or physical activity has made its way into the routine and helps describing social life and providing it with a set of references. The larger the group’s cultural capital, the wider will that knowledge spread.

2 Rational and working hypothesis

Students are often presented as part of the educated youth group, whose main attribute is being comprised of individuals in a certain biological stage of life, elapsing between the period while one is still living at his/her original household and marriage or independent life. However, youth is less a notion of a biological nature than a socially invented and constructed concept (Bourdieu, 1980). Youth, as a social entity, arises in a relatively recent historical moment, following a number of changes in the relationships between family, school and work. This social category arises as the transition period between childhood and adult age extends. The implementation of massive school, with extended compulsory education and a democratized access to higher education, as well as an increased transition time between the end of educational
training and entry into the labour market have decisively contributed to make youth visible as a social group on its own.

Meanwhile, this categorization entails an apparent unity, which is not confirmed by the heterogeneity of social origin, interests, expectations and aspirations. Educated youth will be thus considered in this context of diversity. For that purpose, we departed from the methodological assumption according to which youth is not socially homogeneous. Considering this basic assumption of heterogeneity, our research unfolds into five major analysis axes:

1. Unveiling the symbolic mechanisms and social conditions underlying different uses of sports leisure: What is identified by some authors as a generational rupture between youth and the values of the previous generation, may, after all, be no more than another case of go-between traditional and modern values (Gomes, 1994). One of the working hypotheses which has been referred to in youth related social studies suggests that differentiated leisure access opportunities would determine juvenile cultures. In line with this reasoning, our approach should zoom out of the class-based social structure and the specific family habitus, and we should focus instead on the so-called lifestyles.

2. Questioning the social myth of juvenile leisure as unitary representation of a homogeneous social group, against great empirical diversity of lifestyles and social identities: Some studies on juvenile leisure have shown the increasing implementation of home leisure, both due to the influence of new audiovisual technologies and due to progressively home- or neighbourhood-centred informal social intercourse. One could be led to think that increased exposure to television, internet and new audiovisual technologies, where sports is a highlight, would offer strong competition to active sports leisure.

3. Analysing the diversity of sports leisure routes considering the relationship between free time, studying time and working time, integrating four levels of analysis: class belonging; generational status; degree of exposure to new leisure industries and the effects of the extended youth period.

4. Evaluating the regulation capacity of facilities, i.e., which regularities and distinctions arise from material and symbolic barriers caused by greater or lesser accessibility to sports leisure facilities: The current offer of sports leisure features quite heterogeneous characteristics, ranging from state offer – public facilities, schools and universities – municipal offer and clubs and associations of sports, recreational, cultural and religious nature, to the offer of private gyms, health centres and tourist and sports event companies. Each of these facilities is assumed to cause economic, social and symbolic distinctions which are to be unveiled.

5. Characterising leisure activities in the light of three criteria: spatial location, the characteristics of the subject’s involvement and the modalities of the subject’s participation: Here, the paper will follow the typology proposed by Lalive d’Epinay (1983).
3 Method

3.1 Questionnaire-based inquiry

The questionnaire-based inquiry was the technique applied in this study. Although the questionnaire-based inquiry can be charged with theoretical and methodological limitations, particularly regarding the social conditions in which speeches are produced, the questionnaire allows carrying out an extensive and systematic study of the form and the contents of young people sports leisure activities. The questionnaire provides answer comparability and presents itself as the most adequate method for an exploratory study on this subject. The aim is to accurately define the characteristics of sports leisure times, areas and activities in a descriptive perspective while understanding, at the same time, the relationship with symbolic representations, perceived constraints and social belongings of the respondents. Thus, we expect to be able to achieve an initial approach to the juvenile profiles of sports leisure.

The questionnaire was structured to provide an answer to three main axes of our research: sociological characterization of the inquired sample, characterization of sports leisure times/areas/activities, and social representations about sports leisure. The sociological characterization aims at apprehending the diversity of social conditions, including also variables related with specific aspects of the research, such as the characterization of the household sports leisure habitus.

The final version of the questionnaire includes 52 items. Each item contains several indicators in a closed answer format, using nominal, ranking and continuous scales. In the latter case, five-choice scales were used to rate the respective indicators according to degree of importance (1 – Not important at all, 5 – Very important), degree of agreement (1 – I totally disagree, 5 – I totally agree) and degree of qualification (1 – Bad, 5 – Excellent).

3.2 Sampling plan

Students of the University of Coimbra were the questionnaire’s target population. The sample was built as a stratified sample, considering population distribution by gender, academic year of degree, and degree course. Each degree course was taken as a different layer, sized proportionally to the universe of study. The individuals considered in each layer were proportionally selected, according to gender and academic year of degree. For a total universe of 20,483 students attending public university, the sample was sized to about 5% of the target population, with an error band of 2%. Although the rate of respondents has grown up to an acceptable level, obtaining a penetration of 72.7% of the whole expected sample, in a total of 744 respondents, the whole initial sample could not be inquired. 327 students from 17 to 20 years old were inquired, with a predominance of students in the first half of their degrees; 346

1 Source: Statistic Department of Reitoria da Universidade de Coimbra and FCT-UC referring to school year 2000-2001.
students from 21 to 24 years old, predominantly in the second half of their degrees, and 71 students, 25 years old or older.

4 Results, discussion and conclusions

The singular universe of university students

There are some deeply accentuated and relatively homogeneous features in the empirical research supporting sample: the sample is mostly comprised of quite young, predominantly single, women whose main occupation is to study. Other features reflect differences related with the economic and symbolic status of the population, although they are also particularly differentiating within the internal structure. Elitism is not as striking as it was two decades ago but, nevertheless; being a university student remains a privileged social status. First of all, we should note the predominance of middle-classes and low intellectual and scientific middle-class as proportionally more important fractions of recruitment. The low formal educational level of the respondents’ parents is compensated by a proportionally higher value of the more educated class. An over-representation of parents with post-compulsory education, when compared to the educational levels of the total resident population, draws a borderline between currently compulsory education (nine years) and post-compulsory education, with a majority of compulsory education or lower qualifications. As for the fathers, industry entrepreneurs, traders, liberal professionals on a contract of employment and middle-management positions show high percentages. Most mothers are housewives, followed by mothers in middle-management positions. The lowest proportion of working classes (industrial and rural) (17.9%) confirms a trend found in all studies on higher education in Portugal.

Portrait of student leisure: receiving friends at home, being with others and not doing anything

A global analysis allows us to find a hierarchy of choices, centred on four groups of activities. Firstly, urban and local sociability activities: going to pubs and discos, cafés or restaurants. This is followed by typically urban social intercourse activities, taking place in private homes. Walks are the third choice: walking for shopping or enjoying city facilities or walks in the open air. Finally, going back home, for activities linked with the new networked media, such as computer games and Internet navigation.

A great part of leisure time unfolds into a to-and-fro movement between staying at home, going to friends’ or going out. Many university students spend a large portion of their time at home or at their fellows’, watching TV, listening to music and radio, playing computer games and surfing the Internet, or simply, without doing anything. Even physical exercising activities are now preferably home centred. For students living in their original household, as well as for those living on their own for the first time, home is no longer synonymous with family control and supervision. On the contrary, for those living with their parents, home is their refuge and the basic platform supplying the main resources for juvenile leisure; for those living away who travel to
meet their families on weekends, this first time experience is perceived as a powerful way to acquire traditional adult roles. This trend is especially notorious in the assignment of housework tasks to young women while they are at their parents’, or the assumption that these tasks are to be performed when they are living in small student groups or with their boyfriends.

Original class has a considerable discriminating power in “going out”. As we go down the hierarchy of economic and social capital, going outs to public places decrease. Going out for leisure only seldom is a cost-free activity, both from the economic and symbolic points of view. Going to a pub or to the disco means spending a certain amount of money and, especially, it means a certain investment in looks, outfit and travel. Side by side with shared interests and conversations, looks and attitude define styles and belongings to certain groups. The economic effort of some social groups to guarantee their children’s university education – especially low middle-class and working class – seems to translate into reduced juvenile leisure consumption.

Portrait of sports leisure: low frequency, male-based and little diversified.

Receptive home activities are all more strongly represented than physical and sports activities in the university student daily life. The exposure of young people to media is evident, although reading is shown to be the activity with more daily occurrences in the occupation period up to one hour. All summed up, audiovisual is predominant over reading and physical activities. In longer periods, over one hour, TV and music are preferred, immediately followed by radio listening. However, the relative weight of radio in free time occupation seems rather significant. In a mass culture with a strongly TV-based reference model, the proportion reached by radio is impressive.

On the contrary, physical and sports activities show weak penetration among the university population, although sports is present in conversations, newspaper reading and TV images consumed by youngsters. Still, about 43% of respondents report some daily physical activity – a higher percentage than that obtained in the late 1980s (Pais, 1989). Nevertheless, when asked about how often they engaged in activities of a physical or sports nature, most respondent students answer that they do physical activities seldom (56.9%), and as little as 25% report up to one daily hour dedicated to these activities. The great percentage of those who never do any physical and sports activity present lack of time as the main reason for their decision.

Although the sample includes some subjects who regularly practice more than one activity, none of these activities approaches, on an individual basis, the 25% value shown when they are asked about general physical and sports activities. Collective sports are the only ones achieving a considerable value of 17.7%, and a remarkable value of 9.3% is registered for work-out at home using fitness equipment, rated second. This reveals a paradoxical pattern in sports activities which, on the one hand, are centred on collective activities appealing to physical contact (contest, communication and social intercourse) and on the other hand, are built on a privatist, individual and lonely practice, most of the times targeting improved body shape. In the context of
a low demand global scale, remarkable percentages are achieved by activities such as cycling (10.6%), athletics (13.4%) and team sports (12.3%), when considering non-regular participation of once or twice per month. The spectrum of practiced activities is a reduced one and features a traditional profile: collective sports, work-out at home, body building and athletics are the preferred activities, with a predominantly male profile; then, fitness and gym, with a female profile; finally, interclassist swimming. Risk and adventure activities, mountaineering and orientation, are less frequent activities, although with some expression.

The sports leisure statement reveals an extremely significant hidden feature: it states more than engaged activities and it states expectations and values associated with sports activities. In fact, the statement of a regular activity by almost 50% of the sample is not confirmed by the lower value found when asked about specific activities carried out. Therefore, this could be understood as recognising a need which often fails to be put into practice. Thus, this statement would be a wish, a way of projecting a fictional physical leisure experience.

The search of healthy body and interiority in sports leisure:
The maintenance of health and body shape, psychological well-being and stress relief are the main reasons why the students of the University of Coimbra chose sports leisure as a form of occupying their free time. This shows how the modern obsessions of the Self in its wish for self knowledge and for intimate revelation of the true or authentic being are revealed also in physical activity. Some authors have developed a line of thinking attempting to identify the signs of a progressive replacement of the rational “homo-faber”, constrained by social institutions, deeply involved in cost-benefit calculations and able to delay personal gratification, with the hedonist and individualist man, consumed by the search of immediate pleasure, in contemporary leisure activities. This type of analysis is prone to recognize in the normative and abstract ideal-types the empirical man of every day life, considering a line of continuity between the structuring of subjectivities within the institutional order and the one taking place in the social order.

On the contrary, our analysis takes a different point of view, according to which the dissociation between the structuring of subjectivities in the institutional order and the one taking place in the social and cultural order is the general rule. In other words, subjectivity embodied in student sports leisure and the justifications provided for the activities are only an element which very often is not consistent with the other spheres the university student moves in. This subjectivity is a double concept that may be used to legitimate certain activities without an automatic effect on other areas. That is the reason why the same subject may justify certain physical activities with health, prudence and the necessary body ascesis while following hedonist orientations, which are in little agreement with a prudent conduct, when moving to a different sphere as entertainment or sexuality.

The hierarchy of reasons why students do sports or physical activity leaves no room for doubt about the clinical and psychological nature of the speech. In a
graduated scale of importance, being healthy and attaining psychological well-being is what students consider to be most important and the students’ motivation. Keeping fit, fighting stress, improving capacities, and entertainment correspond to the “somehow important” threshold, and other motives such as technique improvement or appearance come second in their statements. Sports leisure seems to be caused by more instrumental motives than simply “having something to do” or “going out”, which are stated as little important motives for physical activity. Loosing weight falls within medium importance. More than just an objective body that can be perceived from outside, health, associated with psychological well-being, has become the front door to the self-identity body. Providing the body with a self-recognized existence, a solid basis on which the project of the self can be built, that is the gnosis environment in which the representations about health in physical exercise are produced today.

As for students with no reported sports habits, the invoked justifications are far less numerous and common to other studies: first of all, lack of time and then interest for other hobbies. Secondarily, motives are presented such as having more important things to do or non-existing facilities or the absence of preferred activities. The quality of the facilities or non-existing technical guidance do not seem to be important motives for those who do not have the habit of doing sports regularly.

The economic status of being household dependent, the daily routine of student life and student leisure opportunities make students prone to adhere to university specific lifestyles. There from derives the set of student rituals and signs of belonging to a space and a time detached from the time and the space of young people of the same age group who have not carried on their studies. Full-time students, regardless of their household class belonging, tend to adhere to lifestyles consistent with a possible social ascending evolution in the future. Particular difficulties in class characterization arise from the student specific situation, a transition time when young people have not yet achieved their final professional definition. And difficulties are enlarged when the search for preferences and expectations above their original group can be identified in the web of student social relationships.

References


Abstract: This paper reports on doctoral research undertaken by the author that set out to examine the possible connections between sports and meaningful civic engagement by young males. The research was a phenomenological study of the experiences of sports participation and civic engagement as related by twelve young males’ aged seventeen to twenty-three. It was informed by an eclectic range of sociological approaches such as functionalism, interactionism, and critical social theories including Gramscian thought. The study utilized semi-structured interviews conducted with the young men together with thematic analysis on the data in a constant comparison approach.

There were some clear indications that for these young men, participation in local sports presented opportunities for developing a sense of belonging to community and a sense of contribution to community. Furthermore, this participation and immersion opened a pathway for engaging in social change and resistance. One of the valuable contributions of this research was that it demonstrates these processes to be occurring not just at the elite levels of sport. Even at the local level, known in Australia as “grass-roots”, sports are providing opportunities for key dimensions of social transformation.

Keywords: youth, local sport, social transformation.

Introduction

Literature (e.g. ABS, 2004; Wright, MacDonald, Wyn & Kriflik, 2005) shows that in Australia sports participation for males is highest during high school, and there is a significant drop in physical activity after this point. Some literature that explores the connections between young males and sport outlines the general benefits of sport to the individual (e.g. higher self esteem, communication skills, learning to work in a team) and the flow-on benefits in areas such as schooling and family or peer relationships (e.g. West, 1996). Some literature argues the link between sport and the construction of gender identity in males (e.g. Beal, 1996; Burgess, 2003; Hickey, Fitzclarence & Matthews, 2000) although the works of Hemphill (1998) and Burstyn (1999), for example, addresses more negative aspects of sports culture and males, which is often related to body image, drug use or violence. To date, there has also been a small amount of literature that explores notions of social capital (e.g. Lopez & Moore, 2006; Ruston, 2003) and social exclusion (McKay, 1990; Bryant, 2001) in connection with young males and sport. Other inquiry into sport is often related to out-of-the-ordinary phenomena (e.g. Rojek, 2006; Giulianotti, 2004), with little attention
paid to people’s everyday “grass-roots” experiences of sport. It was young males’ local, everyday experience of sport that was explored in this study.

The literature on civic engagement encompasses a broad spectrum of political positions, which makes it challenging to reach a meaningful definition since there are so many alternative views. On the other hand, as Youniss, Bales, Christmas-Best, Diversi, McLaughlin and Silbereisen (2002) demonstrate, this broad range of definitions can easily accommodate a variety of forms of civic engagement. For the purposes of this research, civic engagement was taken to be any form of participation in community life, done so with a conscious reason. This was an attempt to be as inclusive as possible, and to allow for political/ideological variations of the participants.

In practice in Australia, sport has sometimes been utilized to engage with young people, with skateboarding being the most common. At other times sports (male team sports in particular) have been avoided for a number of reasons. Firstly, because there is a perception that sport would reinforce negative male stereotypes. Secondly, because it is considered to be representative of male-dominated social structures, and therefore supporting or celebrating values/behaviours that reinforce violence or oppression. Thirdly, a sports focus excludes all those young people that are not really into it. Lastly (and pragmatically) they pose administrative problems in the area of workers compensation, professional indemnity and public liability insurance.

The research
This piece of qualitative research was conducted within a framework mostly concerned with exploring the lived experience of young males in terms of their participation in sports and involvement in their communities. Alston and Bowles (2003) refer to this process of exploring the lived experience of participants as phenomenology. In this research, stories were collected and documented from the young male participants utilising semi-structured interviews.

The sample consisted of twelve young males aged between eighteen and twenty-three, the majority of participants were from an Anglo-Australian background.

Sociological perspectives
The research was informed by a number of sociological perspectives. Firstly, functionalist theories focus attention on how sport helps keep societies operating smoothly as well as how they influence individuals to contribute to social systems in which they participate. The relevance of a functionalist approach to this study was in the exploration of the functions of sport in enabling participants an avenue of inclusion in, and contribution to, the social systems in their immediate and further experience. The functionalist perspective allowed for understanding participants’ experiences that may be more closely aligned with the ideologically conservative notions of civic engagement.

Secondly, interactionist theories, according to Volkwein-Caplan (2004), see sports as meaningful interaction between people. Coakley (2003), shows how interactionist
theory focuses on issues related to meaning, identity, social relationships, and subcultures. Interactionist theory informed this study by exploring the social processes through which people became involved in sports; how people give and derive meaning from sports; what are the characteristics of sports cultures, how they are created by those involved, and how they influence identities and actions off the field.

Thirdly, conflict theories assume that social life revolves around economic interests, and further assume that people use their economic power to coerce and manipulate others to accept their worldview as the correct one. Coakley (2003) points out that investigating class relations highlights the consequences of social inequality and the processes of social change. Conflict theories informed this study by the discussion of how sport perpetuates the power and privilege of elite classes, how sport serves as a tool of economic exploitation and oppression by diverting attention from class-related social problems, and focus attention on how powerful people use sports to promote attitudes and relationships that enable them to maintain power and privilege.

Some of these perspectives do appear to contradict each other. For example, functionalist theories emphasize the positives of sport whereas conflict theories emphasize the problems. Alternatively, interactionist theories centre on social relationships and meaning. Rowe (2007) argues that this often results in a naive dualistic approach to sports inquiry, with the inherently conservative functionalist theory and the inherently radical conflict theories opposing each other. However, the apparent paradoxes can to some extent be resolved with an application of Gramscian thought. Rather than sustaining schools of social thought as a dualist argument between functionalism and conflict theory, Rowe (2004) proposes that a Gramscian perspective leans toward a form of praxis (a nexus of critical questioning and practical engagement) that provides a more coherent picture of social processes. He explores how this can contribute to forming an understanding of sport by analysing the cultural dimensions of sport in complex human society. Praxis also enables critical questioning and provides a forum for exploring aspects of dominance, resistance and transformation.

The findings
A number of different themes have emerged from the data. They represent a range of ideas that have been found in other literature, but there are also a number of themes that appear to be unique to this study. They are clustered around sport fostering a sense of belonging, enabling contribution to community, and providing a means for social transformation at a local level.

Teams and clubs
There were a number of ideas expressed that related participants’ preference for team sports over individual sports. Those who played both types of sport felt that the feeling of being part of a team was one of the best things about playing a sport. For many, this tied in with the broader concept of the “club” as well as the team, and interestingly for
players of individual sports (for example boxing) the club environment was also
reported as part of their experience. Experiences of the club were not always positive
ones, with a number of participants describing conflict and clashes (of values or
personality) with club coaches or administrators. These experiences varied according
to the sport played. For example, those involved in rugby league reported significant
clashes with adult club members over the “win at all costs” attitudes perceived to be
part of the club culture. These clashes, for numerous participants, resulted in changing
clubs or changing codes of football. Many who had switched to rugby union
experienced a club atmosphere that was more to their liking, in terms of fair play,
respect for players and officials, and simply having fun with the game.

This relates to a further theme of differences in understanding about what it means
to be competitive. There is no doubt that the desire to win was strong in all the
participants, exemplified by such phrases as “nobody likes losing”. However, for these
participants, being competitive seemed to be much more closely related to “doing your
best”, “not going out half-hearted” and “bringing out the best in yourself and your
team mates”. Winning was important but not as important as knowing that they had
tried their hardest, and been involved in that endeavour with a group of trusted team
mates.

The role of “place”
“Place” was viewed differently depending on the type of sport concerned. For
example, for those involved in court sports such as volleyball and basketball their
community was to some extent defined by the sports venue itself. The venue as
“place” was significant as a central point for meeting, socialising, competing, and
being a focus for the defined community of court sports players. A similar feeling
existed about the gym for those who were into boxing. For others who were more
involved in team sports “place” was more closely aligned with the local suburb in
which they lived, especially if the club for which they played their sport was suburb-
based. Many felt strongly that they were representing their suburb when they played.

Identity
Many participants saw themselves as being identified or defined by either their level of
skill or the weight of their involvement in their chosen sport. Their reflections did not
commonly associate sport with their masculinity, although they were not asked any
specific question related to this aspect of identity. Some inference could be made in
relation to gender identity based on their comments but in their stories the notion of
identity was of a more generic nature. Comments like: “sport’s me life”, “sport is
pretty much what I do”, “everyone sees me as the footy player” and “sport helps me
realize who I am” indicated that if they were asked to identify who/what they were,
they would see themselves as sportsmen.
Values

Many participants reported that “fair play” and “respect” were central values that contributed to the way they play sport. There was some overlap between the two terms which corresponded to playing by the rules, not cheating, respecting one’s opponents, respecting referees, playing to the best of one’s ability, but not to win at all costs. There was some amount of agreement in the idea that “what happens on the field stays on the field”, and that in post-match proceedings it is customary and in fact an enjoyable part of the experience to “have a drink with the other side after the game”.

It was also interesting to note that, for nearly all the participants, aggression was considered to be a normal part of the game. They did not see that being aggressive and playing fairly were mutually exclusive. In fact, for many aggression and collision were attractions in themselves that did not detract from their competitiveness or desire to play fairly and respectfully.

From sport to life

In terms of what they had learned from sport and taken into their life in general, participants reported a number of different factors. Many had learned to be more confident in their own opinions and to be more confident in communicating in a non-aggressive manner. This was particularly the case for those that had been given positions of responsibility within their sport, team or club (e.g. team captaincy, trainer or assistant trainer, or coaching junior teams).

Other prominent responses related to attitudes of fair play and respect. Having learned to respect referees, officials and opponents through sport, this attitude had become part of the way they viewed people in their workplace and their community, and many had an expectation of being treated with respect in return. Respect generally meant acknowledging the rights of others to their opinion even if you disagreed with it and “giving people a fair go”.

Hard work and discipline were attitudes that also came up. The idea of reward for effort was strong amongst these young males, as was the approach to disciplining yourself to get the job done well. These attitudes particularly applied to the workplace for some of the participants as did the concept of team work – have learned team work in the sporting context, participants described the experience of working together to get a job done where everyone has a specific role and they do their best.

“Giving back”

There were a number of ways in which participants saw they contributed to the life and vitality of their community. The first was that they felt they were contributing to community life simply by playing their sport – i.e. being part of an activity that was seen publicly on the playing fields in the middle of their suburb. There was also an overwhelming sense of responsibility amongst the participants for “giving back to the game”, whether that was by helping the development of younger players within their chosen sport (e.g. coaching and managing junior teams – often where there younger
leadership development project, which provided opportunities to organize community events, get involved in mentoring, and provide some input to the management committee of a local Not-for-Profit Organization. Many of these young men reported that if it were not sport combined with leadership they would have had no interest in participating.

A number of the research participants are now also pursuing careers which could be considered more civically engaged, e.g. social work/welfare, teaching, police, defence force and fire brigade. Others are pursuing sports-related careers, e.g. personal trainer. For a significant number of the young men, their interest in these careers has emerged as they progressed through their sporting experiences.

**Discussion**

**The meaning of local**

There is always question about whether “local” means the suburb, region, state, or even nation. The participants in this study were more likely, both in terms of their sports participation and their social change activities, to view “local” as their surrounding area which was closely tied to their suburb of residence, club of choice or even sporting venue. For these participants, the notion of locality was a fairly fixed one that did not expand to state or national identity. This may well be related to the geographical position of Australia in relation to the rest of the world, where – unlike Europe – it is quite difficult to travel internationally. However, it may also be connected with the limited local mobility of these young males in their social and work spheres.

The importance of this understanding of locality cannot be understated particularly in light of Rowe’s (2007) lament that much sport-related inquiry does not focus on this amateur, “grass-roots” player culture. Given the high rates of sports participation in Australia – 39% amongst young people at this local level (ABS, 2004) –, there is great potential for both maximising the benefits of sport for societal functioning and for addressing the inequalities within sport as a model for broader social change.
Resistance
Of particular interest were the experiences of those young males who had left Rugby League clubs in favour of joining Rugby Union clubs. Traditionally and historically in the U.K. and therefore Australia, Rugby Union has been the domain of the private schools, “gentleman” and higher socio-economic status groups, whereas Rugby League has been more commonly linked with the working classes, and was, according to Hill (2002) an early form of class resistance whereby the working classes were able to earn an income from breaking away from Rugby Union and professionalising their new sport. Class differences and values sets have hence grown around the two codes.

The fascinating aspect of this study lies in the move by young working class males – essentially living in a Rugby League heartland – away from Rugby League clubs and their identified values, and towards Rugby Union clubs because of their espoused values. This rejection of certain League club values/cultures suggests what might almost be called a “reverse resistance”. This form of resistance hints at the participants’ desires for a sporting experience that matches more closely their values systems and aspirations for a changed society. For them, the close association between sport and identity is a factor in understanding this process of resistance and the levels at which they have engaged in transformational activity.

Social transformation
The first issue of relevance here is related to young males’ own definition of contribution. These young men felt that they contributed to community life simply by playing a sport in or for the local community. This matches with a functionalist perspective, in that they advocated sport as having individual and societal benefits. For some, playing sport was enough for them to be sufficiently engaged in community life, reinforcing similar findings from other research (e.g. Hall & Banno, 2001; Hall & Mason, 2000). This is not to say that young males should not be encouraged to move to a deeper level of civic participation but that the youth-defined level of participation needs also to be appreciated. This process also begins to connect with a young male’s sense of identity. If their identity is derived from sport, and their contribution through sports participation is unappreciated or even mocked, this can leave them with the impression that they as people – as men in the making – are in fact unappreciated, and therefore they become marginalized.

In the same way that youth-defined participation needs to be acknowledged, the direction that youth social action can take, according to Eden and Roker (2002) needs to be driven by their passions. It is simply untenable to ask young males to get involved in an issue in which they have no interest, no matter how passionate the worker may be about the issue. Many of the young males interviewed got involved in broader community activities only because they were related to sport. Such activities included organising local community festivals, participating in local leadership/mentoring programmes, and convening local public forums with national sporting identities. These types of experiences have since become a pathway for pursuing other
forms of action related to discrimination and social justice which would be more aligned with conflict theories. It is important to note, though, that it began with an intrinsic passion rather than an imposed agenda. As Youniss et al. (2002) intimate, mismatched politics is a potential barrier here, particularly where the definition of civic engagement is an all-embracing one.

Conclusion

The findings from this research suggest that sport is a particularly useful way for young males to participate in acts of local social change. Sport provided them with a source for a sense of belonging and recognition, a means of contributing to the life of their community, and providing a pathway for them to be civicly engaged on both an intellectual/emotional level and a practical level. Despite some of the barriers, there was real experience of sports being not just recreational activities, but also avenues for engaging in social transformation processes.

References


Performative ethnography and (g)local sports

Maud Hietzge and Rolf Husmann
PH Freiburg/IWF Göttingen, Germany

The local and the global

There has been a lot of talk on globalization in recent years. Even German President Horst Köhler stated in his Berlin Speech on October 1st, 2007, that, although the face of globalization has become ugly, there is nevertheless a real chance to create wealth all over the world. In saying this, Köhler fully realized the tendency to split up the whole world into two spheres which lack cohesion, a relatively rich and well-informed one and an uncoupled out-at-elbows one with no chance of participation.

Sport has always been part of overall social changes, actively reflecting and contributing to what is going on. That there should be an overall happiness in the field of sports and leisure was a rather naive statement from the early days of play theory, at any rate. In fact, today young athletes from African nations are bought by western clubs not as slaves anymore, but still in a sort of a prostituted manner with heavy costs on both sides, providing the athlete with a real chance to switch position and take care of his folks abroad.

Most of the following statements conclude empirical results of ethnographic research in the field of soccer in different situations of the global football market, showing its local outcome. If a cultural manifestation is of performative character this does not mean that there would be no serious influence on society – the opposite may be true, because bodies store habits before the brain realizes what had happened. The changes in global soccer culture, the rise of a talent-transfer economy and hidden structures moving athletes ahead and back, will not – on the long run – leave our own sport system as it is.

In no.7 of Trabajo & Sociedad was an enormous outcry on the death of Lali, uno de los cientistas sociales más originales de América Latina. On 6th of June, 2005, Eduardo Archetti had died in Norway. As a professor of anthropology at the University of Oslo, he wrote most ambitious books concerning Latin American soccer, the culture of masculinity and national identification. Most of the people who contributed to the session at Münster owe him part of their own scientific background, especially his introduction of soccer as a serious matter of anthropological research, and venerate him personally to this day. The idea of conceptualizing soccer as a gigantic cultural machine for presenting and producing more or less hidden norms and values, especially for masculinity, has been one of Archetti’s major contributions to

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1 The original idea to link this with visual anthropology failed, since many people who we expected to join the session, in the very end were not able to come and those, who actually could contribute, had other ideas on their presentations. So it was a rational decision to concentrate on the given papers instead of blowing it up.
the discourse on sports under (post-)modern conditions. We have to go on and take his thoughts further, e.g. to explain processes of constitution of transnationalism and local connectivity at the same time.

**Glocalized bodies**

Bernd Bröskamp (Gesellschaft f. internationale Kultur- u. Bildungsarbeit, Berlin)

Bodily and sporting practices often enough evoke naturalising patterns of thought still haunting the social sciences. With regard to globalization processes, they are present in form of some interrelated epistemological obstacles which are:

- the belief in the body as a medium of universal understanding, still prevalent in the implementation of physical education programmes in multiethnic settings;
- culturalist notions conceptualizing body cultures as closed systems of homogenous values and behavioural norms in a quite ahistorical way;
- biologistic patterns of thought ascribing extraordinary competence in sport (such as perfect motor skills and special styles of movement e.g. in the case of black sportsmen) to “nature”; and
- “methodological nationalism”, assuming the nation state to be the natural unit of study in (sport) sociology.

The notion of “glocalized bodies” aims at breaking with and – at the same time – overcoming these obstacles. It draws heavily on Bourdieu’s related concepts of bodily habitus and (transnational) social space (Levitt & Glick Schiller; Glick Schiller & Wimmer; Pries), combining it with Robertson’s concept of glocalization. It focuses on the global flow of corporeal practices, body images and techniques in the fields of sport, dance, fashion etc. This can be conceived of as a world wide circulation of cultural forms in an objectified state, which corresponds to the tendency of the global expansion of the market of symbolic goods. Nevertheless, the local reception of circulating cultural forms include a creative process of reframing, re-interpreting and re-contextualising sporting and corporeal practices (just think of such as Capoeira, Salsa, Merengue, TaiChi, KungFu, Futsal etc.), which might involve both: (slight) changes of habitus as well as processes of (re)producing social and ethnic diversity on local levels. Another aspect of global mobility is to be conceived of as the global flow of cultural competencies, codes, perceptual skills, body techniques etc. in an embodied state. The classic case here is migration, which can be conceived of as a circulation of forms of habitus. As a consequence, in Germany you can observe on the level of cultural consumption (and schooling) changes towards a socially and ethnically diverse sport system which is a challenge for the traditional institutions being responsible for the training of teachers and pedagogues. If we were, furthermore, to focus on body-related fields of cultural production, we would have to pay attention to a whole spectrum of transnational spaces such as professional dance, sport, fashion, modeling, beauty contests, prostitution, human trafficking, the illegal trade of human organs etc. Constructing such a space would imply e.g. in the case of professional dance to take
into account their hierarchical as well as their relational structures. For that reason the transnational field of professional dance would include the analysis of its most legitimate zones such as state ballets, leading dance companies (including their localized field-specific capitals like Wuppertal), schools and field-specific forms of symbolic capital (titles such as “first solo dancer”, “dancer of the year” etc.) as well as the analysis of its most illegitimate spheres, such as the sex industries. Here dance is located within the red light districts and – as in some countries such as Switzerland and Austria – special “artist” visas are given out to “cabaret-” and “show-” dancers. Taking into account forms of embodied symbolic capital specific to a chosen field of some body-related performative genre we could in a similar manner also construct transnational fields in the world of sport and, as a subfield, the world of football.

**The world’s first football franchise: the story of Ajax Cape Town**

James Rosbrook-Thompson (Brunel University/LSE)

The football franchise Ajax Cape Town, being a neo-colonial example of the divide-and-rule-strategy, exemplifies an unequal exchange in the context of dependency theory and world-system theory. A complex deal involving players that embody loan repayments was agreed upon. This means Ajax Cape Town is dependent on its mother club to decide the parameters of exchange. In terms of a capitalist world system, the model of the franchise and the farm club, along with the ideas of cheap labour, raw materials and people as property, are not possible without the legacy of mercantile and industrial capitalism.

The franchise agreement represents a co-optation of an organization of the semi-periphery by a club reposed at the core, and that the agreement between these clubs is predicated on the maximization of surplus – both economic and corporeal. This agreement systematizes a relationship of dependency whereby the satellite club is forced to sell its best players to its matriarch at a price determined in Amsterdam. Ajax Cape Town is deemed to be a “farm” club, charged with priming raw materials for their journey north.

Consumers of football in Cape Town are largely drawn from townships. These individuals feel alienated by the European, corporate feel of Ajax and have voted with their feet. The imposition of the romanticized Ajax system, in the guise of playing formation and tenets of player identification, has resulted in a style of play that fans feel is “un-African.” The theoretical models employed to analyse the relationship in question struggled to account for this fan resistance and more specifically the dissonance of cultures that beset the relationship.

**The king of the Negro Republic: football and politics in Liberia, West Africa**

Gary Armstrong (Brunel University)

All of the young African nations conceptualize world-wide sport systems as a possibility for national representation. Liberia, Africa’s first republic, was able to
avoid colonialism but not its consequences. Despite not being a colony the game of football arrived via the west African shipping lines and the clubs that were founded were in parts to reflect the fault lines of the nation, most notably those around the indigenous and the recently arrived from the USA as a consequence of the abolition of slavery. Building a sense of nationhood was problematic throughout the country’s history.

Since the early 1960s, Liberian politicians have sought to deploy sport in order to forge national identity, notably utilizing football to reconcile people in the absence of any other shared enthusiasm, but with questionable results. The interconnection between Liberian politics and football has acquired intensified complexity in recent years. A former World Footballer, George Weah, was popularly depicted as the candidate to secure national unity, entering the race for the Presidency in 2005/06. But he failed to challenge pre-existing social networks and systems of patronage within and beyond Liberia, his elevation perpetuated the political crisis within Liberia.

Weah’s football career illustrated the power football has on contemporary political processes and imagery. The collective effort that the game requires prioritises that which is shared over that which divides. However whilst the epitome of masculine credibility in both the African and indeed global contexts, Weah was not considered qualified to lead a country faced with a contest between Weah and an elderly female with a greater grasp of economics and world politics, the electorate chose the latter.

Weah could entertain but was not versed in the qualities that make for nation building. For many, his candidature was more attractive to western eyes fascinated by the novelty of a footballer becoming a politician. The Liberian populace, however, were astute enough to realize that when the western media left town their reality remained and something greater than a footballing celebrity was needed to resolve their problems.

The representative role of sports is still dominant at the global political arena, but at the same time concrete political functions differ widely.

**Fascism in the Italian “curve”: the political ideological dimension of the Italian ultras**

Alberto Testa (Brunel University)

The connection between football and political ideology cannot only be shown in Africa, but in Europe as well, looking for example at the close relationship between neo-fascist movements and sports, both in society and the stadiums. Hooliganism can be seen as a manifestation of intolerance linked to the culture of aversion often against foreigner migrants of ideological statements referring to regional, political national and international issues. In Italy, football has constantly mirrored the political circumstances of Italy and has been regarded as a legitimate arena for struggles by political actors across the political spectrum in different settings. An example of this link politics-football is represented by the involvement of Mussolini’s Fascist party in sport and football. During the fascist regime for the first time in Italy and perhaps in world history; physical education and sport were not just considered healthy activities
capable of strengthening the spirit and body but as a crucial element in the political transformation of the nation. Whilst the sports performance record-breaking remained the domain of the champion the same individual was the apex of a pyramid that sought to move in the direction of excellence. In this way the dichotomy between the competitive professional and unpaid amateur was resolved because the state recognized the fundamental social value of the practice of sport. Physical activities and sports were not to be the privilege of the few but a cultural practice open to all, to recreate a sense of being Italian. It is not by chance that Italy won two world football cups under Mussolini’s regime in 1934 and 1938.

Still Italian football remains at the centre of strong political interests; three glorious football teams such as AC Milan (the current Italian Prime Minister Berlusconi), Juventus (the recently deceased FIAT and Ferrari owner and senator of the republic Gianni Agnelli), and Fiorentina (the former President Cecchi Gori was a film tycoon producer and senator of the republic) have had, as their presidents, members of the Italian Parliament. The former president of the Italian Football Federation Franco Carraro was at one time an MP, Mayor of Rome, and the Socialist Minister for Sport. The current Italian president of the Lega Nazionale Professionisti (National Professionals’ League (LNP)) Antonio Matarrese is a former Christian Democrats senator, still involved in politics. Football and politics are not separate worlds in Italy.

Although numerous academic studies focused their enquiries on the Italian “hardcore” football fans they neglected the neo-fascist dimension of the movement or they have provided, using different instrumentation and methodological strategies, a cluster of theories many contradictory. Moreover, no ethnographic analyses in Italy have focused on group dynamics and interactions on neo-fascist ultras groups. The lack of ethnographic studies on these types of ultras can be due to the difficulty in entering this social world due to the hesitancy of the groups towards any types of external contact with journalists and researchers identifying in their supposedly bias a vital reason to exclude them for the self preservation of the group.

The research sought to demonstrate – via an historical analysis – the link between politics and football and the shortcomings in the Italian political system throughout history as a possible reason of the enduring existence of the ideology of fascism in a highly industrialized and modern 21st century nation such as Italy and the football supporters which include most of the Italian youth.

The research conducted between 2003-2006 evaluated two internationally renowned ultras (In Italy today this word is used to indicate generically (regardless of political orientations) all hard-core football fans who manifest behaviours that exceed “normality” expressed linguistically or through bodily comportment and ultimately violent practices.) groups located in the Italian capital of Rome: the Boys Roma and the Irriducibili of Lazio who enact their performances on their respective “curve” of the city’s Olympic stadium.

A different cultural element on football spectatorship is presented in the next chapter. As Geertz (1973) wisely argues games are dramatizations of societies, they
are a means to uncover the traits of cultures and football in its totality can be considered a cultural practice hence subject to changes of meanings and values accordingly to its local dimension.

**Göttingen 05 – a club dies – the fans survive**

Rolf Husmann (University of Göttingen)

Having had its sporting highlights in the 1950s through 70s with a second division appearance, Göttingen 05 is not a really famous soccer club in Germany, but has created a very special fan club, still existing although the club, being taken off the clubs’ register, died in 2003. This is an example of imaginary identification in its extreme sense. For decades football in the university town of Göttingen was dominated by Göttingen 05, but since the 1980s management problems and lack of financial means led to a sporting decline, leading to a relegation to a medium amateur level, while 05 still remained Göttingen’s best club. One day after promotion to the third division level had been won again, it tragically had to declare bankruptcy and was deleted from the list of registered clubs. In 2004, the fan club became known as “fans without club”, taking a decisive role in keeping up the club symbols and the surviving youth section. This example tells a lot, how fans can manage to stick together, not losing their symbols and coherence. The decline of the club was successfully overcome by its fans who played an important role in the creation of a follow-up club, a merger with the already existing club of RSV Geismar. Continuity was achieved by the fans who thus provide an example of the lasting club allegiance of football fans.

**Construction and deconstruction of global spaces**

From a bird’s eye perspective, local processes prove to be deeply intertwined with global changes. To continue Archetti’s line of thinking, one could conceptualize the circulation of athletes’ bodies, national symbols of identity, social as well as political relations as fluctuating elements in a broader move in the direction of hybrid cultures and blurring boundaries in the context of transnational movements. In fact, some players of African origin earn their money in Europe, but run under their traditional national flag for worldwide competition. Being the object of identification in their European clubs as local heroes, they act otherwise in the global theatre, and sometimes nobody knows them anymore in their native country.

What is becoming obviously clear is that continuity can only be gained by forming the transforming processes itself. There is no use of an orientation willing to prevent former play cultures from getting modern, but there has to be an option to redefine practically what post-modernity may mean. Also, it becomes more and more obvious, how relative identification processes function – it is not a prophetic talk that this will sooner or later cause a decrease of national symbolism, but an increase of local customs – after a lot of them had died out. To keep ludo-diversity is one of the most important cultural heritages, only to be stored on video to get their special notion later on, and UNESCO and ICSSPE should be encouraged to do a lot more in this direction.
Theoretically, there has to be a serious contribution to understand what social spacing means in global contexts, with a serious concern with the local.

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The staging and (re)-construction of collective, nation-state related emotions in the media coverage of world cup soccer matches

Sven Ismer
University of Hamburg, Germany

Abstract: During the 2006 soccer world cup in Germany, we witnessed unprecedented zeal for the emotionally laden public demonstration of national symbols and national identity. Drawing on Arlie Hochschild’s concept of feeling rules, this article argues that the change in the emotional climate can be traced back to a fundamental change in feeling rules in society. Further, it suggests that these changes have both been encouraged by and are reflected in the television coverage of the events. Examples from the television coverage of the quarterfinals in the 2006 World cup are compared with the final game from the 1974 World cup in order to illustrate these claims.

Keywords: feeling rules, soccer coverage, national identity.

Soccer is able to evoke collective emotions like almost nothing else in our everyday lives. In the summer of 2006, we were able to observe how millions of people celebrated their love of the nation during the soccer world cup in Germany, an event that marked a shift in the “emotional climate” (Vester, 1991) in German society. In the run-up as well as during the tournament, long-existing taboos related to the public demonstration of collective, nation-related emotions were abandoned and the corresponding “feeling rules” (Hochschild, 1979, 1990) of German society changed. The role of the mass media seems to be of crucial importance in this process. While the influence of fictional feature films on political culture and emotional predispositions of populations is well known (vgl. Grau & Keil, 2005; Hoffmann, 1998; Döve-ling, 2005), there is little research available on the role of sports coverage and the nexus nation-emotion.

In the past, sociological research has only examined sports spectators’ emotions in regard to aggression and violence (especially of soccer fans). Riedl (2006) entered uncharted territory with his attempt to develop a sociological theory of spectator bonding in professional sports, focusing especially on the role of collective emotions. Zeh and Müller-Klier (2004) consider the political effect of soccer world cups and the impact these competitions have on collective moods and emotions without, however, taking the reporting style into consideration.

In the following, I would like to focus on the media staging of soccer, sharing some thoughts from my preliminary work on my doctoral dissertation.
Soccer has been the subject of extensive research. As Gunter Gebauer (2002) suggests, it can be understood as an arena in which social structures and developments are staged. Pornschlegel argues that soccer takes on the character of a ritual in which the core values of society are manifested. He analyses soccer as a cultural routine that is perpetually repeated, strongly regulated and which – like all rituals – creates social order (Pornschlegel, 2002, 105).

Although I cannot expand on the ritual or symbol theoretical implications here, I would like to emphasize that a “meaning-universe” (Pornschlegel, 2002, 105) is created in soccer that people cannot only see, but also experience. In this sense, soccer can also be understood as an instrument of socialization for values and abstract principles of society (Happel, 1996). As Pornschlegel points out, these include the principles of triangulation, the willingness to perform (motivation), teamwork, camaraderie, honor, courage, and last but not least, the nation (Pornschlegel, 2002, 106).

I would like to expand Pornschlegel’s canon to the sphere of emotions, to what I believe to be of particular interest from my sociological point of view: the feeling and display rules I already mentioned. Just like other processes of social transformation, many aspects of the shift in feeling rules become apparent in soccer, especially in the staging of soccer in the media. The term “feeling rules” comes from the sociology of emotions and was coined by Arlie Hochschild (1979). According to Hochschild, “feeling rules are seen as the side of ideology that deals with emotion and feeling” (Hochschild, 1979, 551) and determine who should feel what when how long and with what intensity. Fiehler (1990, 77-87) later took up this concept and developed it further. He not only refers to Hochschild, but also integrates Ekman and Friesen’s (1969) work from the realm of intercultural psychology. They introduced the concept “display rules”, which relates to the social rules of emotional expression. Display rules regulate the degree and manner to which emotions are revealed in public, whereby the expression is not necessarily identical with the emotion present. We all know the saying “grin and bear it.”

Fiehler structured the “rules of emotionality” (Fiehler, 1990, 77) by combining both approaches in his communication analysis, adding “corrrespondency rules” and “code rules” to feeling rules and display rules, thus creating two further levels of analysis. The latter two are of primary interest for the points covered here.

I presume that many of these rules are manifested in soccer and that their analysis can help us not only to understand them, but also to explain the changes regarding them. Questions of feeling and display rules can be examined at multiple levels, as the different actors like fans, players, commentators, and club and national team officials, bring up different issues.

Let us first turn to the spectators and fans, the salt in the soup of soccer. They are responsible for making the game into a spectacle of the masses, taking up the struggle on the field and expanding it with their chants and battle. However, the “triangular taming of the drive to kill” as Pornschlegel (2002, 105) calls it, is particularly precarious here, as the line between a regulated conflict performance and a “real” fight
accompanied by broken rules is often blurred. Fans are freed in soccer from many of
the feeling and display rules that apply in the rest of society. They can cry
uninhibitedly when they lose, or celebrate a success of their team more intensively
than a success in their private or professional lives, although the latter certainly has a
stronger and more direct impact on them.

A look at the social context of the respective emotions helps understand these
phenomena better. Especially the expression of collective pride brings up a number of
interesting questions. Experiencing pride is usually seen as being closely related to
factors like self-worth and self-confidence (Casimir & Jung 2008, 52ff.). Barkow
addresses the question of which social mechanisms regulate the expression of pride in
our society:

Overbearing pride, however, is by definition arrogance, the verbal and
nonverbal communication to others that one is so much superior that
ordinary norms of social interaction do not apply. This assumption of
superiority, even when not contested, rubs the noses of those around
one in their relative inferiority and thereby risks alienating them
(Barkow, 1997, 407).

In the case of collective experience of pride by soccer fans (even when it is not based
on performance by the individual), this mechanism does not apply within the
collective. The positively experienced emotion can be savoured without any inhibition.
The fans can profit, even if only for a short time, from the increase in feelings of self-
worth connected to the experience of pride.

Whereas the feeling and display rules regarding fans are less prohibitive than
outside the field of soccer, the players are subject to more strict regulation. For
example, even the manner in which they are permitted to celebrate a goal is regulated
(in this case by formal rules of the game). A too passionate expression of joy and pride
– like taking off one’s jersey – is punished with a yellow card.

It is not difficult to come up with an explanation of these specific display rules. In
contrast to the spectators in the stands and in front of the television screen, on the field
the body is brought into the battle. It is of great importance for the representative
function of soccer that the battle is carried out in the context of official rules. Borders
must be clearly defined and protected through the threat of sanctions. If this was not
the case, the spectacle could quickly get out of control and the already precarious
taming of the masses in the stands would be much more difficult.

The above mentioned rules are not uncontroversial to the public. Whereas the
majority of soccer fans consider the punishment of their idols to be exaggerated, they
react very sensitively to other kinds of emotional outbreaks on the part of the players.
That feeling and display rules are the topic of public debate becomes apparent when
we look at the 1994 Stefan Effenberg affair, in which he showed the German fans the
finger during a world cup game – an incident which divided public opinion for weeks.
This scenario, including the public outcry, was repeated in the recent example
involving the Hamburg player Timothy Atouba (figure 1).
After having lost the ball a number of times during a Champions League game, the spectators booed out this darling of the public, slinging (racist) curses at him. The scene shown here happened when he was taken off the field: the situation escalated and even beer cups were thrown at Atouba. The public’s actions were hardly mentioned in the media coverage after the situation. The main question was whether a (well paid) soccer player has the right to insult the (paying) public.

These examples are intended to illustrate the complexity of feeling and display rules in soccer. The way in which they are regulated, expressed and enforced are different according to which position the social actor has in the field, varying not only according to the degree of formality (e.g. social control vs. federation regulations), but also according to intensity (e.g. jokes, ostracism, inner-game penalties, fines).

The focus of my interest, however, is the field of nation-state related emotions, to which I will turn now. As has become obvious in the course of the world cup in Germany, a great deal has changed in this field in the past years. A comparative look at the last world cup held in Germany in 1974 illustrates this well. A great majority of German spectators supported the national team in 1974, but they did so in a more reserved fashion than at the 2006 world cup. The German team, and especially Franz Beckenbauer, was subject to boos and whistles from the spectators in the early games of the 1974 World cup. The home team played a successful – with the exception of the game against the GDR –, but not particularly attractive preliminary round. One reason for the public’s distance to the team was probably their high expectations that the German team would play as technically ambitious a game as they had at the 1972 European Championships. Further, the players’ reputation had suffered through a very public conflict regarding their pay. Under the leadership of the captain, Franz Beckenbauer, the players had threatened with a strike if their salaries were not significantly raised.
There was another important reason, though, for the reserved reaction to the world cup success. The historian Christiane Eisenberg says:

After the student movement and in the context of the politics of appeasement followed by the socialist-liberal coalition led by Willy Brandt, nationalist statements of any sort were frowned upon. Just as the public received the loss to the GDR in a game just prior to the final without much ado, the lucky capturing of the title was not met with any passion (Eisenberg, 1997, 121).\(^1\)

Eisenberg’s choice of words (“nationalist statements were frowned upon”) refers to the existence of emotional rules that can be called “critical distance”. This feeling rule of critical distance, dominant in the 1970s in regard to collective, nation-related emotions, was evident in soccer as well. It is, however, a question whether this rule results from a general “attitude of reservation” (AHF-Information, 2004, 4) or if it is more accurate to speak of it as part of a “staged modesty” (AHF-Information, 2004, 4).

2006 is a completely different picture. The public had no trouble at all identifying with the team – the soccer played was more attractive and successful than most had anticipated before the competition. The changed surrounding conditions made a massive participation in the 2006 world cup much easier, as the plentiful public viewing areas allowed a much larger number of people to experience the games in the midst of a crowd rather than comparatively isolated in front of the living room television. In the course of the world cup, what had been hinted at in numerous campaigns leading up to the competition was implemented. The people were to become a part of the event in a fully new way. This participation, however, relies on adequate action on the part of the masses.

Several campaigns were run in the year leading up to the World cup, preparing the public for its role at the world cup and propagating a self-confident, ambitious understanding of German collective identity. This took place with, for example, the large-scale image campaign “Du bist Deutschland”\(^2\) (“You are Germany”) and in various commercials from world cup sponsors like the Telekom with its “Sei Teil im größten Nationalteam aller Zeiten” campaign (“Be part of the largest national team in history” campaign). Also the Organization Committee was active, with posters that preached the proper (guest-friendly) behaviour during the world cup and that called upon the public to support their national team (“11+1” campaign). The media represented the fans as the backbone of the team, and these took on the image, feeling increasingly so.

Figures 2 and 3 show the images that television viewers were offered during the reading of the team formation. The 1974 transmission by the ARD (figure 2) shows a full shot of the German half of the field. The commentator Rudi Michel reads the

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1 Translated by S.Ismer.
players’ names in a very dry, unemotional voice. He mentions only the last names of the players. Figure 3 shows a screenshot of the ARD transmission of the quarterfinal game between Germany and Argentina in 2006. It shows the “fan mile” in front of the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin. Tens of thousands of viewers stand in front of the main architectural symbol of national unity. The reporter announces that he will read the “loudest team formation of all time”. He uses a loud, elevatory voice to shout: “Our heroes are playing – with the number one: Jens...”. The masses answer with the German goalkeeper’s last name, “Lehmann”. Fans and team seem to merge, suggesting that the Eleven were installed by the people, having been recruited from among them.

Figure 2

Figure 3

The individual players and their idiosyncrasies were represented as role models in the media before and during the world cup, providing a range of identification choices for the audience. There is the carefree, instinct guy Podolski, the modest superstar Klose, the intellectual patriot Metzelder, and the quiet introvert Lehmann. This production carries on the Telekom campaign, in which average-looking people appear in soccer jerseys. The subtext suggests that everyone has a place in the soccer-Volksgemeinschaft. The national team embodies the ideal of a Volk that is united in diversity.

4 Source: Screenshot from the DVD “Viertelfinale 2006 Deutschland-Argentinien 5:3 n.E.” Published in the collection “Bild am Sonntag. Die Fußball-WM Klassikersammlung: Deutsche Triumphe, deutsche Tragödien. Ausgabe 35”.

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Sven Ismer
Figure 5 is a screenshot that was taken when the national anthem was played before
the start of the quarterfinal in 2006. It shows that the national team players are singing
arm in arm. The picture does not show that a large number of spectators in the stadium
and the national team coach are also singing. The fervor with which they did so is,
unfortunately, not visible also. This behaviour would have seemed out of place in
1974.

Figure 4 conveys an impression of the feeling rules of the 1970s. None of the
players sang, as did none of the DFB representatives or any members of the
government visible in the broadcast. The players kept their distance from one another
and showed an almost dour face. This might not be a surprise in regard to players like
Paul Breitner, who experimented with Maoism in the 1970s, but it is puzzling in
regard to the known conservative Berti Vogts. This reference to unitary behaviour
should make clear that despite possibly different individual political standpoints, the
players oriented their emotions and the display of them to the respective feeling and
display rules.

The commentators in everyday soccer life, as in the commentary of the German
Soccer League games, are subject to the journalistic display rule (or, better, expression
rule) that prohibits a show of sympathy for the one or other side.

This rule does not exist at the national level. The commentary is biased in both,
but the way in which the reporters support their team is different in the two world cup
examples shown here. The commentary of the game in 1974 is demonstratively
matter-of-fact and the speaker refers several times to the sportsmanlike character of the
competition. Only in one scene, about five minutes before the end of the game, Rudi
Michel lets his emotions show, calling out to a German player in a counterattack: “Get

a hold of yourself, boy!”). He immediately takes it back with the words “Excuse me that I got so personal”\(^7\).

The commentary and images of the quarter final in 2006 speak an entirely different language, one that evokes images of religious events. Expressions like “wonder”, “belief”, and “mission” are used in the various programmes that precede the games. And there is more to it than that. Not only are clichés about national features taken up or constructed in the media coverage, but the opponent is also mocked. In one of the pre-game reports, Maradona and Beckenbauer are presented as representatives of national character: the Argentine as a drug-addicted, ridiculous figure, and the German as an eternal icon whose only weakness is that he savours his alluring effect on women a bit too much. After the victory won through penalty shootout, the commentator Reinhold Beckmann remarks on the changed rules with regard to the expression of national emotions. In an emotional voice he comments:

> It was only a couple of weeks ago, dear viewers, that it was considered pretty uncool to sing the national anthem. Now Germany is a united soccer country, a summer dream in black, red, gold. The German team learned to fly and we enjoy taking off with them. Up and away to the stars!\(^8\)

**Summary**

It is impossible to ignore the trend to a general emotionalization of soccer coverage, partly due to a professionalization of sports journalism. Emotions sell: they bring in large numbers of viewers, especially for sports programmes. The enormous increase in price to broadcast soccer games has increased the pressure on the TV networks to earn more money. Emotionalization ties viewers to the event, increasing the excitement and with it the attractiveness (and value) of the product soccer\(^9\).

Returning to the question of feeling rules that I started with, there is – in addition to the general trend towards emotionalization – also a significant, specific, qualitative shift taking place. The earlier reservation regarding collective nation-related emotions seems to have disappeared. To explain this shift solely as a journalistic strategy to emotionalize sports does not adequately capture the dynamics of change relating to the nation. The 2006 world cup has to be seen in the context of far reaching changes within German society regarding both domestic policy (including drastic modifications of the social system) and changes in Germany’s international role and foreign affairs (e.g. the German Federal Armed Forces deployment in foreign areas of conflict). The


\(^9\) See also Riedl who notes a “shift in media reporting and the conveyance of information towards the realm of entertainment” (2006, 14).
world cup should be seen as a culmination of multi-stranded efforts to change the German national self-image.

The obvious change in feeling rules has been greeted as a welcome return to normalcy by most in the public debate about them. Many celebrate that finally Germany has developed a “natural patriotism” that has nothing to do with the still negatively connotated nationalism of the past.

The Bielefeld research group led by Heitmeyer showed, however, that the emergence of a Habermasian democratic and tolerant patriotism has remained wishful thinking. They discovered a considerable rise in anti-foreigner sentiment and a substantial drop in positive references to the coordinates of constitutional patriotism – democracy, rule of law – in the general population in Germany in the time frame March-August 2006 (Becker et al., 2007).

This relationship between feeling rules and national self-image is one that I will examine more closely in my future research with the case example of soccer media coverage. My research interest picks up on Anderson’s idea of the imagined community (1998), asking how the nation moves from the mind (imagined community) to the heart (loved nation). Understanding this dynamic is crucial to preventing its translation into praxis, with all the well-known negative consequences of nationalism. For the distance between the heart and the hands is not far.

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Socialization, motives and barriers of practising sport by top-level national athletes in selected sports

Michał Lenartowicz, Zbigniew Dziubiński, Krzysztof W. Jankowski and Piotr Rymarczyk
Jozef Pilsudski University of Physical Education in Warsaw, Poland

Abstract: The aim of the research was to provide up-to-date knowledge concerning ways of socialization for sport, motives leading top-level athletes and barriers connected with practising sport at the highest level. The research was based on the method of written interview. Interviews were carried out in July and August 2005 during training camps of national teams. The research embraced 272 Polish representatives of 13 Olympic sports. It proved that the family, peer groups and teachers of physical education were most often mentioned as social institutions influencing choices of sports career. The choice of the practised discipline is in 22.8% of cases perceived as a realization of earlier dreams, but almost equally often as a result of rational decisions. Among the researched athletes, motives of autotelic character – such as personal satisfaction from sports activity – dominated, at least in the realm of declarations. Athletes pointed out the lack of successes, risk of losing health and the coach’s unfairness as the main discouraging factors in the sports career. Postulations of changes needed to improve sport results were increasing the money they are paid, increasing the number of training camps and competitions and improving the quality or increasing the quantity of sports equipment and facilities.

Keywords: sociology, top-level sport, socialization, motives, barriers.

Introduction and research questions

In the paper we present the first results of a study on top-level athletes, which was carried out by the team of the Department of Sociology of the University of Physical Education in Warsaw with content-related and organizational support from the Central Institute of Sport in Warsaw\(^1\). The aim of the research was to provide up-to-date knowledge on the ways of socialization for sport, motivations which lead top-level athletes, and barriers that are connected with practising sport at the highest level. The research was to give answers to four research questions:

1. How did the researched athletes become sportsmen/sportswomen?
2. What motives constitute the foundation of their decision to practice sport?
3. What difficulties have they encountered while practising sport?

\(^1\) Paper prepared within the framework of the research problem “Socialization, Motivations and Barriers of Sports and Professional Activity in Top Sport” (Ds. 92) at the Jozef Pilsudski University of Physical Education in Warsaw, Poland.
4. What activities, according to the interviewees, should be undertaken by relevant sports associations to decline existing barriers?

**Material and methods**

The research included representatives of 13 sports. Among the athletes embraced by the research there were 272 persons – 160 men (58.8%) and 112 women (41.2%). This is a group of a clearly urban character and people coming from the rural areas constitute less than 13% of it. The average age of whole sample was 22.5 years (with the maximum of 36). It is worth mentioning that a clear limit is the age of 28; older athletes constituted less than 6% of the researched population. It is probably the young age of the researched that explains why there was a relatively small group (19.9%) of persons being married. In spite of a young age, it is a relatively well-educated group and percentages of particular categories exceed those in the country. Moreover, it should be emphasized that a number of respondents were students of secondary schools, colleges and universities and it may be assumed that their educational status is going to change in the coming years.

![Figure 1. Sport disciplines represented by investigated athletes (%)](image)

For 176 of the respondents (64.7%), sport was the main source of income. 39.3% of the investigated athletes formally obtained the international master’s class and another 35.7% had a national master’s class. Average training experience was ten years (while the range in the case of that feature was from 2 to 24 years). Questionnaire interview was applied in the research. Interviews were carried out in July and August 2005 during training camps of the national teams.
Results

The basic problem of socialization for sport comes down to answering the question: is the decision to practice sport in a society where regular physical activity involves less than one out of ten individuals (CBOS, 2003) a result of youthful dreams and passions, of organized influences of persons and social institutions, or does it happen by pure chance? From the results obtained, one can see that almost half of the athletes (45%) had explicit opinions on these issues when they entered their clubs, and their decision was a result of them. Approximately one third of them (31.3%) was led by some significant others’ opinions and 23.2% attributed entering the sport domain to a chance. A closer analysis of channels of institutional influence does not enable us to answer unambiguously which of them are the dominating ones. Influences of particular social circles may be regarded as similarly strong, because differences between them are not higher than several percents and they are statistically insignificant. It should be only added that influences of the family (19.9%), of peer groups and of PE teachers (17.6% in both cases) were of prime importance. In that case, enthusiasm and rationality constitute the opposite poles. Those athletes who, regardless of the circumstances, have wanted to practice “their” sport from the beginning and who unwaveringly aspired for that deserve the name of enthusiasts. There were 22.8% of them.

It would also be difficult to say that sports interests are inherited. Over half of the researched pointed out to their families’ connections with sport, but – taking into account the multiplicity of choice, it should be proclaimed that only one fifth of them had contact with that type of patterns in his/her closest circle.

As it was possible to foresee, the overwhelming majority of the investigated athletes (88.2%) expressed positive opinions on school physical education, but – what is also worth being noticed – a bit more than 7% of them treated physical education classes as a not very liked, obligatory school subject and 4% of them were exempted or had no PE classes. At the same time, less than 16% of the researched members of Olympic teams were graduates of schools of sports mastery – institutions which, according to the assumptions, were to provide talented youth with the best conditions for learning and sport training.

As it is written by Krawczyk (1997), sport in its contemporary form derives its origin from activities of autotelic character, which were often being developed on the ground of the aristocratic ethos of “conspicuous leisure” (Veblen, 1971). In this case, sports rivalry was motivated not so much by external rewards, but by personal satisfaction derived from the very participation in the above mentioned rivalry and from achieving successes in it. Krawczyk (1997) emphasizes, however, that what primarily was autotelic in the course of time was undergoing progressive instrumentalization and that this process was especially visible in the realm of professional sport. This statement refers both to motives of organizing sports rivalry and to participation in it. Thus, contemporary athletes are often led not only by autotelic internal motives, but also by those of instrumental, external character – such as aspirations for financial
rewards and fame. It is, however, emphasized by psychologists of sport that external motives alone are not enough and that the athlete’s successes are facilitated by domination of internal motives over external motives and not by the opposite situation (Czajkowski, 2002, 2003).

If we consider the issue of motives which led athletes and of the influence of those motives on the results achieved by the athletes, we face not only the problem of their instrumental or autotelic character but also the following question: is the athlete led to a greater degree by aspirations for future successes or by striving for professional stabilization? The first attitude seems to be more favourable for achieving sports successes than the second.

Taking into account differences which may appear in the realm of motives in the two dimensions which have been described above, we assumed that the six following orientations are possible to be found in the case of the researched athletes:

- the purely autotelic orientation – it consists in treating sports participation as a value in itself. We assume that while answering questions concerning motives of sports activity, it is testified by the choice of the answer “possibility to realize one’s own interests and passions”,
- the success-oriented subtype of autotelic orientation – it is supposed to manifest itself by choosing the answer “personal satisfaction from sports achievements”,
- the instrumental orientation (subtype oriented to social recognition) – its presence is supposed to manifest itself by choosing the answer “social recognition which is provided by the performed work”,
- the instrumental orientation (subtype oriented to material rewards) – this is supposed to manifest itself by choosing the answer “satisfying income”,
- the prospective orientation – this is supposed to be present when the competitor is motivated by hope for future successes,
- the conservative orientation – we deal with this when the competitor is motivated by aspirations for maintaining the achieved professional status; it is an attitude which seem to grow, first of all, of treating sport as a job that is done to earn a living. Moreover – in order to exclude the possibility of overlooking some significant factors – respondents answering the question about motives of sports activity could point at motives which they named by themselves.

The analysis of questionnaires enables us to claim that the most significant role among the motives of sports participation which were declared by them was played by autotelic motives – by personal satisfaction from sports achievements and by the possibility to realize one’s own interests and passions. The first of those motives was pointed out as “the most significant” or “important” by 97.3% of the respondents giving valid answers and the second by 86% of them. Almost an equally important role was played by hope for future sports successes (pointed out as “the most significant” or “important” motive by 83.7% of the respondents). A relatively smaller
role was played by “possibility of doing something I am already expert in, while in another place I would have to start everything from the beginning”.

Motives playing a relatively small role include “satisfying income” as well as social recognition, which is regarded as “the most significant” or “important” by 40.8% of the respondents and as “not very significant” or “insignificant” by 17.4% of them. The situation is slightly different when we take into account only respondents declaring that sport is their main way of earning a living. In that group, satisfying income is clearly more often declared as the most significant or important motive of sports activity (it is pointed out as such by 70.4% of the respondents). Taking into account other motives, they are pointed out by athletes for whom sport is the main form of earning a living with a frequency very similar to that met in the whole sample.

No significant correlation has been found between the significance attached by the respondents to particular motives of sports activity and the sport they practice, their age at the moment of beginning training, self-estimation of sports successes, sex, age, education, satisfaction from income or estimation of possibilities of future sports successes. It was noticed only that there is a quite strong – and not very surprising – positive correlation (0.457 with a level of significance p=0.01) between the role attributed to the motive of social recognition and the feeling of such a recognition.

The research gives us a picture of national team members as athletes more oriented towards personal satisfaction from sports activity and sports achievements than towards external rewards. That statement refers both to the athletes who treat sport as the main form of earning a living and to those who do not do so (although in the case of the latter the role played by financial motives is clearly greater). It is a quite optimistic picture, since treating sports participation as an autotelic value is a guarantee of the athlete’s personal commitment to the rivalry he or she takes part in – and it is the commitment relatively independent from favourable or unfavourable configurations of external factors. Sports achievements of athletes seem to be facilitated also by the fact that they slightly more about personal satisfaction from sports successes than about the sole possibility of realising their sports interests. It should, however, taken into account that autotelic attitudes enjoy greater social approval than the instrumental ones. The affirmation of autotelic participation is also strongly rooted in the realm of ideals, which are still referred to – at least verbally – by contemporary sport, and especially in the realm of the Olympic ideals. Using Ossowski’s (1967) terminology, we may proclaim that autotelic values of sports activity are the values which are socially recognized in the cultural context where the investigated athletes function, but it does not necessarily mean that they must be values felt by them. Thus, some of the respondents – led by care about their image – might, while writing about their attitudes, magnify the role played by internal motives and diminish the role played by external motives.

Optimism may also arise by the fact that in the case of almost 90% of the athletes a significant role is played by the motive of hope for future successes. It seems to point at a high level of sports aspirations. Simultaneously, however, over half of the respondents pointed at “the possibility of doing something I am already expert in,
while in another place I would have to start everything from the beginning” as “the most significant” or “important” motive of practising sport. We think pointing at this motive is strongly correlated with a conservative, not very go-getting attitude towards practising sport. Thus, it seems that in some cases the motive of hope for future successes is only declared and not felt (or more declared than felt) and the questioned athletes are more oriented towards maintaining the achieved status than towards future successes.

When asked about significant discouraging factors in a sports career, the athletes pointed mainly at “lack of successes” (35.3%), “risk of losing health” (15.1%) and “unfairness of the coach”. Other significant factors mentioned as hindering the sports career were “gainful employment outside sport” (36%), “studying” (27.9%) and “social life and entertainment” (21.3%). The athletes expressed the opinion that sports success is not hindered by training facilities, which are positively estimated by 59.2% of them; “bad” medical care was complained about by 42.85% of the researched, 53.7% mentioned “poor care” by sports officials, whereas 59.9% of them mentioned “small income”. The athletes estimate the capacity level Polish coaches being relatively good – only 28% declared to have some reservations concerning their work. It is quite common to complain about “little popularity” of the practised sport – such opinion was expressed by 40.5% of the researched.

Asked about the issue of co-operation with the sports organizations, the athletes gave evasive answers – 46% maintained that they “have no opinion”, whereas “lack of support” from sports institutions was felt by 39.7%, and 56.3 complained about poor marketing by the sports organizations. In terms of the approval of the family, 66.9% of the respondents pointed out that their sport activity is accepted by the family, but 34.9% mentioned “difficulties in reconciling sport with family life”.

Opinions of athletes treating sport as the basic source of income and of those who does not treat it in such a way are almost identically distributed when they talk about poor care from sports institutions and officials. “Small income” was perceived by the respondents as a significant factor limiting the possibilities in their sports career.

The researched members of national teams were asked to answer closed questions concerning the evaluation the work of their sports federation and conditions of work. They were also provided with the possibility to expressing their thoughts freely by answering open questions. The respondents estimated the work of their sports federations in the field of planning and organizing training and competitions as well as informing competitors about training plans and their changes rather positively. In all three of the above mentioned cases, the percentage of competitors expressing a very positive or a positive opinion on the work of the federation exceeded jointly 50% and the percentages of very positive estimations were close to 20%. Simultaneously, as many as one fifth of the respondents had no precise opinion on those issues. The number of athletes estimating the federations’ work decidedly negative did not exceed 9% in any of the discussed cases.

The athletes were also enabled to express freely their opinion about activities that, from their point of view, should be undertaken in order to improve the results in their
Socialization, motives and barriers of practising sport by top-level national athletes

The answers were very differentiated. They have been categorized in the following groups of issues:

- a) sports facilities and equipment,
- b) work of sports officials,
- d) sports marketing and sponsoring,
- e) medical care,
- f) psychological care,
- g) organization of training work,
- h) money (for athletes and coaches),
- i) participation in competitions and training camps,
- j) coaches,
- k) permitted aid (food supplements, etc.).

Postulations of changes which would contribute to heightening the level of sports results and which were put forward by the athletes referred first of all to higher amounts of money for athletes in the form of grants, prizes or bonuses for successes (68.6% of those who gave an answer to that question), increasing the number of training camps and competitions (42.3%) and improving the quality or increasing the quantity of sports facilities and equipment (38.2%). The above mentioned categories are not, however, homogenous regarding their contents, which makes their interpretation more difficult. For example, in the group of answers described as “taking part in competitions and training camps”, there were remarks such as “training camps”, “going abroad”, “more frequent participation in competitions”, and it embraces both taking part in training camps and competitions in the country as well as going abroad. Regarding the issue of money given to athletes, there appeared, among others, remarks concerning the need of distributing them in a fairer way, as well as lengthening the periods grants are given for. It may be assumed that the realization of those postulations would facilitate – according to the opinion of the researched – the athletes’ good long-term preparation for the most important events (e.g. for the Olympic games during a four-year cycle) and it would not involve the necessity of settling results of each (better or worse) sports season.

Another group of problems often raised by the athletes concerned coaches (35.3%). Their postulations of changing coaches and willingness to work with better ones dominated. However, there were also remarks referring to the way of working with athletes – namely to treating them seriously, in an individual way and introducing partner relations. Some remarks suggested to strengthen the position of the coach by enabling him to undertake more autonomous activities. Responses to that question confirm to some degree the answers to the question about the federations’ work in the field of medical and psychological care.

In both cases, about one fourth of the researched declared the necessity of improvement. The necessity of improvement of sports officials’ work was not pointed out very often (19.0%), and in statements concerning this problem attention was paid mainly to the issue of atmosphere of co-operation with athletes: “recognizing and appreciating athletes”, “proper relations with officials”. In two cases (from 157
answers to that question), there appeared postulations of changing the authorities of the union and “putting problems inside the federation in order”.

Conclusions
It was established that the ways young people come to sport are similar to existing stereotypes concerning that question. The family, peer groups and teachers of physical education were most often mentioned as social institutions influencing that kind of choices to the greatest degree.

The choice of the practised sport means, on the one hand, realization of earlier dreams, but also a rational choice, since a comparably numerous group pointed out limited possibilities of choice resulting, for example, from the place of living and having predisposition to practice a certain sport.

It is also worth paying attention to the fact that less than 16% of the researched belong to the category of graduates of schools of sports mastery. However, one fourth of them practice sports which are not included in the curricula of those schools.

Among the researched athletes the dominating role (at least in the sphere of declarations) is played by motives of autotelic character – by personal satisfaction from sports achievements and the possibility to realize one’s own interests and passions – as well as by hope for future sports successes. The fourth place in the hierarchy of motives established in such a way is occupied by the “possibility of doing something I am already expert in, while in another place I would have to start everything from the beginning”. The final positions in the hierarchy of declared motives are occupied by “satisfying incomes” and social recognition resulting from performing the role of the athlete. The domination of autotelic motives over the instrumental ones – money and social recognition – proves how powerful – in spite of processes of professionalization and commercialization – the ethos of disinterested gentleman sport remains, although identification with that ethos may have partly only a declarative character.

Practising sport was commonly accepted by the athletes’ families. The respondents pointed out that the most discouraging factors in their sports career are lack of success, the risk of losing health, and the coach’s injustice. Among other important factors which make the course of the sports career difficult, the following were mentioned: working for money outside sport, studying and “social life and entertainment”. The athletes expressed the general opinion that the state of training facilities does not interfere with achieving sports success, whereas some obstacle was insufficient medical care.

The researched athletes of Olympic teams appreciated the activities of their sport federations in the fields of planning and organizing training and competitions, as well as of informing athletes about plans of training. More than one third of the researched athletes estimated the work of the relevant sports federations in the field of medical, diagnostic and psychological care rather negative. Postulations of changes which would contribute to heightening the level of sports results – and which were put forward by the athletes – concerned, first of all, higher amounts of money which
athletes should receive in the form of grants, prizes or bonuses for successes, increasing the number of training camps and competitions (including those abroad) and improving the quality or increasing the quantity of sports facilities and equipment. Regarding the issue of money given to athletes, there appeared, among others, remarks concerning the need of distributing them in a fairer way and lengthening the periods grants are given for. The athletes postulated the need of exchanging coaches and expressed their willingness to co-operate with better coaches. Improvement of medical and diagnostic care was demanded, too.

References
Football fans as political players. On the enforcement of participation potentials and political co-determination by the fan community

Hans-Georg Lützenkirchen
Cologne, Germany

Abstract: Football is a part of political and civil society. That means the standards of civil society relating to democratic structures and transparent decision making must be part of the self-confidence of the whole football community. Problems and political challenges (violence, racism, etc.) are affecting football in special ways. Football communities can work on solutions for these issues for the benefit of society. This is a challenge for the people engaged in football – functionaries, players, spectators and especially fans – who themselves must tackle and resolve these issues.

The project “Ein Dach für Fans” (EDFF) is based on the idea that football fans possess enough self-confidence and competence to take an active part in this process of civil responsibility. Football fans are no longer just objects of social educational work (as in traditional fan projects) but partners in political education. Football fans should take their own initiatives in preventing violence, racism and other problems. As a conclusion, the following tasks arise:

– Empowerment through regional networks which enables the continuing integration of fans with their experience in a joint decision making process, e.g. round-tables on security matters, involving representatives of fans, police and local authorities. It is important to ensure sustainability of this process through continuous communication, and other actors’ acceptance of the fans’ initiatives.

– Empowerment through international networks. It is interesting to see that parts of the international fan community express their interests as a political lobby. It is a challenge to organize international communication and to involve those parts of the international fan community, especially from Eastern European countries, where there is still a lot of work to do in building up civil democratic structures.

– There is a growing political self-awareness on the national and international level of fan culture. However, it is still necessary to develop their capacity for political participation as part of the political education process.

Keywords: football fans, political participation, networks.
Prevention – participation – political education

The foundation of the project “Ein Dach für Fans” (EDFF)\(^1\) by football fans in Dortmund in 2004 was an opportunity to introduce new kinds of activities concerning the interests of football fans: from fans for fans! The idea was announced in the beginning of the project:

> It is our aim to support fans in Germany who are going to invite fans from abroad during the world championship 2006 in Germany. This will be an example for active international understanding: people talking to each other will not develop any racist or xenophobic behaviour but will communicate in a friendly way.\(^2\)

This idea of prevention is linked to civil engagement. Therefore, it is necessary for fans to recognize their own potential as political actors, citizens and fans! Hence, the idea of prevention is given a new perspective: the challenge to increase the potential of participation and the special competences of a group of people which normally is seen either – the positive view – as a “folksy” group of people organizing a “great show” in the stadium or – the negative view – as some kind of troublemakers or even rioters. No one expects a fan activity in the sense of self-confident political participation. This was the idea of EDFF:

> EDFF is based in the tradition of engaged citizens. In this tradition, the civil engagement which is intended by EDFF is part of a growing self-determined political understanding of football fans who are going to work for their own interests. In this sense, the activities of EDFF (and the fans) are part of an active strategy in organizing the social and political challenges which are part of football (EDFF, http://www.edff.net/de).

If this should develop into a serious option, this idea is going to be interesting also in the respect of political education. Political action must be based on political capabilities. It is necessary to provide basic education for this “new” group of actors, the fans, in order to develop their political potential as part of civil society (Lützenkirchen, 2007).

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1 The project EDFF ran from 2004 to 2006 and was financed by the German government programme ENTIMON, an aid programme for activities against xenophobia and right-wing-extremism. The project was supported by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. For more information about EDFF, see http://www.edff.net/ (last check of all Internet links in this article: 10/01/07). This article sums up some results of the project documented in a report. The complete report is published as a pdf-file on the website http://www.hgluetzenkirchen.info/. An edited version of the report: Lützenkirchen (2007).

2 Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, working group Local Affairs: “Ein Dach für Fans – zu Gast bei Freunden”. Informative meeting in co-operation with the project group “Ein Dach für Fans”, 19 August 2004, Dortmund, Germany.
Fans: Hooligans plus Ultras=Hooltras?

There is an old-fashioned kind of view: Football fans are objects of social work so that if they behave in a strange or an unknown way, social workers will intervene, e.g. the so-called “Ultras”.

Ultras are “fans, extremely impassioned, emotional and engaged” and fascinated by the “southern culture of cheering” (Pilz et al., 2006, 12ff.). Their complex choreographed scenes in the stands are seen as part of the atmosphere during the football match. They themselves don’t want to be seen as part of this “folkloristic” atmosphere, because they reject this.

In the eyes of security officials, these Ultras often are a “wild mob” with a high potential of violence. This is based on experiences with Ultras in Italy (Pilz et al., 2006). Although it has been argued that “Ultras are not hooligans” (Pilz et al., 2006, 13), the rest of the football community does not seem to share this interpretation. In this sense there is a hostile confrontation which seems to confirm a common sense of menace caused by “Hooltras” (Pilz et al., 2006, 13). A term like this leads to public stigmatization, a simple stigmatization which clarifies nothing but rather reinforces the common stereotype of football fans as a mob of potential rioters. However, what would be wrong with accepting the Ultras as a group of people acting in a sense of self-determination?

“Reclaim the game”

Ultras as a group in the fan scene are a phenomenon which gives an unusual insight into the efforts of the scene “to reclaim the game”. Fans no longer just want to play the minor role. Organizations like the German B.A.F.F. (Bündnis Aktiver Fußball-Fans) or the international network “Football Against Racism in Europe” (FARE) see themselves as representatives of “critical” or “active” fans, not only fans who like to point out their arguments and want to be part of the public discussion about themes like football and security and the commercialization of the game, but also of problems like racism, right-wing politics or gender questions. For such fans it is important to act in an autonomous way. They want to go further than working with fans in the classical tradition of social work. A paradigmatic example for this is the German initiative “Unsere Kurve”. This initiative embraces a lot of fan organizations and sees itself as a kind of lobby organization for the “preservation of the fan culture and its freedom”. As they inform:

“Unsere Kurve” sees itself as a lobby. In contrast to other initiatives of fans, we as fans recruiting in the clubs (supporters’ clubs, fan divisions and fan projects) want to organize a dialogue with the clubs, the league organization (DFL), the German Football Association (DFB) and political decision makers concerning the interests and aims of the active fans in the stadiums! (Unsere Kurve).

Hence, they demand:

– an active role for the fans,
- preservation of identity and emotion,
- a fair balance between fan interests and commercialization,
- a fair and “human treatment” of fans around the stadium,
- the “authenticity of football”.

Summary of the results of the project EDFF

History of the German Football Association shows that “sport” is a fiction like “human being”. It demonstrates that football as a concrete reality has its own history and is related to society: football is a political issue and will be recognized as a political issue... Football is part of our society (Jens, 1976).

The relation between sports and society means that, in dealing with these issues, some requirements concerning the standards of a democratic civil society such as democratic structures and transparent decision making and co-determination must be met. Between football and society, there is a permanent reciprocal influence. Problems in society find a characteristic kind of expression in sports, especially in football. However, reciprocal relationship implies that football can manage these problems itself. By doing so, football makes its own contribution to society as a whole. This is a challenge for all those who are engaged in football: to participate as responsible citizens. This means political education in the sense of educating and empowering fans to participate in this process themselves.

There are some results based on the experiences of the project EDFF, which are presented in the following.

Reinforcement of participating networks, part 1: the national agenda

It seems important to install forms of permanent cooperation between local authorities and football fans. An example for cooperation in this sense are round-table talks on security matters. A communication setting unites fan representatives, police and local authorities. It is important to ensure sustainability (continuous communication, capability acceptance). The decision-making process is a joint one; there is knowledge and experience from experts’ side and that of fans. It is necessary, of course, that fan delegates are qualified in the sense of: “Here is something we have to say!”

In the long run, it is important to have different kinds of cooperation between the clubs, official football associations (league association, federal football association) and football fans. Here the goal must be to discuss the general understanding of the idea of football: The importance of football as a sport, as a commercial enterprise, the importance of the clubs and their responsibility for social and political traditions. Are there any historical or political traditions which were important for the clubs’ foundation, such as a working class tradition, a religious tradition, etc.? What kind of influence has this tradition today? What is the identity of the club and how does it fit into the public image of the club?
This is what initiatives like “Unserer Kurve” propose: a permanent dialogue and willingness for communication at the same level.

To sustain such efforts, it is necessary to improve new forms of networking. Networking has to overcome the traditional conception of “the fan” as an object of social work. That does not mean there is no more need for fan-related social work, but the idea that such issues should be dealt with exclusively in the tradition of social work has to be changed. In addition to that, because of the close ties between some of the classical fan projects and the official football association, there is a growing distrust regarding the idea. Fan groups suspect that those ties serve more the interests of the association than those of the fans, who thereby lose their autonomy.

Reinforcement of participating networks, part 2: the international agenda

The fan scene in countries like England or Germany is well organized compared to other countries, for example in Eastern Europe. This may be a result of a long term lobbying process in a democratic civil society. In this sense, wide parts of the fan scene argue against several trends in modern football, like commercialization. They oppose and resist these trends. It is new that this opposition sees itself as a political opposition. Fans want to gain more influence, they want to pool their potential and campaign for their own interests. They want to be part of political decision-making.

To reinforce such fan activities in countries like Poland, Ukraine or the Czech Republic, it is necessary to build up minimal conditions for their sustainable development. The experiences of the project EDFF share a first step for building up these conditions to cooperate with fans (or their organizations) and give them administrative or structural support; e.g. EDFF offers permanent contacts to parts of the Ukrainian fan scene with German club fan organizations which can give concrete support.

Additional challenge: political education

Participation is part of a democratic civil society. We need participation from all parts of society to develop high and sustainable standards of democratic structure (Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2007).

There is a growing political self-awareness among football fans. They want to participate in the national and international agenda. They will be a target group for political education. It is important to get right the “basics” of political education in order to reach a sustainable form of self-organization in the sense of participation. Political education has to enable the potential and the capabilities of those fans who are willing to act as participating civilians. This is possible, for example, in communication settings such as round tables where fan competences are demanded.

The challenge for political education is to support such settings through its structures and organizations. Political education can act as a neutral but credible partner for fans and their organizations – but also as a partner for the local authorities. In this sense, political education can act as a “broker” between the different interests.
The same thing applies for the international agenda: political education can offer forums and panels not only as ad hoc events but in the form of a process to ensure continuity concerning contents and contacts. Political education offers an infrastructure which fosters the development of political competences and capabilities in the sense of participation.

References


Volleyball’s history in Brazil: the development of sport in the theory of Pierre Bourdieu and Norbert Elias

Wanderley Marchi Jr., Ana Letícia Padeski Ferreira, Juliana Vlastuin, Pedro Bevilaqua P. F. Alves and Tatiana Sviesk Moreira
Federal University of Paraná, Brazil

Abstract: “Sacando” o Voleibol by Wanderley Marchi Junior is one of those works that quickly echoes in the academic field. Inspired on the writings of the french sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, the work is a sociological approach of volleyball, that in a short period of time, was lifted to a condition of being the second sporting modality in the preference of Brazilian spectators, only behind soccer. This movement constitutes the focused object in the study. This text had as a main goal to elucidate the theoretical models and significant points of analysis presented in the book “Sacando” o Voleibol, by Marchi Jr. (2004). A remarkable study, characterized for its dense description and sociological analysis of the facts, marks the field of academic productions concerning to sports’ sociology, that it is marked for its joviality and the search for a consolidated place. The transformations occurred in volleyball and its landmarks, called “turn points” by the author, are elucidated and analysed through a careful approach of the theoretical models of Pierre Bourdieu and Norbert Elias.

Keywords: Brazilian volleyball, sporting field, professionalization, spectacularization.

Introduction

The book “Sacando” o Voleibol by Marchi Jr. (2004) studies the resignification process of the Brazilian volleyball, in accordance with the dispositions and perspectives of a consumer society, in a limited period.

The work is guided by the idea that modern sports cannot be sufficiently understood without its consideration as a social and historical determined phenomenon. With the changes in the societary life, sports – that was created in England with an aristocratic and elitist feature – is metamorphosed.

According to Marchi Jr. (2003, 33), “modernity in sports is something recent, or rather, finds itself in formation, delineating ruptures and continuities that retraces the middle of the 20th century”. The new conformation, globally diffused, is permeated by a mercantile logic. The conjuncture of the spectacularized, mercantilized and profess-
sional sports is real, and it goes far beyond the romantic view which is usually presented.

Making use of the narrative of his own sporting experience, the author tries to approach and illustrate the transformation occurred in volleyball. Thereby, he signalizes the moments of ruptures and transitions in the history of the modality in Brazil, since the “romantic” phase, or amateur, until the spectacularized merchandise phase, characterizing the interval period between the 1970s and 1990s. The author comprehends that “in the last thirty years, Brazilian volleyball has left the condition to be an exclusive sporting activity of clubs and schools when it passed to be treated as a modality with pertaining characteristics for the labour market” (Marchi Jr., 2005, 149).

Thus, in all its complexity, the economic logic of professional sports can be put in a two-way movement: on the one hand, sports provides interest for the economic agents that finance it, on the other hand the mercantile logic influences the sports organization.

In view of the methodological and theoretical explanation based here on Gil (1999), “Sacando” o Voleibol constitutes a historical and descriptive research of volleyball, related to a process of sociological analysis, where the actors and the social structures appear comprised or not, according to the description.

The standard notion for the development of this article have delimitated the construction of the work’s entirety, oriented by the subdivision in three topics that goes from the recapture of the main theoretical lectures that contoured identifying traces of the phenomenon until the called “third turn” of the sporting field in the conclusive part – a likely possibility based on trends for coming relations, inter-dependences and reflexes of the field – in which the volleyball is inserted. This well explored strategy to make current for the lector, the events narrated in the past, will be intended in this present article, based on the following extra evidences, in each topic.

**Theoretical models for sporting field analysis**

In the beginning of the construction of the theoretical panorama, Marchi Jr. (2004, 33) first alerts for the formation process of modern sport. In this sense, he presents some possibilities for theoretical approaches that contour identifying traces of the sporting phenomenon.

One of these contributions is from the historian Eric Hobsbawm (1989), who defends the association of the appearance of modern sports to the development of bourgeois society in England. The author presents this process supported in capitalism, private companies and the bourgeois ideological proposal, identifying it as a differentiating component of classes and a social pertaining indicator. In this ambit,

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2 These intervenients are confirmed in the work from some indicatives about volleyball: the professionalization and modernization of volleyball, besides the incursion of companies, media and the development of these professionalization and spectacularization processes from modern strategies of sporting *marketing* in the ambit of modality.
sports comes to associate with a lifestyle, a middle class culture, resulting in the division between professionalism and amateurism.

According to Hobsbawm (1989, 257-258), this polarity is able to viabilize the construction of a sporting cultural tradition and, consequently, to relate the interfaces of the political and social aspects, once the industrial proletariat and a new bourgeoisie (or middle class), emerging consciously as belonging into these classes and, consequently, defining themselves as antagonistic through their modes and life styles.

Afterwards, Marchi Jr. resorts to the sociologist Allen Guttmann (1978), wherein the idea to integrate the sports development to the industrial capitalism presuppositions is contested and, refuted under certain aspects, attesting in his analysis the need to understand sports by an anthropological and cultural matrices of the game.

Guttmann (1978) still defends his analysis from the presupposition that sports reflects the needs and characteristics of the society where it finds itself, as well as he presents sports as one of the representing elements of transition of the traditional societies to the modern western societies.

However, it is in Pierre Bourdieu’s reflexive sociology – with some incursions in the model of competitive games analysis, proposed by Norbert Elias – Marchi Jr. (2004) seeks to get visibility to relations between sport and society.

The Bourdieu’s analysis model was classified by himself as a constructivistic structuralism or structuralistic constructivism, wherein from reflexive sociology, more specifically of the theoretical model (theory of the fields) – the pillars of the notions of field, habitus and (economical, cultural and social) capital are sustained.

The Bourdieu’s studies are highly based on identification of social mechanisms that determines and prescribes social reproduction laws accomplished in structuring relations of society, in order to identify the functioning norms from determined field (called invariant operation norms), making possible the investigation of particularities of this field, in a sense of recognize what is inserted, besides understanding the dispute and competition forms to increase the potential of power.

Whereas individuals – consciously or unconsciously – get involved into contests for positions in a determined field, they guarantee the reproduction of the game. In this sense, they accept the contest conditions for the prestige of the object to be contested. Therefore, they demonstrate strategies to obtain potential of power. According to Bourdieu, these “strategies” are identified by the notion of habitus.

Thus, his analysis model is understood from a metaphor related to judo, admitting it as a “sport du combat” to the hidden domination fundaments. Therefore his analytical model leads to investigate the constitution and the mechanisms that perpetuate the social inequality forms, to elucidate them giving visibility for individuals that belong to these configurations.

Bourdieu understands sport as a social and cultural phenomenon in current constitution – by social agents with varied and distinctive potential of consumption –

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3 We stress the conference held at University of San Diego, March, 1986, in which Bourdieu confirms a characteristic for his works (Bourdieu, 1990, 149-168).
that represents the outlines of mercantile logic, crediting the functioning of this mechanism to the relation of supply-demand established by modalities.

Considering the analysis about sporting phenomenon, Marchi Jr. (2004) evidences his largest identification with the approach proposed by Bourdieu, understanding that the autor’s work presents it pertinent to study the proposed object. This argument is confirmed by the following assertion: “(...) we realize visibility and pertinence of Bourdieu’s referential in the research of the volleyball history, analyzing the development of its activity and the respective intervention of the social agents in this field” (Marchi Jr., 2004, 57).

Thus, modern sports converges for the structural model of consumer society, leading modalities to a process of spectacularization and mercantilization. In the context defined by Marchi Jr. (2004, 61):

(...) the volleyball study elucidates excessively these two existence conditions of symbolic power, mainly if we observe the delineating of spectacularization process in its history. As proving argument, it considers the development of volleyball in two last decades was not directed to an exclusive process of massification for the formation of modality practitioners, but surely – concerning the characteristics, dispositions and structures of capitalist society – structured and turned to enlistment of a legion of potential consumers of social symbols and signs that volleyball, as spectacle-sport, is able to attract or create.

After the elucidation of the bourdieusian model of analysis applied to study of volleyball history, Marchi Jr. (2004, 65) ransoms Norbert Elias’ model for the interpretation of modern sports from the theory of competitive game, in which evidences the possibility to catch “hidden mechanisms” based on objective relations between individuals and institutions. Attesting this theoretical approach – without denying the differences – for Bourdieu’s referential, Marchi Jr. (2004, 69) presents the pertinence of theoretical proposal of this work:

This approach originates had influence in Introduction to Sociology (1980), wherein Elias presents and proposes a more realistic understanding of society, evidencing dispositions and inclinations of people in its relations. Thus, he interprets society in order to attest the power levels – structural characteristic of a relation – permeating changeable interpenetrations of the webs of interdependence or configurations. So, he confronts the egocentric view of society where is structured hierarchically by reification of social relations that exist externally for individual.

The relational understanding of the power concept is another important characteristic that leads to comprehension of personal relations as interdependence relations, in accordance with Marchi Jr. (2004, 74):
it finds in the analysis model that takes the competition, accomplished according to the rules of a game, as an interpretive and clarifying process of functional interdependences of society.

From this proposal of theoretical models above described, Marchi Jr. (2004, 77) seeks, in a second moment, to come into the sporting historical field in order to visualize the Volleyball history in inscribed representations, specifying the endowed logic in the process of development, mercantilization and spectacularization of the modality.

**Volleyball: delimitation of fields and re-signification process**

Considering the needs of mapping the occupied place for volleyball in the Brazilian sporting scene and the social agents and operating contest objects inserted in this sporting modality inside the embraced contexts, and identifying a gap about approaches of researched objects in what it concerns to recurring disconnection between them and their relations and interdependences with social reality, Marchi Jr. (2004, 79) starts the volleyball matter bringing a historical retrospect that antecedes the delimited period for the study with a purpose to contextualize the lector having in mind the peculiar characteristics of volleyball by means of its invention and world-wide propagation.

From this retrospect, determined peculiarities of volleyball in relation to other sporting modalities have been enrolled and interpreted by the author in the light of his theoretical referential – the Bourdieu’s theory of the fields: volleyball was not a modality that presented a sportivization process, it started from well defined characteristics invented by its idealizer, and “imported” with the set of rules and symbols coming from its native country, the United States. Marchi Jr. (2004, 82) stresses, differently of other sporting modalities, volleyball was not born in Europe; another evidenced point is that this sport was created to attend a small elite of North American Christian clubs, thereby incorporating peculiar characteristics in its format that obviously have been delineated by idealizers and apprentices (players).

Other data have been incorporated to this type of description of volleyball subfield, such as: its inclusion as a scholar activity and the acceptance of the game by the American Army during World War I as one of the responsible institutions by the international dissemination of volleyball.

(...) a symbolically victorious nation has capacity, intention or authority to reproduce its power potential by way of innumerable manifestations (...) emerged at the heart of its society, thereby serving as model or stereotype for other countries (Marchi Jr., 2004, 87).

The large acceptance of volleyball in Brazil in accordance with its symbolic capital, that inferred the sporting and social practice of this modality for the clubs - refers to actions in sporting field based on the incorporation of what Bourdieu points to be an *habitus*, a socially incorporated way to think and to act that marks out distances and hierarchies and designates a life style – a formation of institutions (so necessary for the
existence of a field) as the Fédération Internationale de Volleyball (1947), the Brazilian Sports Confederation (1951) and the Brazilian Volleyball Confederation (CBV) in 1954, and its forms of organization and management inside the large game of contests for power as also a field, configure as important elements historical pointed out by Marchi Jr. (2004, 92-101).

With prominence inside the temporal delimitation of the study and also emphasizing his managing shrewdness with political and enterprisal support, the entrance of Carlos Arthur Nuzman, the current president of the Brazilian Olympic Committee, on the head of CBV (1975), emerges as a landmark in the Marchi Jr.’s study. Due to his insertion as an agent endowed with an expressive amount of economic, cultural, social and consequently symbolic capital in the volleyball subfield, evidencing an important contribution for the development of the Brazilian volleyball, what obviously, does not mean to creditate all the success which this sport have conquered in Brazil throughout its trajectory, to the position of this agent.

In a demystifying sense, this work combines well elaborated analysis with the dense description of marked facts in the Brazilian volleyball field, Nuzman’s figure on the CBV presidency had its part in the development of this sport for its insertion in the respective place of disputes, considering the possibilities to put into practice his strategies guaranteed by webs of established interdependence relations.

One example of Nuzman’s alliances occurred in a game between Brazil men’s national volleyball team versus Poland (Olympic champions in Montreal, 1976) in the Moscow Olympic Games (1980), wherein Brazil achieves a historical win in the match, losing two sets to zero and after clinching at three sets to two. Antonio Carlos de Almeida Braga, an executive of the insurance company Atlântica/Boavista, attended the match together with Nuzman and asked what Brazil was missing to continue presenting that performance level and which reason took those athletes go to play outside the country.

Understanding the possibility of strengthening the alliance with the entrepreneur in that situation, Nuzman answered if the entrepreneur supported him, he would propose to the National Sports Council the participation of companies in volleyball as it already occurred outside the country. Nuzman had done that and the deal for the acceptance of his proposal achieved success and last out about one year. Since 1981, a law had been approved regulating the partake of companies in volleyball and also put some difficulties for players to work outside the country. Obviously, this measure was not fulfilled in an easy way by the players, what has characterized one more internal dispute in sports field wherein, as a proof for what Bourdieu points out, the largest sum of capitals had guaranteed the victory. In this case, Nuzman counter argued asserting the departure of players could compromise the success of the financial return for investors and the acceptance of sporting spectacles for the Brazilian population (Marchi Jr., 2004, 122). In addiction to “import” managing models from larger international expression clubs, the manager also brought his training methods.

Thus, the initial operational mode of the volleyball professionalization plans in Brazil begins with the Atlântica/Boavista proposal, followed by the interest of Bank of
the State from São Paulo, the tire factory Pirelli from Santo André and Bank Bradesco. These pioneering initiatives had soon guaranteed a significant advertising return, considering the insertion of television, newspapers and magazines in the volleyball subfield (Marchi Jr., 2004, 124).

Since this actions, a cycle of mutual interests has increased, wherein teams, enterprises, media and consumers have benefited by the investment in this sporting modality. However, the first professionalization forms presented intrinsic particularities to the transitions of logic that occurred in the field in that context. Obviously, the whole structure was not seen actually as we visualize inside the prominent teams, but in a context that sport was perceived as amateur, the first investments have been enough to increase professionalization.

Marchi Jr. (2004, 125) retraces the volleyball space in the professionalization context, pointing to the sprouting of teams, championships and changes in its structure from new partnerships attained by representativity of financial and symbolical profits that involve them, and perform strategies that hindered the adversities without the attendance could consider it, always the televise media as a main instrument of spreading, wherein this modality has established itself, guaranteeing the permanency and entrance of new sponsorships and, therefore, its ascension in the country.

With the metaphor “happy marriage”, Marchi Jr. indicates the televised media relevance in the volleyball development, since it serves as a window wherein all the prestige situation of volleyball has been evidenced, presenting a power potential able to determine new contours in its broadcast for consumer taking into account the very logic of television’s audience.

Marchi Jr. (2004, 160) describes through a well founded analysis that the process of Volleyball professionalization had consolidated in the late 1980s, and also pointed out consequences of a rupture in its management and participation model. In this moment, the author displays that it is possible to perceive the embryo phase of spectacularization of the modality, what it would lead to new relations in sporting field.

The spectacularization of sport in Brazil occurred in the 1990s is considered by Marchi Jr. (2004, 161) as a turning point. The current relations in this field refer to a movement of Volleyball massification, consisting in the “trend to guide the modality for a perspective of consumption” (Marchi Jr., 2004, 161). This situation elucidates a re-signification of the meaning and the sporting practice, taking into account its potential consumption. Therefore, profit and consumption are taken as references for this modality and the growth of practitioners and spectators is imperative.

Marchi Jr. (2004, 162-163) describes the forthcoming scene that propitiates the Volleyball spectacularization. In 1988, the Brazil men’s national volleyball team comes back from South Korea Olympics without conquests, with signals of economic weakness and its main stars were close to retirement. In an economical ambit, the Brazilian situation was critical and deeply shook up this entire scene, leading to unemployment, decrease of industrial production, among other facts. The reflex of this
situation have been perceived in sporting field, in which investments had a sensible fall, leading to a “wage-cut” of the players and even the extinction of some teams.

In middle of this crisis, Carlos Arthur Nuzman begins a modernization process of Volleyball taking some risky initiatives, as hosting large competitions and organizing a strong national championship. This initiative, associated to conquests of the men national team retrieved the attention to the modality, what has consequently generated a large media mobilization (Marchi Jr., 2004, 166-167). Thus, through the improvement and adaptation, volleyball turned to one of the best sporting products in the country.

Due to the political moment and the success in Olympic Games, the exodus of Brazilian athletes to Italy was unavoidable, since that country offered better conditions to the players (Marchi Jr., 2004, 170). However, with the extension of the modernization process proposed by Nuzman and the need to strengthen the image of volleyball product in media, the Brazilian Volleyball Confederation, together with Banco do Brasil, brought back the athletes that were outside the country. Their return raised the level of the competitions, tending to increase the interest for the modality and consolidating the image of the product (Marchi Jr., 2004, 176).

Such as the situation above described, the change of rules to make the modality most suitable for media propagation configures as a strategy to make volleyball a possible product to sell. In accordance with the Bourdieusian model, this media influence can be observed as a structured structure acting as a structuring structure (Marchi Jr., 2004, 191). Thus, in this configuration, the economical capital has a larger power than sporting capital, a confirmed fact, for example, by the volleyball “formatation” due to the change of rules placed to adapt the modality to televise broadcasting.

**Final considerations**

In his conclusions, Marchi Jr. (2004, 209-210) places a panorama of Volleyball phases that have been broached, in which he calls “turn points”. In this course, it is possible perceiving that the forms to watch, to play, to consume and to manage the modality had clear changes that led to a re-signification of its logic and its meaning.

Volleyball begins its history as an “imported” modality from the United States, brings itself the marks of distinction and representation of that society and it is inserted in the Brazilian elite clubs. In the 1980s, the professionalization determined by the author as the “first turning point”, confers on the modality a character of structuring structure of sportive social *habitus* and its consequently popularization (Marchi Jr., 2004, 211).

In the 90s decade, Volleyball configured as a sport with large conquests, organized and profitable, leading to a wider, clearer and more complex consumption trend. In this scene, the “second turning point” occurs, consisting in the professionalization of the modality as a whole, embracing athletes, enterprise managers, among other professionals involved in the sports field. This movement leads to a larger
Finally, the author places this process of changes in Volleyball have not been finished, yet and he proposes a “third turning point”, based on founded assumptions in trends presented by the field. According to these trends, it is possible that Volleyball retakes its distinctive characteristics in the sports field, inserting in the “new economy” universe. It would require new adaptations of the modality to its transmission ways, demanded by interactivity and globalization perceived in developed societies.

References

The effect of observational practice on learning of valley badminton service: the role of self-efficacy mediation

Poone Mokhtari and Amir Dana
Azad University, Tehran, Iran

The present study was performed to determine the effect of observational and combined practice on the acquisition, retention, and transfer of learning of valley badminton service in 80 male teenager students considering the mediatory role of physical self-efficacy.

The subjects of the study included 80 male students of 12 to 14 years who were assigned to two 40-subject groups based on self-efficacy level (low and high). Each group was divided into four 10-subject subgroups which differed in tasks performed, including (1) physical practice, (2) observational practice, (3) combined practice (50% of trials observational and 50% physical), and (4) control (no practice) subgroups. Following practice trials, the acquisition test was given immediately, along with transfer (direction of service changed) and retention tests performed 72 hours later.

Data analysis was accomplished using ANOVA and LSD tests. A $p$ value of <0.05 was considered significant.

The results showed that observational and combined practice affects acquisition, retention and transfer significantly, while self-efficacy influences skill learning in all three aforementioned stages of the test meaningfully and positively, i.e. the higher the self-efficacy, the better the learning. Of note, results showed that self-efficacy level is not a determinant of the type of practice (whether observational or physical), i.e. subjects are not candidates for a specific type of practice according to their level of self-efficacy.

Keywords: physical practice, observational practice, self-efficacy.

Introduction
Teaching motor skills has always been the primary task of coaches and physical educators in leading athletes. Many studies in the motor learning field have been accomplished to access better means to help skill learning. One of the most pivotal aspects of motor skill teaching is the use of observational learning which has been a field of interest for motor learning theorists (Magill, 1998; Oxendine, 2002; Schmidt & Lee, 1999; Singer, Hausenblas & Janelle, 2001). Regarding the key role of vision in leaning skills, researchers commonly use visually oriented studies to assess learning and performance (Shea, Wright, Wulf & Whitacre, 2000). Evidence shows that while watching a skill, the observer perceives phenomena about the coordination pattern of that specific skill (Ross, Bird, Doody & Zoeller, 1985; Scully & Newell, 1985; Weir & Leavitt, 1990). According to Magil (1996) and McCullagh (1993), modelling facilitates the process of skill acquisition. Observation, especially in the very first stages of
learning, helps generating motor models. Bandura (1986), proposing the cognitive mediation theory, suggests that most of human behaviours are learned through modelling. Providing models is a common means of providing information about the technique of motor skill performance. Model construction causes the cognitive or perceptual representation to be created by the observer and as a reference tool helps him to acquire a behaviour before it is fully activated. According to this theory, observational learning is mainly an activity aimed towards information processing (Bandura, 1977; Carroll & Bandura, 1990). Along this process, the observer acquires a cognitive representation of the skill and utilizes it for regulation of his/her movements and learns to use it as a movement accuracy criterion to recognize any possible error occurring during the performance of the skill (Weir & Leavitt, 1990).

Schmidt (1998) (Schema Theory) proposed that the observer generates a response as a result of observation, which is stored in two distinct types of memories (recall and recognition memory). Direct perception interpretation enthusiasts believe that in this view, the skill is perceived directly and there is no need to a cognitive mediator to convert the observation to action, and the visual apparatus is capable of processing the information automatically (Scully & Newell, 1985). The early studies on observational learning were done on animal models. These studies showed that no observational learning had happened and learning is performed through direct experience and not via indirect or substitute experience. In other words, they thought that learning is done through the interaction of the learner and the environment and not through the interaction of another person with his/her own environment. The first researches of Bandura (1965, 1967, 1968 and 1969) about social skills and clinical states showed that observational learning is an effective factor in alteration of human motor behaviours. Years later, researchers showed interest towards the effects of observation of motor and sport skills on learning these processes. Findings of Bird, Ross and Laguna (1983) and Southard and Higgins (1987) showed that providing a representation of movement is not sufficient for acquisition of motor models. On the other hand, Zukkerman (1976), Martenz et al. (1977), Herbert and Landin (1994), Shea et al. (2000), Soohoo et al. (2004) proposed that observational learning is an effective factor in acquisition of motor skills. On the other hand, there are various physical and psychic factors that might have an important role in learning skills. One of these factors is self-efficacy, which possesses some roles in learning different skills such as motor skills. Feeling of self-efficacy could affect behaviour toward success (Bandura, 1981). It seems that those who have a high level of self-efficacy try more and success more. Self-efficacy is related to the beliefs held by a person about his/her abilities in performing tasks. It is derived from different sources such as achievements and failures of the individual, monitoring the successes and failures of those to whom he/she resembles and from verbal encouragement. Thus, it seems that the higher the level of self-efficacy, the higher the individual endeavours and the lesser experiences fear. Therefore, it is inferred that self-efficacy might have a role in learning motor skills. Regarding the ambiguities about the effects of observational practice on motor learning and the role of self-efficacy, this study is designed to evaluate this educational
The effect of observational practice on learning of valley badminton service

Methods
This is a semi-experimental study. 80 non-athlete students of guidance school sampled according to availability and their level of self-efficacy. At the first step, a questionnaire was devised to select eligible subjects for the study. Secondly, the selected subjects filled a questionnaire which tested the level of bodily self-efficacy. According to the scores obtained in the second questionnaire, 40 students were grouped as “high level self-efficacy” and 40 students were categorized as “low level self-efficacy”. In the next step, a pre-test for testing the valley badminton service (as a reference task) was accomplished to ensure group matching and homogeneity. The pre-test included ten trials. Regarding the scores acquired by the subjects in the pre-test stage, four groups (observational, physical practice, combined practice, and control group) were designed in which the subjects practiced (in each of the first two groups mentioned). Collectively, four groups were formed the way that in every group the subjects of both high- and low-level self-efficacy were present (ten subjects of each self-efficacy level).

After grouping the subjects according to their level of self-efficacy, one of the badminton coaches showed the skill. In this section, the coach stressed the main elements of the skill of valley service such as how to get placed in the court, how to shoot the ball, and where the ball is supposed to hit. During the practice session, each subject of the physical practice groups (both high and low self-efficacy) practised for 100 consecutive trials. Simultaneously, according to the schedule, the subjects of observational and combined practice groups watched the physical practice groups along the court-side (50 trials observed by each combined practice group subjects and 100 trials observed by individuals in the observational practice group). The subjects of combined practice groups performed 50 trials after watching the same number of trials. At the end of the session and after a short break, the acquisition test was done for all groups. Retention tests were given 72 hours later: first, they performed ten trials to compensate for warm of decrement. The retention test included ten trials. The reference task was the valley service (scut, fox) and the goal of this test was to evaluate the accuracy of the service. The test was performed on a standard court with scored areas. The scored areas included five concentric quarter-circles scored as 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5. In the valley service the servicer should have shot the farther lines with higher scores. During the test, the server should throw his ball over a rope with a height of 2.4 metres and at a distance of 4.2 metres from the net. The services hitting the rope were repeated and a score of 0 was given to the balls not hitting the scored areas or those which passed from below of the rope.

Statistical analysis
Colmogrof-Smirnoff test was used to ensure normal distribution of the scores in the acquisition and retention stages. Since the data were normally distributed, independent t-tests and ANOVA were taken. To delineate a significant difference between mean
scores of acquisition and retention tests, the ISD pursuit test was used. A P value of 5% and less was considered significant.

**Results**

**Acquisition stage**

The comparison of means of observational (0.24) to control groups (0.05) during the acquisition phase showed that observational practice could have a significant effect (a<0.05) on the acquisition of the valley badminton service (T=7.73). Also, comparison of means of the combined group (0.42) to the control group showed that combined practice has a significant effect on the acquisition of the valley badminton service (T=7.04).

The type of practice has a significant effect on the acquisition of the valley badminton service (F=25.5). Pursuit studies (LSD test) showed that in a declining fashion bodily practice, combined practice and observational practice significantly affect the acquisition of valley badminton service.

The level of self-efficacy is an important factor in the acquisition of the valley badminton service (F=5.09); however, this effect is independent from type of practice, in such a way that all subjects with a high level of self-efficacy (in all three groups) gained higher acquisition scores than those with a low-level self-efficacy (F=2.45).

**Retention stage**

Comparison of means of observational (0.54) to control groups (0.16) during the retention phase showed that observational practice could have a significant effect (a<0.05) on the retention of the valley badminton service (T=8.01). Also, comparison of means of the combined group (0.80) to the control group showed that combined practice has a significant effect on the retention of the valley badminton service (T=7.04).

Type of practice has a significant effect on the retention of the valley badminton service (F=10.6). Pursuit studies (LSD test) showed no difference between the bodily and observational practice regarding the retention of the skill and both types of practice affect the retention, positively.

The level of self-efficacy is an important factor in the retention of the valley badminton service (F=11.5); however, this effect is independent from type of practice, in such a way that all subjects with a high level of self-efficacy (in all three groups) gained higher acquisition scores than those with a low-level self-efficacy (F=0.063).

**Discussion and conclusion**

Results of this study showed that the observational and combined groups had a better performance than the control group regarding the acquisition and retention of the skill; i.e. both types of observational and combined practice had a significant effect upon the acquisition and retention of the valley badminton service skill. These results are in concordance with Zukkerman (1976), Martenz et al. (1977), Hebert and Landin
The effect of observational practice on learning of valley badminton service (1994), Shea, Wright, Wulf and Whitacer (2000), Soohoo et al. (2004) regarding the effect of observational practice on the acquisition of skill but is in contrast with the findings of Bird, Ross and Laguna (1983), Southard and Higgins (1987), Black and Wright (2000). It could be said that the reason for such a contrast is due to the difference in the variable chosen for learning.

The results of the present study about the effect of observational practice on retention of a skill is in concordance with the findings of Shea, Wright, Wulf and Whitacer (2000) and in contrast with Sidaway and Hand (1993). The contrast could be justified by the fact that these researchers considered the frequency of modelling and the role of facilitation of detection of error in their studies.

On the effect of combined practice on the acquisition and retention of the valley badminton service, the results of the present study is in concordance with Shea, Wright, Wulf and Whitacer (2000) and is in contrast with the findings of Southard and Higgins (1987). The reason that could be speculated to justify this contrast is that the latter researchers considered the alterations of a pre-learned motor model and not learning a new motor model.

The comparison of the effects of observational, combined and bodily practice during the acquisition and retention phases was done using the LSD pursuit test. Results showed that observational practice has a weak effect on acquisition and retention when compared with the two other types of practice. It seems that the knowledge acquired by observation and the necessary processes for generation of a movement during bodily practice is specifically more useful and more than that acquired during observation alone. Although observational practice allows the subject to experience some cognitive processes crucial for learning a motor skill, since the observers have no direct access to the output processing and the relevant feedback, they would probably be less able to correctly rectify their motor system.

The performance of the combined practice group during the acquisition phase was weaker than that of the bodily practice group but their function was better than that of the observational practice group. It seems that less bodily practice (in the combined practice group) restricts the specific information necessary for movement generation provided by such type of practice during the acquisition phase and this could be a cause for a weaker performance in this group. Nevertheless, the retention was not significantly different between the combined and bodily practice groups. In fact, it could be mentioned that the observational and bodily practices utilize different processes in learning, and the combination of these two types of practice could lead to a good deal of potential in the retention which leads to a similar performance during the retention phase. Since the subjects acquire necessary needs to perform the skill similar to the bodily practice group.

Self-efficacy affects the acquisition and retention of the skill significantly, and there is a meaningful difference between the mean values obtained in all groups of different self-efficacy levels. In other words, a high level of self-efficacy is an important factor in the learning of the valley badminton service. It should be noted that the interactive effect of the type of practice and the level of self-efficacy does not
affect the acquisition and retention of the skill. Thus it could be concluded that in every type of practice, those with a higher level of self-efficacy are more successful both in the acquisition and in the retention phases. The results of the present study about the role of self-efficacy in learning are in concordance with findings of Bandura (1981), in which both of them assert that the feeling of being self-efficient affects a successful behaviour. In actual fact, the results of this research are in concordance to the “Cognitive Mediation” theory of Bandura (1928, 1987 and 1990) and McCullagh and Weiss (1989).

References


The frontiers of football: the meaning of 
ethnic-national origin in professional football teams

Marion Müller
University of Bielefeld, Germany

Abstract: This paper deals with the question of the relevance of nationality and ethnic-national origin in a largely globalized world of sport. This question will be analysed in the field of professional football on the basis of an ethnographical study. By researching the process of employment of football players, it will be shown that ethnic-national origin can pose as an indicator for psycho-social competencies (e.g. team spirit), which are seen as important qualifications in football. Through activating knowledge about national stereotypes, which is widely spread in the world of football, the origin of a player is reinterpreted as a relevant feature for his efficiency.

Keywords: football, national origin, discrimination.

Introduction
The meaning of nationality in a largely globalized world of sport is a central question in the sociology of sport (cp. Maguire, 1994, 1995; Mangan, 1996; Rowe, 2003). Very often a kind of contradiction is perceived between the achievement principle in sport and the relevance of nationality as a principle of structure in many sports, above all in football (cp. Fanizadeh et al., 2002; Giulianotti & Robertson, 2002). Therefore, I tried to analyse this question in the field of professional football. For the theoretical shaping of this question, I applied the theory of differentiation and confront it with the results of an ethnographical study I have been conducting in three professional football clubs of the German Football League.

This paper is divided into four parts: firstly, I’ll map out the question within the frame of the differentiation theory (1). Secondly, some findings about the process of hiring new football-players will be shown (2). Of particular importance is the question what athletic achievement exactly means in football: what actions are attributed as athletic performance at all? Because of difficulties in attributing individual achievement in contrast to the performance of the whole team, often the national-ethnic origin is used as an indicator of achievement (3). Therefore, its use as a central feature of inclusion and exclusion can be justified and is perceived as a kind of legitimate discrimination.

1 Achievement as a principle of structure in football
By choosing the theory of social differentiation as theoretical frame, we get a special perspective of looking at the field of football (cp. Schulze, 2005; Stichweh, 1990, 1995). From this point of view, football is part of the functional system of sport in a
primarily functional differentiated society. In contrast to other parts of society, sport has its own functions and also its own logic of function. This means that every functional system has developed an autonomous perspective for observing the world (cp. Mayntz et al., 1988). In the case of sport, it is assumed that this perspective is about physical achievement (cp. Stichweh, 1990, 1995). Everything in sport and, therefore, also in football is about being better than the others, for example being faster or having scored at least one more goal than the other team (cp. Werron, 2005). To find out who is the best you need competition and tournaments. But for deciding who is the best in sport it is basically not allowed to exclude anyone from this competition, because it would infringe the idea of being the best. This demand of social universality corresponds with the more general question of social inclusion in a functional differentiated society (cp. Stichweh, 1988). So it is part of the normative self description of a modern society that in general everybody is able to take part in every functional system of a society. Inclusion is controlled by the functional systems themselves, this means that only features which are related to the end of a functional system are relevant for the question of inclusion or exclusion. On the other it will not be perceived as legitimate, if features without any reference to the function are restricting access to a certain social area. With the change of the primarily principle of structure from stratified differentiation to functional differentiation, it is no longer admissible to allocate social positions by ascribed features like sex or national origin (cp. Luhmann, 1997, 743ff.). For accepting social inequality as legitimate, there have to be differences based upon achievement. This corresponds with two of the central ideas of modernity: equality and freedom. Therefore, our society sometimes is called an achievement-oriented society or a meritocracy. And the functional system of sport is often consulted as a prime example for the principle of achievement in modernity.

Starting from these assumptions of the theory of differentiation, we can suppose that everything in football is about physical achievement and being the best. These normative expectations you can find very often in the communication about football, for example in the following statement of the German coach Christoph Daum: “I don’t bother, whether it is a Brasilian, a Pole, a Croatin, someone from Northern or Southern Germany. The athletic achievement matters, not the blood type”.

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that ascribed features like ethnic-national origin or nationality are still relevant principles of structure in football. This can be seen, for instance, in the rules about limitations for players from countries outside of the European Football Union and the particular importance of international matches and tournaments. But nationality also is perceived as a relevant feature in everyday life of the German Football League, for example by engaging new players. So I want to answer the following questions: when will nationality or the ethnic origin of a player become significant for decision making? What strategies are applied to legitimate the activating of such ascribed features in achievement-oriented world of sport? The

1 Original statement in German: “Mir ist es egal, ob es ein Brasilianer, Pole, Kroate, Norddeutscher oder Süddeutscher ist. Die Leistung entscheidet, nicht irgendeine Blutgruppe”.

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1 Original statement in German: “Mir ist es egal, ob es ein Brasilianer, Pole, Kroate, Norddeutscher oder Süddeutscher ist. Die Leistung entscheidet, nicht irgendeine Blutgruppe”.
empirical data I will use arise from an ethnographic study, which was carried out in three clubs of the Bundesliga.

2 Interpretations of achievement in football

If everything in sport is about achievement – and therefore also in football – then we have to ask the question: what exactly does athletic achievement in football mean? At first you have to notice that performances in football cannot be compared with each other independently from time and place. Consider team A wins against team B, and team B loses against team C. That does not automatically mean that team A will win against team C. This example illustrates the contingency of football and, by the way, the reason that makes football such an exciting game. Besides, you can see that it is not possible to generalize the achievements in football or summarize them to record as you do in track and field athletics. The condition for generalizing results is to measure the achievement (cp. Werron, 2007). But just the measurability of achievement in football is problematical. At the level of the teams you can scale the achievement in football, at least you can assert who has won or lost and how many goals were scored. But at the level of individual players it is hardly possible to quantify the achievement, except for strikers. Moreover, the attribution of achievement can depend on which level you refer to: so the achievement of the team can be deficient, while having excellent single performances at the same time. On the other hand, there is the image in football that eleven average players can become a superior team because of something like “team spirit” and strong company. This differentiation between an individual and a collective level of achievement also means that while judging a player in terms of achievement – for instance during the process of engagement –, you can refer to both levels with different results. So what exactly are the criteria for judging a player? In other words: what actions will be attributed as accomplishments in football?

First of all, there are specific physical abilities which are interpreted as achievements in football, such as velocity about short distances, the competence in direct struggle with an opponent, the strength of shoot, endurance as well as technical and tactical skills. Some of these features you can put into numbers and scales (for example speed about 10 and 30 meters), others cannot be quantified but have to be ranked through monitoring by experts. Besides these physical abilities, there are also some psycho-social competences in football, which are attributed as accomplishments and seen as basic requirement for being a good player: consider the talking about dedication to the match, the uncompromising will to win, character and personality. As an example for the interaction of these different components of achievement in football, let us look at the following explication of the manager of a Bundesliga Club about the criteria for the selection of a new player:

Best is a man, who is as swift as an arrow, two metres twenty tall, an absolutely sure goal scorer, who is also good at defensive work. Someone like that doesn’t exist. It isn’t only the physical and technical competencies which are relevant in football, but by composing a team
you have to consider social features. Well, if you have twenty so-called hares in a team, who are all very well playing the ball, and now imagine, these hares are competing against a team, from which one player says, “After the match I’ll break your bones!” Then our player will get a crying fit, and won’t get any ball, because of the psyche. Therefore you have to compose a team out of different personalities. There have to be one or two so-called son of a gun, who aren’t afraid of anything and can drag the team. Besides you need players, who want to be directed and are able to subordinate, and you need players who can lead the team. And then you have to bring them together and get along with each other.²

These mental competencies of a player are incapable of measurement, and can only be recognized as well as demonstrated in special situation of crisis (cp. Goffman, 1973, 233ff.). So for discovering character in job interviews the officials of the football clubs are looking for certain more observable indicators for someone having a strong character. In the next part, I will show how nationality can work as an indicator for these psycho-social competencies in football.

3 Nationality as an indicator for athletic achievement

The perception of the character of a player is often intermingled with his national origin. In the world of football, there is a lot of knowledge about national stereotypes. So when players are categorized as members from a certain country, at the same time certain personal features and abilities are attributed to them. Think of the often used description of Germans as disciplined, correct, accurate and ready to combat, for example (cp. Parr, 2003). Or the playfulness and magic with the ball we attribute to players from Brazil. Most of these attributions already contain an evaluation. There is a quite sophisticated system of such common known and rated labels of nationalities in football, which is associated with the concept of national character originated in the seventeenth century (cp. Stanzel, 1999). The following quotation shows an example for such interpretations of nationality:

² Original statement in German: “Am liebsten ist uns ein pfeilschneller, zwei-Meter-zwanzig-großer, absolut torsicherer und auch noch defensiv starker Mann, den es nirgendwo gibt. Aber es spielt nicht nur die körperlichen und die fußballerischen Fähigkeiten eine Rolle, man muss eine Mannschaft natürlich auch schon sozial zusammensetzen. Also, wenn Sie jetzt – ich nenne es mal so – zwanzig Hasen in dieser Mannschaft haben, die alle prima mit dem Ball umgehen können, die spielen jetzt gegen eine Mannschaft, wo der erste dem sagt, ‘Ich breche dir nachher die Knochen!’ und der andere kriegt einen Weinanfall, unserer, gegen elf Stück einen Weinanfall, dann können die noch so gut Fußball spielen, die treffen keinen Ball mehr, weil die Psyche eine Rolle spielt. Also müssen Sie eine Mannschaft zusammenstellen mit verschiedenen Charakteren. Da muss- da müssen die so genannten ein, zwei Sauhunde drin sein, die vor nichts Angst haben, die ne Mannschaft mitreiten können. Sie brauchen Spieler, die geführt werden müssen, d. h. die sich ein bisschen unterordnen, und Sie brauchen Spieler, die eine Mannschaft führen. Und da müssen Sie ein Konzert draus machen”. 
Okay, a player from Northern countries has a completely different attitude towards German football than an African or a Brazilian. It’s also different whether it is Serbs, Croats. Or players from countries next to Germany, for instance Switzerland, Luxemburg, Belgium or the Netherlands. It’s an absolutely different thing (…) On players from Africa and Brazil you won’t get a grip on. And on players from Iran, where many players have come from for a long time, you won’t get a grip on either. Yet this is a question of mentality. And very often it’s about the personal pride.\footnote{Original statement in German: “Also, sagen wir mal, ein Spieler aus den nördlichen Ländern hat eine ganz andere Einstellung zum deutschen Fußball als ein Afrikaner oder ein Brasilianer. Auch anders ist das wieder ob das Serben sind, Kroaten. Losgelöst von Spielern der Anrainerstaaten, ob das Schweiz, Luxemburg, Belgien oder Holland ist. Das is ne völlig andere Sache. (…) Afrikanische Spieler und brasilianische Spieler kriegen Sie nicht in den Griff. Und die aus dem Iran, wo ja lange Zeit auch viele Spieler herkamen, kriegen Sie auch nicht in den Griff. Das ist schon eine Mentalitätsfrage. Da spielt auch sehr oft der persönliche Stolz eine Rolle”}

In this quotation you can also recognize the consequences such stereotypes could possibly have for decisions about giving a player a contract or not. And, furthermore, the different levels of individual and collective achievement are relevant, too. So you can reject an extraordinary football-magician from Brazil by referring to the difficulties of integration and his low competence of team spirit, which are ascribed to him because of his national origin. Although the argumentation is still about athletic achievement you have to ask about the relation of achievement. So the principle of achievement is becoming quite extensible.

Besides the link between nationality and certain social competencies of players, a correspondence is also perceived between ethnic-national origin and physical abilities, e.g. talking about the course of movement or the supposed aptitude of body of black players (from Africa or Brazil). By applying these stereotypes, nationality and ethnic-national origin can become legitimate criteria for judging athletic achievement in football. But how exactly does this reinterpretation of national origin as a feature of achievement come to pass? In this process of legitimation there are very often simply assurances, for instance “really”, “naturally”, “of course”, “it is a fact” or “that’s simply the way it is”. At this level of not explicitly theoretical legitimations you can recognize that this kind of interpretations is a matter of course and a part of common sense-knowledge in football. At the same time, they are the foundation for more complex theories of legitimation, for instance some popular scientific knowledge about medicine or the history of human race:

Of course you have… a black man has of course another structure of muscles than a white man, in my opinion they are better dancers. I think it’s because they were getting more exercise during the last few million years, weren’t they? If you would have to walk with a coat and a fur-cap like in ice-age, like it was in former times, and you have to
see that it’s all a question slowly genetic development. Because of this, a black man is a better courser. If you would have been raised like the Ethiopians, who are always winning the long-distance races, since generations they have grown up in this thin air, their blood corpuscles are even formed a bit different, and always they will be the better courser or the people, who come from the uplands of Kenya.  

And another way often used to legitimate the relevance of national differences for the engagement of players is referring to one’s own experiences.

**Conclusion**

Starting from the theory of differentiation, we supposed the primary perspective of sport to be a matter of physical achievement. On the basis of my own empirical material, it has been shown that the meaning of achievement is multidimensional. So next to physical accomplishments, also psycho-social competencies are perceived as achievement in football. Furthermore, referring to the principle of achievement depends on the context: sometimes the individual achievement is the point of reference and sometimes it is the achievement of the team. With this kind of obscurity of meaning, the possibilities of applying the principle of achievement for legitimating decisions is quite wide. So you can refuse to engage a player with excellent physical abilities by referring to his lacking team spirit. Another problem of finding out about the personality of a player is the need of some observable indicators for certain social competencies. That is where the belief about different national characters is coming into play. Furthermore, there is a common set of well-known national stereotypes in football, which maybe become relevant in decision-making processes.

So with regard to the theory of differentiation, we can raise the question to what extent the determination of a single binary code of a functional system will help us to understand what is going on in this system. Maybe in sport not everything is about achievement. In effect, this is an undermining of the principle of achievement. In contrast to the initial explication about achievement and the irrelevance of nationality (“I don’t bother, whether it is a Brazil, a Pole, a Croatin, someone from Northern or Southern Germany. The athletic achievement matters, not the blood type”), it has been shown that nationality does matter. The crucial point is not whether people from

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4 Original statement in German: “Also Sie haben natürlich ehm- der Schwarze hat natürlich eine andere Muskelstruktur als der Weiß, sie sind meiner Meinung nach die besseren Tänzer, wenn es darauf ankommt. Ehm das liegt eigentlich daran, denke ich mal, dass die auch in den Ländern is ne andere- die bewegen sich seit Millionen Jahren bewegen die sich ja auch mehr, ja? Wenn Sie, wie in der Eiszeit, mit einem Fell rumlaufen, da können Sie nicht, sind Sie nicht so beweglich, wenn Sie mit der dicken Pelzmütze, wie es so früher war, und man muss das auch sehen, dass sich das im Laufe der Jahrtausende ja langsam genetisch entwickelt hat. Von daher ist der Schwarze eigentlich auch der bessere Läufer. Weil (…) ich sag mal, wenn Sie wie die Äthiopier, die die Langstrecken gewinnen, die wachsen in dünner Luft auf seit Generationen, deren Blutkörperchen sind da eben auch schon bisschen anders geformt, und die werden immer die besseren Langläufer sein oder die aus den Hochländern von Kenia kommen”.
Germany or Brazil could play better football, but that preferences of special nationalities are perceived as undue. If not, they would not emphasize the irrelevance of nationality. At first sight, national origin is understood as an ascribed feature, which has no direct relevance to athletic achievement and therefore must not have a stake in the selection of players. But then nationality is constructed as a significant attribute for achievement and, thus, national discrimination is interpreted as a legitimate treatment.

References


Gender as class in competitive sports: the different meaning of gender in top-level sport

Marion Müller
University of Bielefeld

Abstract: The segregation of the sexes in top-level sport usually is justified with the physical differences between men and women. But on closer examination, you can recognize that sex differences have not the same meaning in all sports, instead there are various groups of sports with different modes of inclusion of the sexes. So maybe the segregation of the sexes in sport is not the result of the different athletic achievement of men and women, but the outcome of the historical parallels between the differentiation of sports and the “invention” of the sexes in the nineteenth century.

Keywords: gender, performance, achievement.

Introduction

In track and field athletics the fastest men can run one hundred meters just under ten seconds. The best women need just under eleven seconds. This difference of performance is seen as a legitimate cause for a segregation of rating. But there is a similar difference between white and black men: up to now, no white man could run one hundred meters under eleven seconds. But this difference does not give reason to discuss the implementation of ethnical class in competitive sports. Besides the differences in complexion there are further examples for other features of body, which are not used for segregation in sport, although they are also significant for athletic performance. Consider the body height in basketball or size of hands in swimming, for example. Yet why is the difference between the sexes of all these varieties between people used regularly for creating classes in sport? This is the central question of this paper.

By using the perspective of the theory of differentiation, we can also ask for the relation between functional differentiation and the meaning of the difference between the sexes in sport (cp. Müller, 2006, 395ff.). Gender is seen as an ascribed and, therefore, not achieved feature of persons. And sport is a functional system in which everything is about achievement – even more than in other parts of modern society (cp. Stichweh, 1990, 1995). However, sport is the last functional system with an open and legitimate segregation of the sexes. Maybe this segregation is perceived as legitimate, because it is part of our everyday life knowledge that men are more powerful than women. Because of this obviousness in everyday life, the segregation between the sexes in sport is neither interpreted as an offence against the principle of achievement nor as a contempt of the universalistic norms of inclusion.
In differentiation theory, the enduring significance of ascribed features (gender, for instance) constitutes a contradiction to the self-description of a primarily functional differentiated society (cp. Weinbach & Stichweh, 2001; Weinbach, 2007). Because the inclusion into functional systems has to be solely based on criteria which are connected to the purpose of a system, which means it is not allowed to use ascribed features as decision criteria for inclusion or exclusion. Insofar sport, or more precisely high performance sport, is an interesting exception, which I want to explore in more detail. The paper is divided into four parts. At the beginning, a general overview of the normative structures and the basic principles of sport is given (1). Secondly, I will focus on the implementation of classes and the meaning of the difference between the sexes in sport (2). Finally, there is the try to conduct a phenomenological appraisal of the kind of inclusion of women in different sports (3). Here you can recognize differences in the significance of sex differences in each case of sport. Therefore, the simple advice of differences in performance between women and men is not sufficient for legitimating the relevance of gender in sport. Some first efforts for reasoning the various interpretations of the difference between the sexes in sport will be discussed.

1 The basic principles of modern sport

What is sport about? It is about achievement, or more precisely: physical achievement (cp. Stichweh, 1990, 1995). Modern societies describe themselves as achievement-orientated societies (cp. Luhmann, 1997, 743ff.). Therefore, sport is often seen as a prime example for the implementation of the modern principle of achievement. In contrast to other functional systems, sport is not about performing for something outside, but it is achievement just for the sake of achievement. You can create a clear-cut ranking, because athletic performances are simply measurable and quantifiable. Therefore, sport is often declared as a symbol of the meritocratic self-conception of a modern, functionally differentiated society. Through the institutionalization of records, the comparison of athletic achievement has become independent of time and place. As an example, consider the track-and-field athletics: thanks to exact measurement and accounting, you can find out who was the best at any time and place in the world.

The principle of achievement includes above all the idea of competition and rivalry. Competition is already part of achievement, because achievement always is meaning “to be better”, it is a kind of enhancement (cp. Werron, 2005). For finding out who is the best, you need to compare with others. Yet the condition for these basic principles of sport (i.e. the idea of being the best, competition and rivalry) is the norm of universalistic inclusion. According to this norm, both the access and the formation of a legitimate ranking must not be limited through criteria which are not related to the purpose of a function system (cp. Stichweh, 1988). At first, everybody should have the possibility to take part in sport competition – regardless of his or her social or national origin, age, religious belief and sex.

In conclusion, we can sum up that the basic principles of modern sport are achievement, competition and rivalry. For building a legitimate ranking nobody should
be excluded right from the start. Exclusion is only perceived as legitimate if it based upon criteria which are referring to physical performance.

2 Gender as performance class in competitive sport

The interaction of these basic principles of sport and the norm of universalistic inclusion results in the formation of performance classes (cp. Müller, 2006, 395ff.). So for saving time and raising tension, there is no competition between every single athlete, but only competition between certain groups of athletes. And although direct contest will only be performed inside the classes, there is still a ranking of the classes for providing the comparability of achievement. This division into classes is geared to the principle of achievement and the demand of universalistic inclusion.

Generally there are two different types of performance classes in sport. If the classes were generated through some kind of qualification or competition before the actual tournament, we will call them functional classes. Think of the leagues in football. The belonging to a particular league is based upon the performance during the last season. Besides this kind of achievement-oriented practise of classification, there is a second type of classes, which deals with presumed performances. Instead of concerning with actual comparison between single athletes or teams, presumed classes are formed on the basis of assumptions about the achievement potential of different categories of people. The division into presumed classes occurs on the basis of criteria which are interpreted as indicators for athletic achievement and which are in many cases ascribed features. The most usual classification in many sports is made along gender and age.

But sex does not act as a distinguishing mark for the construction of classes in every sport; in fact there are different interpretations of the correlation between sex and the potential differences in achievement. The inclusion of women in sport varies depending on the kind of sport. In effect, you cannot speak about the meaning of sex in sport, but there is need of historical research about the changes in interpreting the difference between men and women and its meaning for a certain sport (cp. Müller, 2007). Altogether, it seems true to say that the more a sport was seen as a men’s sport, the harder was the resistance against the participation of women (Pfister, 1989, 2002). Besides, you have to ask for the process of institutionalization of a sport as a men’s or women’s sport.

In the following chapter, it is tried to classify the various meanings of the difference between the sexes in different sports.

3 The variety of interpretations of the differences between the sexes in different sports

Altogether, there are five different groups of sports with different interpretations of the differences between the sexes (table 1). First, there are sports with mixed competitions for men and women, such as equitation, sailing and motorsports. In the second group of sports, in principal women are allowed to take part in the competition of the men, but if they want they are rated apart from the men. This kind of voluntary segregation
you can find, for instance, in chess and also in billiard. Maybe in these sports it is not legitimate to interpret sex differences as a divergence in performance. But the regular appearance of factual differences in achievement between women and men resulted in the additional institutionalization of segregated competitions or at least rankings.

The largest group of sports has compulsory segregated competitions. Women are not excluded, but they have to participate in a class of their own, mixed tournaments are not permitted. So only for this kind of sports we can speak about the formation of sex-segregated performance classes. For these sports, they are naturally acting on the assumption that women and men have a different achievement potential. Within this group, we have to distinguish between sports with segregated tournaments or at least segregated rankings, but, nevertheless, generally the performances are comparable with each other, e.g. the track-and-field athletics – at least if women and men are running the same distances and throwing the same weights. In these sports, the tournaments of both sexes take place within the same event, for instance the world championship in track-and-field athletics. Sometimes women and men are taking part even in the same competitions and are merely segregated in ranking, e.g. marathon and triathlon.

Table 1. Classification of sports regarding the relevance of sex difference for the competition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set-up of competition and tournaments concerning sex</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Perception of the correlation between sex differences and athletic performance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Inclusion of both sexes</td>
<td>Combined competition and combined evaluation of women and men, e.g. riding, sailing, motoring</td>
<td>No relevance of sex differences for the athletic performance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Optional segregated inclusion</td>
<td>Optional segregation of competition and/or evaluation, e.g. chess, billiard</td>
<td>No theoretical but factual relevance of sex differences for athletic performance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Segregated inclusion</td>
<td>a) Segregated competition, but comparability of performances (mixed tournaments), e.g. track and field athletics</td>
<td>Relevance of sex differences for athletic performance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) Segregated competition without comparability of performances (seperated tournaments), e.g. football, boxing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Exclusion of one sex</td>
<td>Competition and tournaments only for one sex, e.g. gymnastics</td>
<td>Sex difference is the reason for prohibiting certain physical performances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Compulsory partizipation of mixed-sex teams</td>
<td>e.g. ballroom</td>
<td>Sex difference as a constitutice principle of team-building</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second group of sports has clearly a gender-specific connotation, for instance football and boxing. Besides, in these sports there are no combined tournaments of women and men. The performances are barely comparable with each other. Either the athletic achievement is hardly measurable or there are differences in rules and regulations, e.g. the differences between baseball and softball. Maybe the inclusion of women in these sports has brought forth some kind of increasing differentiation.
Another group of sports are those which exclude one sex to this day. But the number of these sports has clearly decreased during the past fifty years. Currently there are, for instance, the different disciplines in gymnastics: men practice high bar, pommel horse and parallel bars, while women do balance beam, and so on. These sports give the opportunity to perform gender-specific features, such as courage, force, grace and charm. Finally, there are few sports in which the difference between the sexes has become a constitutive feature, e.g. ballroom dance. The team-building occurs along the heterosexual matrix. This classification describes ideal types, actually there are mixed-types and changes of categorizations in the course of time. But the purpose of this classification was to show the differences in interpreting the correlation between athletic achievement and gender in various sports.

**Conclusion**

Starting point of this paper was the question of the relevance of sex differences for the formation of classes in top-level sports. What kind of correlation consists between functional differentiation and sex differences in sport? As the many examples have shown, we cannot speak of a consistent significance of sex in sport any more, but there are many different interpretations in various sports. But why has the difference between the sexes got such different meanings in sports? It seems that not every kind of sport is suitable for a dramatic presentation of sex (gender), think of sports in which the human body is not in the front and cannot be seen precisely by the audience. So in riding, sailing and motoring, a big part of the athletic achievement is not generated through the athletes on their own, but through some kind of tools (i.e. the horse, the ship or the car).

In football or boxing, in contrast, the bodies of the athletes are visible and there are many possibilities for presenting gender-specific characteristics. It seems that also the popularity of a sport is relevant for the segregation of the sexes. Thus today, women are included in the most popular spectator sports only in segregated competitions. Maybe the reason can be found in some parallel historical developments during the institutionalization of these sports as successful spectator sports, e.g. the invention and implementation of the polarized gender characters in nineteenth century and the process of nation-building (cp. Müller, 2007).

But there is one last question: why is the sex difference of all other differences between people used so often for the formation of performance classes in sport? Why do we attribute differences in athletic achievement to the sex of persons and not to their body height or colour of skin? Maybe different classifications could be legitimized for different sports. This would be an appropriate solution, if in sport everything was about achievement. This was the presumption of the differentiation theory. Maybe sport is not only about achievement, but also about the presentation and reproduction of the actual order of the sexes. In terms of Goffman (1994), this is called “institutional reflexivity”: the so-called “natural” differences between the sexes are seen as the reason for the segregation of the sexes, but actually the segregation is rather a tool for approving or even constructing these differences. Eventually, sex
(gender) has become a central principle of structure in many sports, because of the historic overlap of the invention of the sexes and the development of sport in nineteenth century. For backing these assumptions up with empirical data, there is a need of more historical research about the interpretation of gender in the several sports.

References
Monuments and street names honouring sports personalities

Gilbert Norden
University of Vienna, Austria

Abstract: The paper attempts to provide a summary overview of monuments and street names in Austria commemorating sports personalities. It becomes apparent that the country has a remarkable number of monuments to the founder of German gymnastics, Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, a large number of monuments to skiers, and an array of monuments to footballers and athletes involved in motor racing, flying/gliding and other sports. The same can be said of street names. Street names and monuments are often expressions of national, regional or local identity.

Keywords: sports personalities, monuments, street names, national sport, identity.

The paper is based on a research project concerning “Places and Points of Orientation Commemorating Austria’s Sports Heritage”. This was part of the Austrian follow-up of Pierre Nora’s “lieux de mémoire” (“places of remembrance”) project (Brix et al., 2004). Sports heritage is honoured in museums and archives, but also in monuments and street names. Researchers have paid little attention to this latter form of commemoration until now. This study was therefore undertaken as the first attempt in Austria to record monuments for sports personalities and to document the traces they have left in street directories.

The term “sports personalities”, as the term is used in this study, refers to personalities from all types of modern sports except mountain climbing and hiking. Thus the well-nigh innumerable monuments to mountaineers to be found in Austria today have not been taken into account in the following analysis. When speaking of “monuments”, this term here refers to constructed public signs of remembrance, including memorial stones, plaques, and crosses. “Street names” refers to various designations for traffic areas, that is to say, streets, lanes, roads, etc.

The study made reference to street directories, official announcements by municipalities, local chronicles, cultural guidebooks, biographies and similar documents. The first part of the study findings below provides an overview and describes individual selected monuments. Part two attempts to interpret the findings.

1 Outcome of inventory taking

1.1 Monuments

Monuments to gymnasts

One of the most frequently encountered figures of any to be honoured with monuments in Austria is the “father of German gymnastics” (“Turnen”), Friedrich Ludwig
Jahn (1778-1852). In a list of locations compiled by Atzmanninger (2003) a total of 104 documented Jahn monuments can be found, of which 86 are still in existence today. Almost one fifth of the monuments were erected between 1902 and 1918, almost half between 1921 and 1932, and the remaining third between 1957 and 1999.

Other monuments to figures in gymnastics to be mentioned are: a larger-than-life bust of the pioneer of gymnastics in the Tyrol, Franz Thurner (1828-1879), erected in Walther Park in Innsbruck in 1905, a memorial stone to the gymnastics educator Karl Gaulhofer (1885-1941) in what is now the Centre for Sports Science and University Sports in Vienna in 1961 and a memorial plaque to the gymnastics educator Adalbert Slama (1884-1965) at the Federal Grammar School in Stockerau (Lower Austria) in 1967.

Monuments to skiers
While it was gymnastics clubs and, sometimes, schools and similar establishments, who raised the monuments to gymnasts, memorials to skiing pioneers have been erected by tourist organizations, municipalities and – obviously enough – skiing clubs, and, in some cases, by companies, the military and ex-servicemen. Some examples:

In the Hotel Post in Mürzzuschlag a memorial plaque was unveiled in 1910 to the earliest propagandists of skiing in Styria, Toni Schruf (1863-1932), who was at the same time owner of the hotel, and Max Kleinoscheg (1862-1940). The text on the plaque reads:

In this house, during the Christmas week of the year 1890, Max Kleinoscheg and Toni Schruf decided to transplant skiing from Norway to the Austrian alpine provinces. Provincial Association for Tourism in Styria.

In 1967, local companies honoured Schruf with a bust in front of the hotel.

A memorial plaque to the developer of the Annaberg skiing resort, Hans Gärber (1876-1914), was mounted on Annaberg Church by the Alpine Ski Club in 1927. The plaque can be found today at the Pfarrboden lifts mountain station in Annaberg (Lower Austria).

A memorial stone to Georg Bilgeri (1873-1934), who established ski instruction in the army, was erected in 1937 by the “Altkaiser Riflemen” and the Tyrolean ski clubs on the Patscherkofel (Tyrol), the site of Bilgeri’s death during a ski course. In 1968, the Austrian Federal Army honoured Bilgeri with a commemorative stone at a barracks (today a command centre) named after him in Bregenz. The local authorities there honoured him in 1984 with a commemorative plaque at the Mehrerau Sanatorium, previously the site of the house in which he was born.

A bronze relief was mounted on the Town Hall in Kitzbühel in 1959 in memory of “Tyrol’s father of skiing”, Franz Reisch (1863-1920). It depicts a portrait of Reisch with an inscription that translates as “Mayor Franz Reisch Ski Pioneer 1893 Dedicated by the Kitzbühel Ski Club”.

Monuments and street names honouring sports personalities
The founder of skiing in Vorarlberg and developer of the Zürs skiing resort, Viktor Sohm (1869-1960), was honoured by the Zürs Tourist Office in 1975 with a commemorative plaque at the valley station of the Trittkopf cable car in Zürs.

One of Sohm’s pupils, Hannes Schneider (1890-1955), who founded the world-renowned Ski School Arlberg (home of the Arlberg skiing technique) and turned the Arlberg region into an international skiing centre, was honoured by the municipality of St. Anton am Arlberg (Tyrol) in 1957 with the erection of a monument. It can be found today in the local park. The large-scale sculpture symbolically shows the sleeping Arlberg mountain massif being woken to pulsating life by Schneider, and above this a relief of the arouser’s head. In 1965 a commemorative plaque was mounted at his birthplace in Stuben (Vorarlberg). Five monuments to Schneider have been erected in Japan and two in the USA, where he was a skiing instructor and founder of a skiing centre respectively. Schneider monuments have been erected, although shortly before his death he had stated that, “amongst skiers, only Zdarsky deserves a memorial”.

The man in question, Mathias Zdarsky (1856-1940), was commemorated by the municipality of Lilienfeld (Lower Austria), supported by the Zdarsky Society, in 1965 with a monument in a park in the town centre. The monument is a triangular column, 2.5 metres in height, bearing an image of Zdarsky’s head in relief on the front. Under this is inscribed the famous quotation by the English skiing historian Arnold Lunn: “Zdarsky will never be dethroned from his position as father of alpine skiing”. On the second side, Zdarsky is depicted passing through a gate in the style pioneered by him. Translated, the inscription above this image reads, “To the founder of alpine skiing technique and the slalom” and that below reads, “First slalom in skiing history on the Muckenkogel, 19.3.1905”. The third side of the column shows one of Zdarsky’s inventions, the bivouac tent. Furthermore, commemorative plaques remember Zdarsky, one for example on the Luswiese in Lilienfeld, where he held ski courses.

Not only pioneers, but also other skiing personalities have been honoured with monuments, some posthumously and others whilst still living. Thus, for instance, the ski racers from Lech and Zürs (Vorarlberg) who had won medals at World Championships and Olympic Games have been honoured by the Lech local authorities in 1976 with a monument. This was “to keep the memory of those great skiing achievements alive and encourage school pupils to imitate them”. The “skiing memorial” shows five entwined Olympic rings. The names of the successful racers are engraved in bronze on the granite plinth below (table 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jahn, Marianne; Jochum-Beiser, Trude; Zimmermann, Edith; Zimmermann, Heidi</td>
<td>Nenning, Gerhard; Ortlieb, Patrick; Schneider, Othmar; Strolz, Martin; Zimmermann, Egon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Commemorative plaques have been erected to all the medal-winners of the Alpine World Ski Championships in Schladming (Styria) in 1982 and in Saalbach-Hinter-
glemm (Salzburg) in 1991. These are located at the end station of the Planai cable car and at the municipal offices respectively. The municipality of Traisen (Lower Austria) funded a monument to Rudolf Schmidseder, a ski racer who fell in the Second World War. Monuments also remember other ski racers who died in skiing accidents: Ulrike Maier (a commemorative shrine at the site of the accident in Garmisch-Partenkirchen/Germany, a commemorative stone on the Market Square in Rauris/Salzburg and a commemorative cross on the Zwölferkogel in Saalbach-Hinterglemm), Gernot Reinstadler (a commemorative plaque at the end station of the Lauberhorn piste at Innerwangen in Switzerland), Josef Walcher (a bust in the municipal park in Schladming), and the ski racer Rudi Nierlich, who died in a car accident (a commemorative cross on the Kohlmais in Saalbach-Hinterglemm).

Finally, there is a monument to the ski jumper Sepp Bradl, the first to exceed the 100-metre mark in ski jumping, located in the centre of Mühlbach am Hochkönig (Salzburg).

Monuments to footballers
In 1948, the then City Councillor for Culture in Vienna, Viktor Matejka, was planning to have a monument erected to the centre forward of the legendary “Wonder Team” (1931-1932), Matthias Sindelar; the plan was, however, never realized. Later, commemorative plaques were erected in Vienna to other football greats: to Gerhard Hanappi in the stadium named after him, to Erich Hof in the Vienna Sports Club grounds, and to Karl Decker and Ernst Happel in what is today the “Viennese Prater Stadium – Ernst Happel Stadium”.

Monuments to racing drivers
In the centre of Traisen is a bust of Austria’s first and as yet only motorcycle road-racing world champion, Rupert Hollaus, who was killed in an accident while training in 1954. There is a memorial stone to Jochen Rindt, the posthumous Formula 1 World Champion, killed in a training accident in 1970, close to the former racing track in Spielberg-Zeltweg (Styria). Rindt is also remembered with a plaque and a relief of his profile at the house in Graz, where he lived as a child.

Monuments to sporting pilots
Commemorative stones to Karl Illner, who won the Vienna-Horn flying race in 1910, and to Josef Sablatnig, winner of the flying race through Lower Austria in 1911, can be found in Horn and in Waidhofen an der Thaya (Lower Austria) respectively. In Strasshof (Lower Austria), a “pilot’s shrine” commemorates Philipp von Blaschke, who made an emergency landing there during the 1912 Berlin-Breslau-Vienna flying race. A commemorative stone to the gliding pioneer Robert Kronfeld can be found at what is today the Westphalian Open-Air Museum in Detmold (Germany), where he landed following his 1929 record-breaking flight. The glider pilot Herbert Gründler is remembered with a commemorative stone and a relief on the Gaisberg (Salzburg), where he died practising his sport in 1935.
Monuments to other sports personalities
Monuments have been erected in honour of figures from a wide variety of other sports disciplines. The following are just some examples: Memorial plaques to cyclist Ferry Dusika in the cycling stadium of the same name, and to figure skater Karl Schäfer in the entrance hall of Engelmann Skating Rink in Vienna, and also to the kayak team Alfons Dorfner and Adolf Kainz on the clubhouse of the Kayak and Rowing Club Schnecke in Linz; a memorial stone to kayaker Karl Proisl in Traisen; a bust of the first president of the Vienna Trotting Race Club, Graf Kálmán Hunyady, beside the race course in Vienna-Krieau.

“Avenue of Champions”, “Walk of Sports” and “Cycling Champions’ Square”
In imitation of the famous “Walk of Fame” that celebrates actors and performers in Hollywood, three “Walks of Fame” have been created in Austria to commemorate sporting greats:

1. The “Avenue of Champions” in Vienna (Generali Centre, Mariahilfer Straße). It was opened in 1991 and has been continually extended ever since. This is a marketing campaign by a shopping mall. To date 136 sports celebrities have been immortalized with hand and foot prints on bronze plaques (table 2). 79% of these stars are Austrians, 78% men, 3% disabled athletes. The champions who are commemorated here come from 38 different types of sport. By far the most prominently represented are the ski racers: 23% of those commemorated. A further 23% come from other winter sports. The most frequently commemorated representatives of summer sports are motorists and footballers.

2. The “Walk of Sports” in Radstadt (Salzburg). This walk was installed by the municipality in 2001 “to honour athletes and show them respect (...) and also respect for the great way in which they have taken upon themselves the task of giving the young a good example”. 22 Austrian athletes and one sports club have been immortalized in the form of granite stars and metal plaques with inscriptions (table 3). Most of the athletes honoured here come from the region of Flachau/Radstadt/Filzmoos; 61% are men. As in the case of the Vienna “Avenue of Champions” here again it is the ski racers who are predominant; they make up 30% of the commemorated.

3. The “Cycling Champions’ Square” in Podersdorf am See (Burgenland). Initiated in 2004, to date 15 cyclists, four of them Austrians, have been immortalized by handprints in plaster of Paris (table 4). The installation of this square is to be seen in connection with endeavours to exploit the potential of the region as an area for cycling tourism.
Table 2. Names of Austrian and other athletes immortalized on the “Avenue of Champions” in Vienna

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Austrian (women)</th>
<th>Other athletes (women)</th>
<th>Austrian (men)</th>
<th>Other athletes (men)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Allen, Kate; Bauma, Herma; Buder, Karin; Dorfmeister, Michaela; Götschl, Renate; Graf, Stephanie; Haas, Christl; Hartmann, Brigitte; Hunyady, Emese; Jukic, Mirna; Elisabeth; Kronberger, Petra; Max-Theurer, Sissy; Meissnitzer, Alexandra; Moser-Pröll, Annemarie; Müller-Preis, Ellen; Neuner, Angelika; Neuner, Doris; Pall, Olga; Riegler, Manuela; Schuba, Trixi; Tagwerker, Andrea; Tschach-Wleczek, Petra; Wachter, Anita; Winkelbauer, Gerda</td>
<td>Comaneci, Nadia; Devers, Gail; Mittermaier, Rosi; Ottey, Merlene; Serebrianskaia, Ekaterina</td>
<td>Appelt, Ingo; Auinger, August; Baumgartner, Felix; Berger, Gerhard; Berger, Nik; Bieler, Christoph; Botwinov, Mikhail; Brier, Markus; Bubendorfer, Thomas; Deniff, Wilhelm; Doppler, Clemens; Eberharter, Stephan; Erhart, Wolfgang; Faderbauer, Georg; Fasching, Wolfgang; Freinademetz, Martin; Fritsch, Toni; Gandler, Markus; Gimpl, Stefan; Goldberger, Andreas; Gottwald, Felix; Gruber, Michael; Hagara, Andreas; Hagara, Roman; Haidacher, Gerhard; Hajek, Rudolf; Hammerer, Hubert; Happel, Ernst; Herzog, Andreas; Hinterseer, Ernst; Hinterseer, Hans; Hoffmann, Christian; Innauer, Toni; Jonke, Arnold; Kingadner, Heinz; Klammer, Franz; Königshofer, Roland; Krankl, Hans; Kroneisl, Walter; Lauda, Niki; Matt, Mario; Muster, Thomas; Nitsch, Herbert; Ortlieb, Patrick; Polster, Toni; Prettnner, Hanno; Prock, Markus; Rantasa, Walter; Rindt, Jochen; Rogan, Markus; Sailer, Toni; Schiegl, Markus; Schiegl, Tobias; Schlager, Werner; Schmiedt, Markus; Schmolzer, Christoph; Schnabl, Karl; Schneider, Othmar; Schranz, Karl; Schröcksnadel, Peter; Schroll, Thomas; Schwarzwolf, Wolfgang; Schwarzenegger, Arnold; Seisenbacher, Peter; Sieber, Christoph; Sigl, Wolfgang; Simon, Hugo; Stadlober, Alois; Stangassinger, Thomas; Steinacher, Hans-Peter; Stiegler, Pepi; Stocher, Franz; Stock, Leonhard; Strobl, Fritz; Tatschl, Meinhard; Vettori, Ernst; Walchhofer, Michael; Wallner, Leo; Winkler, Harald; Wittmann, Franz; Zerbst, Christoph; Zmek, Christian; Zwilling, David</td>
<td>Agostini, Giacomo; Beckenbauer, Franz; Becker, Boris; Brabham, Jack; Christie, Linford; Djorkaeff, Youri; Els, Ernie; Foreman, George; Foster, Greg; Frentzen, Heinz-Harald; Ickx, Jacky; Kjus, Lasse; Lewis, Carl; Miller, Bode; Moss, Stirling; Neureuther, Christian; Pelé; Reichel, Robert; Spitz, Mark; Stenmark, Ingemar; Tomba, Alberto; Ullrich, Jan; Villeneuve, Jaques</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3. Names of the Austrian athletes and sports clubs immortalized on the “Walk of Sports” in Radstadt.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Sports club</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frandl-Crotty, Josefa;</td>
<td>Habersatter, Walter; Janc;</td>
<td>Bogenschützenunion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habersatter-Totschnigg,</td>
<td>Andreas; Juric, Peter; Maier,</td>
<td>Radstadt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brigitte; Kirchgasser-Pichler,</td>
<td>Alex; Maier, Hermann;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria; Moser-Pröll,</td>
<td>Mayer, Walter; Nagl,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annemarie; Pflüger, Gudrun;</td>
<td>Manfred; Rehrl, Markus;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riegler, Manuela; Schnell-</td>
<td>Rottmann, Wolfgang;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehmann, Melanie;</td>
<td>Scherübl, Franz; Schifferer,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sendlhofer, Tanja; Steiner-</td>
<td>Andreas; Stadlober, Alois;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stadlober, Roswitha</td>
<td>Witt-Döring, Christian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Names of Austrian and other cyclists immortalized on the “Cycling Champions’ Square” in Podersdorf am See.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Austrians</th>
<th>Other cyclists</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Königshofer, Roland; Mitteregger, Rudi; Stocher, Franz; Wechselberger, Helmut</td>
<td>Altig, Rudi; Fignon, Laurent; Gimondi, Felice; Impe, Lucien van; Maertens, Freddy; Merchx, Eddy; Moser, Francesco; Schur, Täve; Vlaeminck, Roger de; Wolfshohl, Rolf; Zoetemelk, Joop</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.2 Street names

Gymnasts in street names
In the ranking of “prominent names” according to the number of entries in the street indexes of the 128 largest municipalities in Austria Friedrich Ludwig Jahn takes 10th place (Fembek & Hammond, 1998, 27). Looking at the whole of Austria at least 61 streets, lanes and so on are named after Jahn.

Other streets bearing names of gymnastics figures are Friesenplatz (named after the co-founder of the German gymnastics movement, Friedrich Friesen), Gaulhofergasse in Vienna and Prof. Adalbert-Slamagassee in Stockerau.

Streets named after skiers
The following are streets named after skiing pioneers: a street in Bregenz, Innsbruck-Igls and Vienna, and a road in Hörbranz (Vorarlberg) and Mariazell (Styria) after Georg Bilgeri; a road and a square in North Conway (USA), a road in St. Anton am Arlberg and a promenade in Stuben after Hannes Schneider; a road in Graz, a lane in Mürzzuschlag and a street in Mitterdorf im Mürztal (Styria) after Toni Schruf; a street in Lilienfeld and St. Pölten, and a road in Vienna after Mathias Zdarsky; streets in Kitzbühel after Franz Reisch and Josef Herold; a street in Villach after Albert Bildstein; a lane in Mürzzuschlag after Max Kleinoscheg; a street in Ehrwald (Tyrol) after Reinhard Spielmann.

Amongst the ski racers having streets named after them Michaela Dorfmeister, Stephan Eberharter, Petra Kronberger and Hermann Maier must be given particular mention, as they have been thus honoured whilst still alive. Normally it is only after
death that people are awarded the privilege of “immortality” via street names. A road in Pernitz (Lower Austria) is named after Dorfmeister, a square in Stumm (Tyrol) after Eberharter, a square in Pfarrwerfen (Salzburg) after Kronberger, and a street in Flachau (Salzburg) and one in Rechnitz (Burgenland) after Maier. Other streets named after ski racers are the Gertrud-Gabl-Weg and Rudi-Matt-Weg in St. Anton am Arlberg, Schmidsederstraße in Traisen, Josef-Walcher-Straße in Schladming and Franz-Zingerle-Weg in Axams (Tyrol).

Streets named after footballers
Lanes in Vienna-Floridsdorf have been named after Walter Dragoun, Fritz Gschweidl, Wilhelm Hahnemann, Franz Hanreiter, Karl Humenberger, Anton Janda, Ernst Ocwirk, Robert Pavlicek, Peter Platzer, Anton Schall, Karl Schott and Adolf Vogl, and a road has been named after Rudolf Zührer. As most of these traffic routes are concentrated in one locality, the area is known as the “Footballers’ Quarter”. Throughout Vienna there are other streets named after footballers, for instance Bruno-Pezzey-Weg, Rudi-Hidengasse, Ernst-Melchior-Gasse, Nauschgasse, Josef-Uridil-Gasse and Sindelargasse. There is also a street named in memory of Sindelar in Neulengbach (Lower Austria). Bimbo-Binder-Promenade in St. Pölten is so called after a former star footballer.

Racing drivers in street names
Jochen Rindt is remembered by streets in Koppl (Salzburg), Seiersberg (Styria) and Vienna, and by roads in Gattendorf (Burgenland), Raaba, Unterpremstätten (Styria) and Velden am Wörthersee (Carinthia). There is a square in Traisen and a lane in St. Pölten dedicated to Rupert Hollaus. Likewise, the racing motorcyclist Martin Schneeweiß has a lane named after him in the state capital of Lower Austria.

Streets named after sporting pilots
There are streets named after the following sporting pilots (a selection): Karl Illner in Brunn am Gebirge, Horn, Waidhofen an der Thaya and Wiener Neustadt (Lower Austria) and in Salzburg and Vienna; Robert Kronfeld in Detmold, Fulda and Oerlinghausen (Germany) and also in Gerasdorf (Lower Austria), Graz and Vienna; Adolf Warchalowski in Wiener Neustadt and Vienna; Philipp von Blaschke in Strasshof and Fischamend (Lower Austria); Franz Hinterstoisser and Lilly Stein Schneider in Wiener Neustadt; Josef Sablating in Klagenfurt.

Other sports personalities in street names
Chief amongst other sporting figures to have lent their names to streets is Karl Schäfer: the figure skater has three streets named after him (in St. Pölten, Purkersdorf/Lower Austria and Vienna). The following have each been honoured with one street in their name: Herma Bauma and Felix Kwieten (track and field athletes), Max Bulla and Ferry Dusika (cyclists), Pierre de Coubertin (founder of modern Olympic Games), Eduard Engelmann jr. (figure skater), Edi Finger, Heribert Meisel, Maximilian Reich
and Wilhelm Schmieder (sports reporters), Dolfi Gruber (runner), Otto Herschmann (swimmer) and Heinz Lazek (boxer) in Vienna; Thomas Bohrer (speed skater) in Klagenfurt; Adolf Kainz in Linz, Alfons Dorfner in Lembach (Upper Austria), Karl Proisl in Traisen and Gregor Hradetzky (kayakers) in Krems (Lower Austria); and numerous other sporting figures, some known only in a local context, in the most widely dispersed areas of Austria.

Altogether, for instance in Vienna, approximately 1% of the streets are named after personalities from the realm of sport.

2 Interpretation and concluding remarks
Monuments and street names frequently represent national (regional, local) identity. Thus the erection of monuments to Jahn and the naming of streets after him occurred within the context of the development of German nationalism, with which the gymnastics movement attributable to Jahn was closely linked (Schnitzler, 2002; Gerbel, 1998, 314-317). Mindful of the havoc wrought by nationalism within German history during the 20th century the local “Greens” in Linz, for instance, have repeatedly demanded that the Jahnstraße there be renamed. However, there has so far been no majority in favour of this step within the municipal council.

The numerous street names and monuments in Austria commemorating skiers are an expression of the particular significance which skiing has in this country, from both the standpoint of identity and of economics. Austria sees itself as a “skiing country”, a “skiing nation”. This self-image is not unjustified, for Austria has undoubtedly contributed substantially to the development of alpine skiing since the end of the 19th century. Teaching their particular technique has had a greater influence on alpine skiing than that of any other nation. This has in part been due to the “export” of ski instructors to countries all over the world. Outstanding innovative skiing equipment has been developed in Austria. As a result of expansion and improvement of the infrastructure for skiing Austria has advanced to the status of the skiing tourism country par excellence. In racing the country has taken over a leading role: just under a quarter of all the titles of World Champion possible up till now in alpine skiing have been won by Austrian athletes. Up to the present about one third of all the medals gained by Austria at Olympic Games was for alpine skiing events. So it is not surprising that many of the national idols of sport come from this field. The fact that some of them have, via street names, been awarded the privilege of “immortality” whilst still alive clearly shows the importance attached to them as models worthy of imitation.

Football as a sport is second only to skiing in Austria. For a long time the football stronghold of the country was to be found in Vienna and its surroundings. So it is understandable that monuments to footballers and relevant street names are concentrated in this region.

After the leading Austrian sport, skiing, and on a par with football, motor sports are the next most important spectator sports in the country. In its early stages flying – with its heroic figures – was very popular. The listed street names and monuments honouring flying and motoring sports celebrities should be regarded in this light, but
also against the background that both, flying and motor sports, are sports, in which
death during practice is not so rare.

Other sports such as ice skating and kayaking were temporarily of great signifi-
cance, cycling has recently gained significance in Austria. This is reflected to a certain
extent in monuments and street names.

It is striking, but hardly surprising, to note that monuments and street names for
women are in the minority. The main reasons for this are the gender history of sport,
and the way its receptive culture has been dominated by men.

Many readers will perhaps feel that some personalities, who would also have
deserved to be remembered for their sports performance in the form of monuments or
street names, are missing in the listed names of athletes. On the other hand there are
probably quite a number of sportsmen or women in the list who are not known by all.
For instance, there is the ski racer Rudolf Schmiededer. Compared with some other
successful racers who have not been honoured with monuments or street names, his
greatest success appears rather modest; he won the slalom event at the Academic
World Winter Games in 1935. Nevertheless he was considered to be worthy of a
monument. That is to say, in his hometown all (deceased) “world champions” who
were local residents are monumentalized; Traisen, a town with 3,600 inhabitants, thus
has three monuments to athletes. Other municipalities are far less “commemoratively
active” towards sport. However, generally speaking, an increase in “commemorative
activity” during the past few decades has been ascertained. The objectives pursued
thereby have mainly been of a political, touristic or commercial nature.

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The barriers of sport governance: “local” vs. “national”

Dino Numerato
University of Bocconi, Italy

Abstract: Local sport governing bodies represent an extremely important base for the functioning of organized sport activities at a national level. The nature of associational life of sport governing bodies therefore strongly depends on interaction and communication of different levels of governance. Using the concept of social capital, the paper is focused on the following question: What are the barriers undermining associational life of the Czech sport governing bodies? This question was addressed using as an object of study three different sport governing bodies in the Czech Republic organized in federations: handball, football and sailing. The study is based on the methodology of multi-sited ethnography and it uses a combination of techniques, such as participant observation, semi-structured interviews and secondary analysis of available documents.

Keywords: social capital, associational life, ethnography, sport governing body, the Czech Republic.

Sport and social capital
In the last decade, there has been an increasing number of studies dealing with the concept of social capital in connection to sport (Burnett, 2006). Whereas the first studies exploring this link treated sport prevalently or exclusively as a positive environment contributing to the creation of social capital (Putnam, 1995; Uslaner, 1999), the recent studies have made a necessary step backwards.

Instead of working with a take-for-granted assumption that a participation in sport associations creates social capital linked to a development of democracy and civil society, their contributions took into consideration rather negative externalities of social capital (Bourdieu, 1984; Field, 2003). Therefore, their studies grasped the very nature of social capital built through sport. They moved their attention from macro-level analysis to micro-level focusing on the dark side of social capital (Groeneveld et al., 2006; Jarvie, 2003; Tonts, 2005), on the nature of volunteering in sport associations (Seippel, 2005, 2006) or on the influence of sport participation on social capital in local communities (Atherley, 2006; Burnett, 2006; Driscoll & Wood, 1999).

This paper continues in this tradition by analysing the nature of social capital in the case of sport governance. For the aim of this analysis, following the traditional elaborations of the concept (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 1993), social capital is understood as a relational collective resource which is more or less intentionally built and created and is used to achieve goals. It consists of a structural, a cognitive and a relational dimension (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998).
The main objective of the study is to explore the mechanisms influencing the nature of associational life of sport federations with a particular interest in barriers undermining their functioning. These barriers are seen as a product of encounters between local and national levels of sport governing bodies.

The study draws on the methodology of multi-sited ethnography, combining three different techniques: semi-structured interviews, observations and secondary analysis of documents. The semi-structured interviews were carried out on a national, regional and local level of three sport federations. Both participant and non-participant observation during sport events, executive committee meetings and general assemblies provided a less obtrusive way for approaching the phenomenon. Secondary analysis of documents, such as legislative documents, meeting minutes, policy documents and newspaper articles permit us to gain a coherent picture of the observed sport governing bodies.

Regarding the fact that the research is based on ethnographically gathered evidence, I decided to make the voice of social actors speak aloud as much as possible. That is why the two following sections, entitled How “national” sees “local” and How “local” sees “national” are based mainly on statements of the respondents, thus providing an authentic cognitive taste of the sport governance environment.

Through the voice of actors, an enumeration of barriers that the sport federations do or might meet is provided. Furthermore, a set of situations and mechanisms which may, but which do not necessarily have to, affect the activities of sport governing bodies is introduced. In the final section they are interpreted through the lens of social capital.

How “national” sees “local”

“Let’s be happy that (at least) somebody is doing this.” This relatively often heard phrase across interviews and different meetings, conferences and assemblies, reflecting a position of volunteering in local sport governing bodies, represents a big challenge for the representatives of the national bodies. They refuse the satisfaction expressed by the statement, arguing that it is frequently misused as a means of justification of one’s own activity being done wrong.

The deconstruction of the diffused belief about volunteering is part of the wider picture that national representatives might share about their local partners. To a certain degree, the belief supports the creation and reproduction of a vicious circle in which the functionaries at the higher levels could not foster an implementation of their policies as functionaries at the lower levels are aware of their own irretrievability.

If the regional or local representatives disagree with national policies, they just simply refuse to participate or they create obstructions, unless it is not impossible under the framework of charters, directions, internal rules and regulations. This happens especially under the circumstances where there is a lack of trust in the

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national body and where identification with a movement is weak. A president of a national governing body expressed his attitude on a local passivity or refusal which blocks implementation of the long-term strategies in the following comment:

We cannot compromise with those who do not follow the rules, who refuse to maintain their responsibilities regarding the organization of workshops and seminars, or pay the fees, with those whose job is delayed. If we accept the saying “let’s be happy that somebody is doing this” then we can stop immediately any effort to change the movement and to make it rise.

Functionaries on a national level are complaining that they feel a lack of attention to the policy materials and documents prepared by them. Moreover, they would have appreciated more skills and competencies at a lower level. As one of the regional functionaries well connected to the national bodies mentioned, the local representatives often lack the relevant knowledge and contacts to apply for additional funding. The information technology skills almost seem to be a problem of the past, although there are still some districts where it makes up a barrier.

Furthermore, the national functionaries express their concerns over weak identification with a sport movement, missing reciprocity and a lack of responsibility for shared objectives. One of the national handball functionaries explained the circumstances of such a situation in the following words, stressing the fact that weakened identity is a matter of regional associations more than a matter of clubs:

The regional associations create a chapter for itself. In 99% of cases, the regional federation functionaries are at the same time clubs’ functionaries, coaches, referees etc (...) And they are completely exhausted in their clubs and there is no willingness to (...) or there is no perspective which would be a bit detached from their everyday concerns, a perspective which is more regional. This means, that responsibility for region is smaller. And if a region should serve just to guarantee an essential service (...) “We [we=the region, expression of the respondent describing the way how the people in regions think – authors’ comment] are here in order to organize competitions, guarantee disciplinary decisions, from time to time educate some coach or some referee”, (...) such a region is in decrease.

Another related issue which is partly a communist legacy is passivity, a lack of interest in participating in common decisions on general assemblies, to present inputs, comments and to provide a sport governing body with feedback on its activities. A member of a national body explained such an attitude, pointing out the Czech cultural roots: “This is an exemplary Czech attitude. You vote for everything that was proposed by the active members and afterwards you criticize them around the corner”.

Laziness and inability to change habits and routines of the local representatives were mentioned as other barriers complicating the relationships and communication. On the other hand, the national representatives are complaining about strategies
applied by the more active and ambitious local actors. A strategic foundation of clubs is a diffused practice which permits them to get more funding for children in case a child does not receive enough support from his/her maternal club.

Additionally, the national functionaries also referred to misleading perceptions that functionaries in regions create and diffuse about them:

Some of them think that we earn a lot of money and that their money is spent in our well-being, in luxury parties with the sponsors and in the trips all around the Czech Republic. They do not realize that we are pure volunteers as they are, that we invest a huge amount of money in sport and that we are very careful about spending every single crown.

Even though the national federation representatives are sometimes critical about the local functionaries, they are aware of the factors that limit their activities and have respect for them. They realize that they are overloaded by their everyday activities and that their most important objective is to guarantee basic club activities linked sometimes with their roles as coaches and referees. As has commented one of the representatives of the national handball federation:

(...) they are absolutely taken by the duties in their clubs and there is no willingness, there is no perspective which could be detached from their everyday concerns (...). In general, their responsibility for region and for our entire movement is very low.

In their reflexive accounts, the national representatives are aware of the fact that the local functionaries are involved most of the time in their routine administrative activities. Therefore, they have almost no room for a more systematic and strategic approach for the future. The number of the functionaries whose cooperation is needed is relatively high. As explained one of the national representatives of the football association: “The point is that we have to convince the representatives of 14 regions and 81 districts about meaningfulness of the programme Football for All”.

Another issue that affects the relationship between the national and the local level and which is reflected from the side of the national federation, and this is almost exclusively in the case of the football federation, is a negative picture of football diffused among the public. This is based on public representation of never-ending struggles over positions and power in the Czech football movement. Any new step, or any effort to change something, is almost automatically followed by suspicion from the side of the local actors: “Any new activity, any new decision, any new proposal is immediately accompanied by the following questions: ‘Why is he doing it? For whom is he doing this? Who is taking advantage of this action?’”

**How “local” sees “national”**

The following section deals with the constructs that the local actors share about the national federation and it tries to grasp their negative consequences undermining the associational life in the Czech sport governing bodies.

Complaints about too strong an authority imposed by the highest level of the federations appeared during different occasions, although in some cases the representatives of the national bodies do not forget to stress that the local functionaries are their “partners” (or at least label them in such a way). A missing discussion in the movement, exclusion of some groups from participation in decisions, lack of information, missing transparency or too strong an authority have been the most often mentioned topics in this regard.

The idea of strong authority goes hand in hand with the local beliefs that governance at the national level is almost exclusively about a struggle over positions and power games. Such a perception might also have its roots in the way whereby a national federation represents itself and to what extent it listens to the needs of local representatives. A president of a local football federation expressed his scepticism in the following way:

I do not think that I have any power to influence the decisions made by the national federation representatives. They do not care about us during the general assembly. They do not listen to us. It is not about local sport. These are just meetings of the big clubs, encounters of the advocates and lawyers who are struggling among them over power.

Such a perception of the national level, typical of the power games and struggle over positions, might provoke resignation and powerless feelings. On the other hand, it might bring about reproduction of the national struggles at local levels.

This is exactly the case for football. Polarization of the movement into different networks of power on the national level is reproduced at local levels of the federation. Although predominantly administrative and technical activities guaranteeing organization of competitions do not have anything in common with struggles over power, the patterns of the national conflict and fight against the national board are sometimes transposed to the lower levels. Furthermore, every single step is reinterpreted in the lens of the symbolic, very often mass mediated issues.

A lack of criticism of the mass media and an acceptance of its interpretative frame is clearly shown in a comment stated by a president of a regional body. He took part as a delegate in the general assembly of the national federation and, during a subsequent meeting of a local executive committee, he presented conclusions made by the national body in the following way, as if the newspapers would have mirrored the reality: “Everybody knows how it went. You could have read it in newspapers.” The mass mediated picture of the functionaries in football creates a perception of Czech football governance as an elevator on the way to power and money, although this is not necessarily the case.

A secretary general of a regional body that went through a revolution and personal changes a month before we met pointed out: “[M]any people felt that there was a lot of money in football and that they could take advantage of this. This has led to polarization of football even on the lowest levels.”
Conflict of interests is another topic which has sometimes been highlighted and which has more or less been respected in the different sport governing bodies. If the reality that somebody is sitting on two or three chairs becomes tolerated or not depends on generalized trust in an association. It is a natural development that club or local representatives become active at higher levels of the federations. Related negative comments that position at the national level helps to push ahead the interests of a local federation or club almost become a natural barrier undermining the functioning of the sport governing bodies.

In the case of the sailing association, negative voices towards the Executive Committee have a few times been raised. However, it has usually been characterized more as a problem of the past than of these days. Since the Executive Committee used to attract mainly the parents of the elite sailors with competitive international ambitions, it acquired a slightly pejorative label, the Olympionics. A president of a sailing club commented: “Nowadays it is much better, but we used to call the Executive Committee as a union of the Olympionics”.

The representatives of the local sport governing bodies complain relatively often about the ways of funding, in particular about too much attention given to elite sport and the lack of more funding for amateur and youth sport. “We have enough problems with ourselves. I do not want to cover expenses for the national team from my own pocket”, a regional functionary expressed his disagreement with the implementation of individual fees for starts in competition during an annual conference of a regional handball association.

Another barrier weakening the effectiveness of a federation might be described in terms of over-bureaucratization. From this perspective, the national federations are seen as institutions consuming huge financial resources, sometimes helping to open new job positions for their friends. One of the local representatives said: “They are in five there and if you call them, you hear just Johnny, Johnny, Johnny, where is Johnny? (...) What the hell are the others doing there?!”. The next comment provides further explanations and explores weaknesses in the arguments of “nationals”:

(...) all the Northern Moravians are defending themselves because in these regions they all have an idea that the institute in Prague which governs everything, the Association, that it is over-dimensioned. (...) During the period of former Czechoslovakia, the federal union had three persons. Nowadays they are in five! (...) [T]hey govern second divisions which were used to be governed by us [in regions – author’s comment] and there were no problems with it. These competitions used to be the so-called regional divisions but they renamed these competitions into the second divisions and they transposed their governance to Prague. Thus, they justify their role in sense: “If we govern that many competitions, we have to have so many people here.” And we did it on a voluntary base, they are professionals, they get their salaries.
Since the seat of the national federations is in Prague, some of the representatives are blaming them for being Prague-centric. The members of all three sport movements in different localities across the Czech Republic have frequently denominated the national governing body as Prague. A mere linguistic personalization of the city of Prague has been present in sayings like: “Prague has decided (...) Prague has invented (...) Prague does not allow us to (...) Prague does not listen to us.”

Another barrier stressed by the local representatives was communication, regarding both the used channels and the transmitted content. As concerns the used channels, a late introduction of internet systems of communication has been frequently criticized. As regards the transmitted content, the members of the federations get the impression that they do not get any information. As has pointed out a president of a club: “Sometimes we hear something new in the corridors, but we can just keep asking ourselves: ‘Is it like this? Is not it like this?’ We do not know (...)

The dissatisfaction with skills and competencies mentioned in the preceding section has not only been a matter of the top-down decisions. It appears in the bottom-up relationships too: “This is an invention of the brains which are very far to be healthy.” A representative of a handball club used this statement commenting on the new direction introducing a new transfer system.

Similarly to the national representatives, some of the local functionaries reflect on their own position. A president of a regional association pointed out how difficult it is for national functionaries to justify their long-term, and therefore immediately invisible, strategies:

You create long-term strategic decisions in advance and you cannot see any consequences of these decisions in one or three months. These are the decisions whose impact is recognizable in three years, for example. It is not easy to decide and it is not easy to justify either the decision in the face of the membership base, because you cannot see the results immediately.

**Conclusions and discussion**

Interpreting these raw and very often descriptive data in a more systematic manner, taking into consideration the social capital theory and the multidimensional nature of social capital, we can see that the barriers undermining associational life of sport governing bodies regard its structural, cognitive and relational dimension (Nahapet & Ghoshal, 1998).

The cognitive dimension regards mainly cognitive dissonance and mutual misunderstanding between the national and local actors. On one hand, the national actors have complained about the lack of understanding, about the strong influence of the

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2 An internationally understandable Czech word **pragocentrismus** is a mental concept with a pejorative taste which denotes the accumulation of power in the capital of the Czech Republic. It considers Prague as a centre of political, economic, cultural or sport life which pushes every single local effort in these spheres to the background.
mass media and about the myths on volunteering shared by their local partners and which help to justify even badly realized activities. On the other hand, the narratives shared by the local representatives about the national governing bodies have referred to a lack of information or a way in which information is diffused and presented. Furthermore, the local members of the federations pointed out a missing discussion constraining the actors from regions and districts to be suspicious and explain occurring problems as a consequence of power games.

The cognitive accounts provided evidence about the structural dimension of social capital. It is seen that whereas the national representatives have found the main barrier of participation in the associational life in the subjective dispositions (laziness, passivity, habits and routines) and in the objective constraints (overtaking by administrative and everyday activities), the local representatives are criticising the network ties fostering accumulation of power which might result in a polarization of a sport movement and too strong an imposition of authority. Moreover, local accounts have regarded some attributes of the network configurations, such as an over-bureaucratization and a conflict of interest issue. The example of the leading positions given to the former players, the practitioners who created strong ties in the past, being excellent in sport and being weak as functionaries, might be interpreted in terms of appropriable organizations.

Regarding the relational dimension of social capital, the lack of trust has already been sketched in the preceding paragraphs exploring issues linked to the cognitive and structural dimension. It is linked to the sceptical beliefs in the competencies and skills of the others. In the case of the structural dimension, it has been nourished by a suspicion about the power games and a conflict of interest. The mechanisms of funding frequently focusing on elite sport provoke another criticism which leads to a decreased level of trust and, at the same time, it jeopardizes identification with a movement. The problem with identification might have its roots in the aforementioned strong authority imposed by a national level. Furthermore, as has been seen in preceding parts, the national representatives quite often expressed criticism on other issues of relational dimension, like ignoring norms and obligations on the part of their local partners.

To sum up, it is clear that the aforementioned dimensions of social capital are interconnected. They do not work independently and altogether represent a complexity of associational life. Moreover, it is obvious that the concept of social capital provides an important tool to understand and explore the barriers of sport governance.

Reflecting on the aforementioned narratives and conclusions, with respect to the limited space for the paper, they should be accompanied by a more in-depth analysis of dynamics created between the “locals” and the “nationals”. Such an analysis should include a detailed analysis of factors and context contributing to such a state of affairs as the post-transformation period reality and the Europeization and globalization trends. More attention should be paid to the political economy of sport, namely to the role of mass media and their links to the sport system, and to professionalization processes of the SGB.
References
Sport and health: 
the return of the local

Roger Penn and Mary Kiddy
Lancaster University, United Kingdom

Abstract: The present paper provides an analysis of the recent emergence of close relationships between sports’ stadia and health care delivery in England. These developments are linked to the changing nature of football stadia in England since the Hillsborough Stadium disaster in 1989 and the ensuing Taylor Report (1990). The paper also presents initial findings from an ongoing case study of the development of a Long-Term Conditions Centre at Preston North End’s (PNE) Deepdale Stadium. These are situated within the wider context of changes in the delivery of health care in Great Britain, away from the traditional, highly centralized approach that characterized the National Health Service (NHS) from its inception in 1948, towards a more localized model.

Keywords: football stadia, renewed local pride, healthy stadia programme, health care facilities, positive community assets.

The changing relationship between football clubs and their local communities

The relationship between English football clubs, their stadia and local communities can be analysed in terms of the three-stage model of the evolution of football in England proposed by Penn (2005a). The first stage, which lasted from the 1880s to the 1960s, involved a traditional, communal pattern where football teams attracted a predominantly local audience and the stadia were embedded within their local areas which were themselves overwhelmingly working class in character. Such early stadia were important landmarks within their local communities and a focus of intense topophilic sentiments (Tuan, 1974). However, these stadia only functioned on match days which almost always took place on a Saturday afternoon with kick-off at 3pm (Penn, 2000).

The second stage of the relationship between local communities and English football stadia was one of dislocation. From the early 1960s onwards, there was a growth of hooliganism, violence, graffiti and traffic congestion, as more and more spectators travelled to football matches by car (Bale, 1994). The introduction of floodlights and the emergence of televised European competitions meant that the times of kick-offs became far more varied and the nuisance associated with the presence of a football stadium within a local community became greater and greater (Federation of Stadium Committees, 1999). This led to an increasing alienation of the English football industry from its traditional, local, communal roots.
The third stage is emergent and is part of what is termed the “Renaissance of English Football”. It involves a radical change in the relationship between local communities and their football stadia. The new football stadia built in England since the early 1990s are iconic buildings and sites of renewed intense local pride. The City of Manchester Stadium featured prominently amongst the iconic buildings catalogued in the monumental Phaidon Atlas of Contemporary World Architecture (2004). There is a strong local affective identification with the new stadia (Sheard, 2001). At many there is the possibility for fans to purchase a small piece of the stadium for a personal dedication on a bricked walkway.

The new stadia have been expensive to build and the concomitant need to maximize revenues has led to a proliferation of facilities within and around the stadia themselves (Provost, 2000; Images Publishing Group, 2003). These include exhibition halls, conference facilities, museums, restaurants, bars, cafés, hotels, gymnasium, conference facilities and shops. English football stadia currently provide facilities for weddings, funerals, baptisms and bar-mitzvahs. The new stadia have also provided a platform for the economic, social and cultural regeneration of deprived, inner city, urban areas (Penn, 2002, 2004). Such stadia offer significant employment opportunities to local populations and are held in high esteem by spectators and local people alike. There is no graffiti on any of these stadia which indicates that they have come to be regarded as “sacred spaces” (Bale, 2001; Penn, 2005b). Local communities no longer regard their local football stadium with hostility and fear.

Health care and football in England.

One aspect of the changing relationship between football clubs and the people who live in the vicinity of their stadia involves health care. In the North West of England, in particular, this has been driven by the Healthy Stadia Programme (Federation of Stadium Communities, 1999) which is a regional policy designed to integrate health within sports venues. This programme is set within the wider Healthy Settings Initiative (World Health Organisation, 1986; DH, 2004) that has focused on improving health within local communities and reducing local health inequalities. The principle of the approach is that health is largely created and determined outside traditional health care settings. Nevertheless, good health care facilities are also viewed as positive community assets. The apotheosis of such an approach can be seen in the plan at PNE to construct a Long-Term Conditions Centre and possibly a General Practitioners Surgery as part of the club’s final redevelopment of their stadium at Deepdale.

Deepdale: a deprived community

Preston is a city of around 150,000 people and is the administrative centre of Lancashire. It has been a traditional centre for textile and metalworking manufacture since the early nineteenth century. The 1960s and 1970s witnessed an inflow of international migrants, mainly from the Indian sub-continent. In recent years there has also been a significant influx of migrants from Eastern Europe. There is now a large South Asian population in the central area of Preston around PNE’s Deepdale stadium.
(currently around 50%). They are the poorest community within the city, with high levels of long-term “structural” unemployment amongst males and low levels of economic participation amongst females.

Deepdale itself is a deprived, inner-city area with high levels of unemployment and poor housing stock. It also has very poor health care facilities (Preston Primary Care Trust, 2004). The majority of GP practices were single-handed and the fabric of the buildings was poor at that time. This is despite the fact that the area had high levels of morbidity, especially long-term conditions such as diabetes, obesity, heart disease and hypertension. (One in six of the local adult population currently has a long term condition.) These are particularly high amongst the South Asian population in Deepdale where the prevalence of diabetes is around twice the national average.

**National health service policy changes**

The delivery of health care in Britain is currently undergoing radical changes (Dept. of Health, 2005a, 2006). The emphasis of the new policies is on promoting better health and well-being amongst the population, as well as convenient access to high-quality services and increased support for those in greatest need. A key feature involves the delivery of health care in the most appropriate setting, preferably closer to the patient’s home.

This is partly in response to changing patterns of health in England. The population is ageing and becoming more ethnically diverse. A prominent feature of these developments involves a higher prevalence of people living with long-term health problems within the community. In addition, many conditions now require significantly more diagnostic tests and shorter stays in hospitals than has hitherto been the case. As a consequence of this there is now an increased emphasis from the Department of Health (DH) on providing specialized health care within local communities in order to improve access to facilities and to increase attendance rates, particularly at long-term conditions’ clinics. This type of treatment has traditionally been provided within a hospital setting. However, consultations with local communities in England have revealed that they would prefer to be treated by specialist doctors and health care teams closer to home, without having to make a journey to a large hospital. Once implemented, such changes will increase the similarities in health service provision between England and other European countries, such as Germany. A key aspect of this shift away from hospital care is the promotion of self-care, which encourages patients living with long-term conditions to be active partners in managing such conditions in partnership with health professionals.

The links between sport and health have also been positively encouraged. The DH published a further document in 2005 endorsing an initiative launched earlier that year by the Football Association (DH, 2005b). This strongly encouraged the involvement of Primary Care Trusts (PCTs) in developing health promoting activities at the local club level. The rationale for such an approach was the pressing need to address the growth of chronic health problems such as obesity and diabetes, and also to provide a platform for addressing health needs pro-actively within the local community. The strategy
focussed on making the links between health and exercise explicit. The mandate for the development of the Long-Term Conditions Centre (LTCC) at the Deepdale Stadium arose out of this combination of health policy developments.

**The elements combined**

PNE needed to complete the redevelopment of their Deepdale Stadium. Over the preceding decade, the club had rebuilt three sides of the ground but they lacked the funds to build the fourth and final stand (see photograph 1). Preston Primary Care Trust (now Central Lancashire PCT as from October 2006) urgently needed to find a suitable site to provide a range of improved health care facilities within the deprived area of central Preston. Deepdale Stadium had (and continues to have) good public transport links and excellent parking facilities: matches take place either on Saturday or Sunday afternoons or after 7pm on certain weekdays. This dovetailed with the planned opening hours of the new health care facilities to be built at Deepdale Stadium.

The idea for the development of the new LTCC came initially from the PCT itself. The results of a previous Health Needs Analysis of the population of Deepdale had identified high levels of people living with poor health within the community and an absence of good health care facilities locally. The stadium was felt by the PCT to be held in high esteem within the city, and the club’s need to complete the fourth stand was well understood. Following initial negotiations with the Club Chairman at PNE, a business case was developed by a team at the PCT which involved the Trust signing a 25 year lease with the club to provide a Long-Term Conditions Centre at the ground at a cost of £350,000 per year. This was approved by the Trust Board and subsequently by the Strategic Health Authority for Cumbria and Lancashire (a regional health body). This approach was necessary as the investment on behalf of the PCT was provided through public monies (NHS organizations are entirely funded through taxation in Great Britain). An application for planning permission was then made to the Local Authority which was finally agreed in the autumn of 2006. Consultation with local communities through Area Forums gave rise to very few objections and media coverage of the planned LTCC was very positive in the local press.

In June 2007, the old stand (photograph 2) was knocked down and the work on the foundations of the new stand begun (photographs 3 and 4). The expected opening of the new Long-Term Conditions Centre is due in the autumn of 2008 (see photographs 5 and 6). The new centre will provide accommodation for nursing and therapy teams, diagnostic investigations as well as treatment rooms for consultations with hospital medical staff.

The development of the LTCC within the stadium at PNE is important for four reasons. Firstly, it brings improved health care facilities into a deprived part of the city, where health is poor. Secondly, the site of the Centre within an English football stadium signifies that stadia once more possess a hallowed status within local

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1 All photographs are shown at the end of the article, see next page.
Sport and health: the return of the local communities: placing a healthcare facility within a football stadium would have been unthinkable 20 years ago. Thirdly, the partnership between the PCT and the football club is a robust implementation of the new health policy aims specifically bringing healthcare closer to home and making the links between health and sport highly visible within the local community. Finally, the partnership ensures that the stadium will be finally completed. This will improve the local environment as well as providing a new community asset and a renewal of local civic pride. The case study reported here will be ongoing and will involve an assessment of the health and social gains for the community in Deepdale as the LTCC becomes operational in 2008.
Photograph 3. Demolition of the old stand at Deepdale (July 2007)

Photograph 4. The demolished old stand at Deepdale (August 2007)

Photograph 5. Artist’s Impression of the new Long-Term Conditions Centre at Deepdale (2006)
Photograph 6. Close-up of the new Long-Term Conditions Centre (Artist’s Impression 2006)

References

Federation of Stadium Communities (1999). *Stadium Communities Handbook*. Stoke-on-Trent: FS.
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Abstract: The accomplishment of this work relies on the importance that the body has today in Western societies. Beauty, power, self-expression and self-valorization are some of the examples of the return of its festivity. A personal valorization can be praised through leisure as a part of lifestyle. In this context, our study is about two leisure activities: gym academy and alpinism, which can be practiced without impositions. In gym academy activities, the body appears as something that should be as close as possible to the ideal body. With alpinism, the climber searches for a distinct life; this can result in a break with that ideal image. Because of this ambivalence, our goals were to understand the feelings expressed by the person that practices gym academies; to understand the feelings expressed by the person that practices alpinism, and to find the similarities and differences concerning the representation and valorization of the body among the two groups. Our data was collected through a fieldwork in gym academy and through in-depth interviews conducted with gym participants and with high-altitude alpinists. The interviews were submitted to content analysis. Through a hermeneutic process we found the following categories: the body as an experimental locus; the body in its transcendent achievement, the constructed body; the disciplined body; the body in risk. From the research, we came with the following main ideas: obligation, aesthetics, and hedonism appear in both groups, even though in different ways; the body as an axiological identity is understood in a different way, at the gymnastic group it appears as an end in itself, for the alpinists the body is worth for its functionality. Facing this diversity, we concluded that in western societies, the body is between a body subordinated to strong values and a body that subordinates everything.

Keywords: body, gym academies, alpinism, values.

Introduction

Alpinism and gym academy activities reflect some of the main features of contemporary society, such as the possibility of practising without any kind of restraints or obligations.

It is consensual that the present moment is marked by the existential aesthetic apparatus, from which emerges the paradox based on the will of a “body” or perfect “master piece” technically operated. Taking into account the “body’s product” from the practice of both activities, one could say that we assist to an apparent paradox. That is, on the one hand within gym academies the body rises as the constructive entity of a person, something that has to be a sort of major distinction. These activities seem to allow people to obtain a body image similar to the one established as the ideal one. On the other hand, the alpinist seeks an exultation that may result in a long distance
towards that same ideal of body. Considering the expressed meanings of the mentioned activities and the representations of the body in participants of both activities,\(^1\) it is our purpose to develop a reflection of the body’s representations and valorizations among them.

**Aesthetic valorization**

The mountain is understood and apprehended as one of the main reasons for practicing alpinism. The alpinist feels a sort of invitation to his body, as well as his senses to be in a perfect harmony with the natural environment, since the adventure world of alpinism is charted by tactile navigation of a moving body. Actually, the alpinists talk about all the environmental sensations obtained during their activity, always focusing on the *in loco* experience. Those ideas are reported in poetic terms, for example all the elements are related to sensations, such as the pleasure of feeling the cold on one’s face and in one’s ears. Also the rope manipulation and the way the movements flow are seen as a “dance in altitude” and the simple act of touching a rock is signed as stimulating. Thus, through the body the alpinist opens himself to the world, placing himself into a situation, as Merleau-Ponty (1996) would say. These significant perceptions acquired during the experience in the mountain reflect a conception of an expressive body, which admits an aesthetical valorization by the alpinists, since the mountain and the entire environment become the aesthetic value support.

**Suffering and pleasure: a possible interaction**

Within this aesthetic valorization, the body as an experience of the world is implied, becoming the consummation of the lived experience. This experience can be mediated in the body itself (*locus* of experience), by the body (instrument of the experience) or even beyond the body, just as a pleasant feeling one can obtain at the end of a climbing (even if the body is a source of great suffering, since sometimes climbing mountain can in fact mean suffering). Indeed, to reach the top of the Everest is an example of a unique triumph, but the exhaustion and the suffering along the way can lead to compulsive crying, a mix of pleasure and discomfort. It is a conscious suffering, which can be associated to the pleasure of reaching a goal; this can mean a strong connection between tragic and hedonism (Maffesoli, 2001). Certainly, alpinists fulfil this conversion of suffering and pleasure, given that many claim having this ability to suffer, and at the altitude of 7,000 metres, it becomes necessary to have great dedication.

For gym academy participants, the effort they feel during some activities is very valuable and people usually end up choosing those classes that demand a bigger effort.

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1 This paper is included in a bigger essay belonging to the author’s PhD thesis, where we can find a deeper description of the entire theoretical basis and the methodology required to data gathering and treatment. In this text, we did not expound the interviewees’ speech: 20 alpinists and 27 gym academy practitioners. For further information, one can consult the following essays of the same author: Pereira, 2002a, 2002b, 2004, 2005a, 2005b.
To some participants, work out without effort is pointless; there are a lot of participants trying to achieve their limits, feeling the pleasure of fatigue after each class.

The effort felt by the two groups is different, but it expresses the body’s audition showing that both activities seek wellbeing and experience. These efforts are lived as a search of a personal achievement revealing a self-centralization towards body perscrutation.

**Overcoming in self-accomplishment**

The effort’s valorization presents itself as a catalyst of a transcendent state and consents a self-overcoming to the alpinist, which is evident by the need of continually overcoming obstacles.

Even though in gym academy one might seek to experience intense efforts, it is in alpinism that this issue becomes essential. We just have to keep in mind its objectives, such as making pendants at high altitude or reaching the top of the highest mountains. This need for a continuous self-overcoming places alpinism right next to “modern sport”. Indeed, the alpinist wants to climb higher, to find paths never been seen before. Additionally, alpinism is dominated by the idea of being the first, in a different way of competition itself, but it introduces in fact a profound concept of competition (Bouet, 1968).

Within this context, alpinism reveals an orientation through instrumental reason, leading to a perception of the body as an instrument of self-accomplishment. To place the body in this instrumental disposition, something that has to be trained in order to achieve certain goals reveals an experience of practical values. According to Patrício (1993), an important practical sense has to do with “fit”. A well-trained body is a practical means to reach the top. Considering that practice always involves ways of transforming the reality, since there is no practice without means, the body reveals itself as a means that can be changed, more specifically through training in order to achieve self-accomplishment.

Although alpinism contains features of “modern sport”, it also presents distinctive elements of contemporaneousness, since it has no organized competition and it values to live free without coercion, to choose without restrictions. This is one of the most significant social and cultural facts of our times and one of the greatest aspirations or desires of our contemporaries (Lipovetsky, 1983). Likewise, the will of self-accomplishment free of strict schedules is one of the several advantages for gym academy participants. The lack of restrain privileges a rational management of time and of the body towards a “self-production” (Lipovetsky, 1994).

**The body: the result of practice**

Let us pay attention to the term “self-production”. We believe self-production in the gym is of great importance to self-achievement: though the effort is vital, the results are the main goal. Some of the participants do not feel pleasure within the activity; they simply keep doing it because it is necessary to reach a certain image. Addi-
tionally, the choice for specific classes shows the importance of the results, just like in spinning: “If you want to ‘dry’, spinning is wonderful!” This quote expresses one of the main objectives of all who practise this activity. That is, the intense physical effort associated to the energetic spend one expects to obtain by performing it. We can easily understand a meaning in this activity, which fits into Mauss’ concept (1993) of techniques of the body. This leads to the conception of the body as an object, or at least as an objectified project of the self (Giddens, 1994). And it is the recovering, the keeping and the reaching of a certain image that are the most important reasons for these activities.

If we accept that the practical activity builds itself towards a work, in this case the body, that the work is the object in which the practical activity culminates and that practical is everything that leads to an end (Patércio, 1993), we can consider the body as being made out of a practical value preferably according to the latest media values and society in general. Therefore, one can say the practical values are fundamental to what may be considered a social body. Within contemporary society, the body is placed in the centre: it is a sign of a good life and of cultural capital (Turner, 1996).

**From discipline to reward**

Within this “construction” of an “ideal body”, it is necessary to have discipline. For many of the gym academy participants this activity represents a mode that allows a thorough control of all body operations. Thus, we can also frame gym academy in the concept of discipline proclaimed by Foucault (1975). Additionally, the way these participants organize their day allows to infer the establishment of routines, which makes it possible for them to attend the gym on a regular basis. So, even though they are not forced to go to the gym, they feel impelled to carry out their obligation, just like a second work shift (Sousa Santos, 1996). These routines are meaningful since they are practical actions, which become perfectly integrated in the habitus and, therefore, there is no need to think over them. Then it is obvious to consider that body disciplines itself, since it adopts its own rules, but always with the meaning of corresponding to the social field that it belongs to.

There is also an effective way of evaluating if the body is disciplined and controlled, since there are training resources which represent ways of surveillance: the constant presence of the mirror and the weighing machine exam allow controlling the body shapes.

The control of the body remains an action that aims at a reward. This does not mean that the imposed discipline overwhelms the established goal, situated above all in the hedonistic experience given by the body. Although it becomes hard to participate continuously in a gym class, once we inquire upon its meaning, the implicit result is pleasant and there is a need of showing it. However, even within this need the pleasure of the fulfilled task persists: reaching a beautiful body. It is still a disciplined body, but it must also be understood as part of the human being, who is truly disciplined towards an objective.
When the alpinist refers to discipline as something essential to reaching certain goals, it becomes possible to recognize a docile subordination of a disciplined body theorized by Foucault (1975). This docility is an option and not a subordination, since a great deal of discipline is required to accomplish the summits. High altitude mountains require a prepared and efficient body and will to deal with the most difficult and highest ascents. In these circumstances, the alpinist’s disciplined body presents the connection discussed by Foucault: control imposes a better connection between a gesture and the global body attitude (Foucault, 1975).

Additionally, discipline helps being alert to more complex situations. In fact, when the objective is to conquer high mountain summits, like the Everest, the conditions found are so hard, due to hypoxia, reduced temperatures or casual incidents, that even experienced alpinists may touch the limits of survival (Hornbein, 1996).

In this context, alpinism can be understood as a game played with life, where loosing is written with “capital letters”, since the contact with death is not only metaphorical. This can be the price to pay for the so-called symbolic metamorphosis. Considering all the risk factors of this activity, it becomes inevitable to think of failure. Accidents may occur in all sports, but in alpinism the risk is higher due to the structure of the activity itself. Indeed, it is rare to find an alpinist who has not suffered a serious accident, such as freezing several parts of the body, which means a sever memory to the body and to the mind.

The alpinist’s action seems to be regulated through values that guide him to the acquisition of a reward, which is not centred in his body, but in the whole of his being, even if it can result in permanent damages. The body is not the seat of existence, it is the wrapping of a person, and it seems the importance of the body tends to the memory of its person, so to say, to an immortal body in the memory (of others). Person and body are definitively not coincident. The symbolic construction of the first can mean the real destruction of the second.

**Final considerations**

The process and the product of these two activities are as different as gym academy and alpinism are strong edifiers of a different body valorization. Aesthetics is lived by gym academy participants as being a part of the body shape, or as being a goal in itself. To alpinists it is lived as a transcendence of nature itself, with the body being the *locus* of all expressions. The hedonistic values are present in both groups: in gym academy participants it ends in the degree of suitability with the built body shape, being also subordinated to the aesthetical value. Hedonism is inherent to the alpinist’s activity, since it is not subordinated to any other value, only to the pleasure of conquer. Finally, to gym academy participants the body (or the shapes suggested by the body) rises as an end in itself, subordinating almost all other values. To alpinists the body stands for its functionality, being mistreated so many times for the purpose of ascent.
References


The amputee’s body

Ana Luísa Pereira, Rui Corredeira and Ana Isabel Sousa
University of Porto, Portugal

Abstract: Our general goal was to understand how the person with an amputation lives her/his body and how she/he deems the others’ perception; and if there are differences between those who participate and do not participate in adapted physical activity. Our analysis is based on semi-structured interviews with persons with an amputation that participate and do not participate in adapted physical activity. From the analysis the following categories emerged: body, prosthesis, independence, human person, and social barriers. We were able to conclude that the amputee’s body perception varies according with age, level of amputation, cause of the amputation and time since the amputation. The practice of adapted physical activity influences the body perception of the persons with an amputation; since they live their body in a more positive way, better accepting their new body condition and their being-in-the-world.

Keywords: person with an amputation, adapted physical activity, body.

Introduction

Our general goal was to understand how the person with an amputation lives her/his body and how she/he deems the others perception of her/him. The specific goals were to understand:

1. the way the person with an amputation lives and perceives her/his body;
2. how she/he feels about the others perception of her/him;
3. how she/he faces the public exposition of her/his body;
4. the usefulness, meaning and function that prosthesis acquires to the person with an amputation; and
5. if there are differences between those who are engaged and those who are not in adapted physical activity.

Methodology

Our analysis is based on 14 semi-structured interviews (Ghiglione & Matalon, 1993) with people with an amputation. Seven of them are engaged in adapted sport, and the other seven do not participate in any kind of physical activity (see table 1). Several topics were discussed with each interviewee, namely the perception that the person with an amputation had of her/his own body as a self-being and living in the world; the perception that the person with an amputation would think that the others would have in relation to her/himself; and the prosthesis’ role while substitutive element of the lacking limb (all the interviews were tape-recorded and after being listened and transcribed on the whole, the texts were prepared, formatted and introduced in the
analysis of qualitative data programme QSR Nvivo, version 2.0, used in the codification of the documents of study) (Silverman, 2000).

Table 1. Group of study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interv.</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Cause and time after the amputation</th>
<th>Type of amputation</th>
<th>Sport</th>
<th>Profession/occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P1</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Congenital</td>
<td>Transfemoral amputations (above knee amputation) – bi-amputation</td>
<td>Basketball in wheel-chair</td>
<td>Solicitor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Acquired: surgical +/- 7 years</td>
<td>Transtibial amputations (below the knee amputation)</td>
<td>Basketball in wheel-chair</td>
<td>Locksmith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Acquired: traumatic +/- 14 years</td>
<td>Transtibial amputation</td>
<td>Swimming, cycling and resistance training</td>
<td>Office employer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P4</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Acquired: traumatic +/- 28 years</td>
<td>Transfemoral amputation</td>
<td>Basketball in wheel-chair</td>
<td>Vigilant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Congenital</td>
<td>Transtibial amputation and transradial (below elbow amputation) – bi-amputation</td>
<td>Swimming</td>
<td>Student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P6</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Acquired: traumatic +/- 19 years</td>
<td>Transtibial amputation</td>
<td>Swimming</td>
<td>Office employer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P7</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Acquired: traumatic +/- 11 months</td>
<td>Transtibial amputations</td>
<td>Athletics and resistance training</td>
<td>Unemployed (ex-football professional player)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP1</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Congenital</td>
<td>Transfemoral amputations – bi-amputation</td>
<td>Non-participant</td>
<td>Psychologist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP2</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Acquired: cancer +/- 6 years</td>
<td>Transfemoral amputation</td>
<td>Non-participant</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP3</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Acquired: traumatic +/- 4 years</td>
<td>Transhumeral (above elbow amputation)</td>
<td>Non-participant</td>
<td>Office employer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP4</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Acquired: traumatic +/- 14 years</td>
<td>Transfemoral amputation</td>
<td>Non-participant</td>
<td>Accountant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP5</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Congenital</td>
<td>Transtibial amputations and transhumeral – bi-amputation</td>
<td>Non-practitioner</td>
<td>Primary teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP6</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Acquired: traumatic +/- 15 years</td>
<td>Transradial</td>
<td>Non-participant</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP7</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Acquired: traumatic +/- 6 years</td>
<td>Transfemoral amputations (in right limb) and transtibial amputation (in left knee); and transradial – tri-amputation</td>
<td>Non-participant</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend: P=participant; NP=non-participant

The categorization was accomplished both \textit{a priori} and \textit{a posteriori} (Vala, 1986) with the following categories:
1. Body (with the sub categories lived-body, social-body, aesthetic-body and functional-body);
2. Prosthesis (with the sub categories functional-prosthesis, aesthetic-prosthesis and social-prosthesis);
3. Independence (with the sub categories freedom/independence and mobility);
4. Human person and
5. Social barriers (with the sub categories stereotypes/prejudices physical and architectonic barriers).

### Body Category

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Body category</th>
<th>Number of context units</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Participants</td>
<td>Non-participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub category Lived-body</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub category Social-body</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub category Aesthetic-body</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub category Functional-body</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>81</strong></td>
<td><strong>124</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lived-body sub category

Just as Merleau-Ponty (1996) refers, our body is the subject of perception; rich in experiences and ways of living which are critical in the modes we perceive the world that surrounds us. In the case of the individuals in our study, the obvious corporeal change in the subject of perception (the body) leads to a different perception to what surrounds them. However, this fact is only expressed by those with acquired amputation, for whom the loss of a limb is perceived as a loss of part of her/him, as a loss in her/his lived-body. Indeed, they have to face the task of building a new concept of self around their new limitations.

According to our results, the capacity of adjustment and acceptance of a changed body condition depends on several factors:

1. the subject’s age (the older she/he is the bigger the difficulty for the acceptance of the new condition);
2. level of amputation (the lower the level of the amputation, the less problematic is the adjustment);
3. cause of amputation (for those who had acquired an amputation, there is a new body condition that needs to be perceived and lived);
4. time since amputation (as time passes the individual discovers how well she/he can manage the new found limitations and restrictions).

The adjustment process seems to be associated to the way the prosthesis is embodied. Moreover, the perception of the body is distinct among participants and non-participants, since the first ones reveal more satisfaction concerning their bodies and a better acceptance of their body condition.
Social-body sub category
People with disabilities are “looked upon, identified, judged and represented primarily through their bodies, which are perceived in popular consciousness to be imperfect, incomplete and inadequate” (Brittain, 2004, 437). Consequently, people with an amputation perceive themselves as being disable and incapable; moreover, the disability itself can become the dominant social identity in the others’ perceptions.

Those who practice adapted sport seem to face their body exposition as natural and without discomfort; perhaps because in the competitions the amputation is exposed and visible to the others. On the contrary, those who do not practice physical activity show a tendency for isolation, especially in the initial phases after the amputation. On the other hand, concerning the clothing issues, the invisibility of the amputation and the need of turning it less noticed is much more emphasized in the speeches of the non participants (except for those with congenital amputation).

Aesthetic-body sub category
Both groups recognize the power of media concerning the promotion and spreading images of a stylized and ideal body. However, the group of participants underlines that they are not influenced by that power in their daily life. On the contrary, the non-participants refer an attempt to get as close as they can to this disseminated body image; and in their daily life they have that kind of concern.

Functional-body sub category
After the amputation, one is faced with a loss of body’s functionality, which is not only related with the decrease of capacities and productivity, but also with the necessity to learn or to relearn to do things in a different way. This rehabilitation process is oftentimes much slower and may generate feelings of being less productive (Wald & Alvaro, 2004). In fact, some of our subjects had to abandon their occupations, and those who are employed habitually carry out administrative functions.

Nevertheless, we can identify a positive meaning in one’s amputation and perceive greater control over one’s impairment in those who practice adapted physical activity. These differences might be explained by the fact that the participants present lower levels of amputation or lower losses in functional terms. These differences can also be highlighted given that the less is the level of the amputation the more diversity is available for those who intend to engage in adapted sport. Yet, it is worth pointing out that the practice of sport improves functioning, meaning better performance in real-life situations and thus in society (Ploeg, Bexk, Woude & Mechelen, 2004).
Prosthesis category

Table 3. Prosthesis category

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prosthesis categories</th>
<th>Number of context units</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Participants</td>
<td>Non-participants</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Functional-prosthesis</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aesthetic-prosthesis</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social-prosthesis</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>83</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Functional-prosthesis sub category

Through the analysis of the both groups’ speeches one can depict a huge importance that is given by people with an amputation to the prosthesis in functional terms. In fact, some authors (e.g. Horgan & MacLachlan, 2004) reinforce the idea that in adjusting to the physical limitations that the amputation brings, the prosthesis can help individuals regain mobility and independent functioning.

Aesthetic-prosthesis sub category

The relevance that body’s aesthetics assumes in the contemporary society results in a high aesthetic meaning of prosthesis, since it can act as a tool to conceal the amputation and to restore a “normal” or “intact” body image to the individual (Horgan & MacLachlan, 2004). The aesthetics meaning conferred to prosthesis is mostly observed in those with an upper limb amputation. In fact, the technological advances in functional terms of prosthetics are higher at lower limbs; and it is in upper limbs, mostly in hands, that the aesthetic aspects are much more developed.

Social-prosthesis sub category

In social terms, the prosthesis acquires high meaning within the two groups, especially for those whose prosthesis does not allow overcoming the loss of functions inherent to the amputation.

Independence category

Table 4. Independence category

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independence categories</th>
<th>Number of context units</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Participants</td>
<td>Non-participants</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom/autonomy</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobility</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>36</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Freedom/autonomy sub category
One of the biggest consequences that the individual has to face after the amputation is the loss of independence (Barsby, Ham, Lumley & Roberts, 1995). Therefore, being capable to use the prosthesis is like a victory regarding freedom and autonomy. This constitutes an essential feature in the life of both groups, since the person with an amputation has the opportunity of not depend from the others and to reach autonomy in her/his everyday life.

Mobility sub category
The mobility is intimately related with the previous subcategory, since it is through the accomplished mobility by the prosthesis that the persons with an amputation whether or not participants get the feelings of independence, autonomy and freedom.

Human person category

Table 5. Human person category

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Human person category</th>
<th>Number of context units</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Non-practitioners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Without sub categories</td>
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<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is a wide concept that seeks to understand the human being as a global and multidimensional being (Vaz, 2000) and whereas the difference has no place. Because we live in a society that overvalues the body image and physical appearance, oftentimes these individuals are evaluated by that pattern, forgetting what is beyond the body. In fact, our subjects highlight the idea of being a person facing up a distinct body condition, emphasizing the importance of the person’s character in detriment of its appearance and disability. When we underline the issue of being different, the participants seem to be more unequivocal when they assert that they do not feel different.

Social barriers category

Table 6. Social barriers category

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social barriers category</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Sub category</td>
<td>Practitioners</td>
<td>Non-practitioners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stereotypes/prejudices</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub category physical and architectonic barriers</td>
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<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Stereotypes/prejudices sub category
This category was not foreseen in the beginning, however as we were analysing the interviews the number of quotes become very relevant, even though the absence of any question in the interview’s guideline concerning this issue. The constant allusion to situations of social exclusion and prejudice by the interviewees shows and ratifies a generalized and wrong social representation regarding disability, which frequently leads the person with an amputation to social exclusion or privation of the same type of opportunities that the “able ones” have.

Physical and architectonic barriers sub category
Taking into account that the built environment is basically designed for the average human being (Gleeson, 2001); physical and architectonic barriers appear as one of so many difficulties that the person with an amputation, as someone with mobility problems and motor efficiency, has to face. This problematic was only raised by persons with lower limbs amputations, for the reason that they might be affected by mobility difficulties.

Conclusions
Overall, individuals with an amputation are faced with adapting to several losses and changes to their lifestyle, social interactions, and identity. Frequently, the person with an amputation has the feeling that she/he has a “minor” body. However, in this study it was possible to verify that the body perception of the persons with an amputation is extremely changeable, due to the distinct adjustment’s capacity, which varies in accordance with age, level of amputation, cause of the amputation and with time since the amputation.

When we compare the two groups in study the differences are only evident in the body’s category. Taking into account that these differences are related with the practice of physical activity, we can say that this practice has an influence in the body’s perception. Additionally, after the amputation there is a loss of functionality, which is more mentioned in the speeches’ of the non participants. This fact might to be related with the benefits that sport provides in what concerns motor efficiency, allowing the person with an amputation to improve the lost functionality.

Finally, it is important to underline the social barriers that the persons with an amputation have to face daily, not only in physical terms, but also within the relation with the others. A relation extremely harmed by wrong, prejudiced and discriminatory conceptions, embedded in a society inadequate for these individuals and incapable in assuming itself as plural in the acceptance of the difference, in this case, the body difference.
References


Emerging order in movement

Monika Roscher
University of Marburg, Germany

Abstract: It seems as if the act of understanding would always have to revert to something which already exists. When you ask for life, you already live. When you ask for experience, you already experience. When you ask for the one specific moment in which all questions regarding the relationship towards the other are clarified instantaneously, this moment is already gone. It seems as if the phenomena were always ahead of the perceiving person, as if the reflection always came too late and was running after the object of understanding.

Whereas the act of realization always takes place after the event in the world of cognitive understanding, the cognitive reflection is carried out in the future of the actual moment of experience, the moment of aesthetic understanding coincides with this moment of experience. However, this fact should not be astonishing. Due to the fact that aesthetic understanding is always bound to the body, it has to feature this specific nearness to the object, the immediacy to the experienced which shows the particularity of aesthetic understanding. In the moment of aesthetic understanding, the nearness encloses aesthetic distance without the need for temporal distance.

The main part of my paper addresses the anthropological and phenomenological investigation of the dynamics of the emergence of sense within aesthetic understanding. Unlike the cognitive reflection where the moment of experience precedes its understanding, the particularity of aesthetic understanding is presented through the fusion of the moment of experience of the phenomenon and the understanding of it. That is why the evidence of the moment can be assumed.

Keywords: aesthetic realization, sensuous experience, evidence, blink of an eye, reflexivity.

It nearly would be a day like any other day. Lost in thought one is maundering around next to the person whose closeness one has been craving for a long time. Over and over again one has walked next to the other, looked into each other’s eyes and talked about the incredibly intense relationship to each other. Every once in a while a wish arises for this one specific moment; the moment which changes everything. That is why you try to stage it. But even fatally appearing contortions of the body and nearly baffling linguistic phrases cannot even try to induce this one magical moment one has read, heard, dreamt about.

So while one is occupied rearranging the scraping label at the neck one suddenly looks at the other person. One shares looks and something is different. It is as if the other walks through oneself and vice versa. Indescribably, the other person is me, and
I am the other. At the same time I cannot remember being so clearly myself. And then it is abundantly clear.

It seems as if the act of realization would always have to revert to something which already exists. When you ask for life, you already live. When you ask for experience, you already experience. When you ask for one specific moment in which all questions regarding the relationship towards the other are clarified instantly, this moment is already gone. It seems as if the phenomena were always ahead of the perceiving person, as if the reflection always came to late and was running after the object of realization.

Of course one can follow the assumption of the paradox and resignedly accept the fact that the world can only be accessible through a certain distance. Or one approaches the question regarding assurance from a different angle. If thinking itself – this reflexive act – always follows the moment of experience, would one not assume that a sensuous experience works differently? If one emanated from a reflexive self, then it would stand to reason that even when one experiences realization through sensuousness, there exists a certain distance of oneself to the object of reflexion.

But what if things were different? If there actually existed a moment during a sensuous experience in which everything is given and oneself could take in the whole ensemble at that one moment in time – a form of “evidence in the blink of an eye”.

In his article “Der Begriff der Angst” (1956) Sören Kierkegaard points out that literature about the dynamics of this “evidence in the blink of an eye” is – strange to say - easily to manage but at the same time very fragmentary. This is despite the fact that the “blink of an eye” in its literal meaning not unlike its figurative sense constitutes a problem. In a well-known passage of his work Kierkegaard attends to the concepts of temporality. The “blink of an eye” is the one moment and place in time in which temporality can be experienced at all and be structured in concepts. That is why the “blink of an eye” moment is the synthesis of all experience of time and its subsidence. Through this the “blink of an eye” moment cannot be part of time itself, but is a kind of higher instance. The “blink of an eye” moment is according to Kierkegaard (1956, 601) the kind of ambiguity in which time and eternity get in touch with each other, and therefore the term “temporality” is used; time cuts off eternity, and eternity interfuses time.

The “blink of an eye” moment enables one to see the past and the future within the concept of suggestive structures. In the moment where one looks at and establishes coherence to the other person, one is sure of the quality of the relationship, because this encounter includes the structure of the relationship of the past as well as it refers to the future of it. Without the integration, the “blink of an eye” moment would be meaningless and furthermore simply not existent. However, it becomes an artistic phenomenon at the same time. When the “blink of an eye” moment withdraws from time, it can also not be put in any kind of form, it cannot be expressed, but only be observable through indirectnesses, metaphors and structures.

The “blink of an eye” moment necessitates time, but does not belong to it. It is connected to the structure of time, as long as it consists of a measurable duration, and
at the same time it represents a neutralization of time, the sudden abolishment of the time axes in moments of fear, success or love. Through this, the “blink of an eye” moment cannot be an educible point of time. Of course one could draw a line through the time axes, but that would leave one with a point of time and not a “blink of an eye” moment. Those moments refer to past and future alike, because they are experienced and lived moments. This is not a question of drawing a line through the axes of time, but about an adjournment, a detonation of time, a leap. This is why Kierkegaard allocates a shocking character to the aesthetic kind of emergence of the “blink of an eye” moment. However, he links the shock to sensuousness. According to Kierkegaard (1956, 601) not even the most excruciating word – which ascends from the abyss of cattiness – can produce an effect like the unexpectedness of a leap.

A leap, just like Nijinsky’s leap through the window in “Spectre de la Rose”, seemingly into nowhere. A leap that eternized him. He embodied the ideal of escaping time and place – “elevation” as maxim of the “blink of an eye” moment. Therefore the moment holds a kind of erupting eternal presence – suddenness and eternity as one.

Refractions of the expected flow of movement occur due to differentness and variations in movement. The established order starts wavering through an irritation, steps forward through it and finally – with commencing repetition – starts to change. The “aesthetic distance” caused by refraction of rhythmic movement holds the possibility of an observer in movement and therefore the possibility of sensuous awareness.

The reflexive moment can be seen in the re-arranging of rhythms of body movement. If you take a closer look at the aesthetic formation of the sense, accepting rhythm and therefore movement as a fundamental category of anthropology, then the creation of movement of the constitution of the self gains a considerable significance.

When one thinks about the creation of the self of a human being and one first of all comes across the activity of order of sensuousness, the creation of sense about rhythms, can we talk about a kind of pre-reflexive realization?

In Friedrich Nietzsche’s *Philopae* the thought of a pre-reflexive dimension of realization the world is presented. Also, Edmund Husserl (1999) refers in his works to such a moment of realization of the self and the world. Bernard Waldenfels (2000) expresses such a sensuous realization in his work as an own level of reflexion. If therefore the sensuous reflexion happens before the cognitive reflexion – a reflexion before the reflexion – how can there still be a pre-reflexive dimension?

In another sense, it would be suitable to speak of something as being pre-reflexion, more specifically about a “moment before the realization”. The experience of one’s own body conveys the impression of a moment before the realization in contrast to a moment of refraction as well as re-organization. Is it not the case that this impression can be seen not only in the experience of one’s own movement but also can be identified through the perception of the other one’s movement? Coherent movement is like an arising dissonance. That special “blink of an eye” moment can be grasped in one’s own concrete movement as well as in the movement of others.

If there is a special moment, then you can also count on the existence of a moment before certainty, as far as the circumstance is considered that this moment in its actual
sense does not happen before the special “blink of an eye” moment, because this moment would include the past being?

That would mean that the moment before realization can only be a part of it. What kind of moment this deals with would simply be a logical consequence. The unstable moment of difference, the refraction of the rhythmical flow creates the condition for sensuous realization and therefore can be assigned as the pre-reflexive moment – being before re-organization, before the special “blink of an eye” moment.

Considering Pierre Bourdieu’s (1984) and Ernst Cassirer’s works (1994, 1996), Elk Franke (2005, 2006) sketches out the conditions for a body relevant “reflexivity” of the self in his newest work. Starting from the term of “reflexivity”, Franke (2006, 187) explains that reflexivity cannot only be explained cognitively and the self is not only an ontological designation or a transcendental requirement, but also the achievement of a cultural-anthropologically shaped process of experience.

The central question of Franke’s thoughts therefore does not circle around the fact how a sensuous experience of the body can be discursively reflected in a temporal follow up, but in what kind of way a reflexion during the process of action – a reflexion during execution – can take place. He points out that an “experience” in demarcation to a simple perception, is always distinguished through a distanced relation to temporal or perspective view (Franke, 2006, 194) and therefore through its “reflexive potential”. That potential is to be calculated into the structure of experience as experience itself. According to Franke, a reflexion during execution is marked through reflexivity that accompanies acting. Reflexivity that does not temporally after an act signifies the act itself as something, but contains a different perspective during action (Franke, 2006, 202).

The necessarily distanced perspectives of reflexion result from a constant change between perspectives of acting and perspectives of observing during the own action. Acting and observing happen simultaneously. But does this not mean that temporality emerges with its distancing function in the moment of reflexion during execution, this sensuous reflexion?

If an act of realization is based on the experience of difference, and experience contains a temporal following succession in the sense of an emergence of rhythm and therefore the factor of temporality or more specifically a difference of moments is unalterable, how can there be an evidence of the “blink of an eye” moment? Would the “special moment” be a deceptive appearance?

As soon as the question for realization comes up, one falls into habitual patterns of thought. Taking up the realization in the sense of cognitive reflexion one tries out confusing transfers. That is why one – for reflexion—creates a necessary temporal difference from the event onwards into the future. Through this, one follows the scheme of interpretation of a realization, which on principle happens after the event. But it actually is the other way round. The temporal difference is not created from the event onwards to the future, but backwards into the past. The moment of sensuous realization, the rhythmic happening of the “blink of an eye” moment includes the past
being. Only because of the past, which has been differently shaped than the now, a new creation of sense can be formed.

Whereas the act of realization always takes place after the event in the world of cognitive realization, the cognitive reflexion is carried out in the future of the actual moment of experience, the moment of aesthetic realization coincides with this moment of experience. However, this fact should not be astonishing. Due to the fact that aesthetic realization is always bound to the body it has to feature this specific nearness to the object, the immediacy to the experienced that shows the particularity of aesthetic realization. In the moment of aesthetic realization, the nearness encloses aesthetic distance without the need for temporal distance.

Phenomenologically looked at, the special “blink of an eye” moment therefore refers to two moments of sensuous realization. The first moment is created through the extraordinary conditions which provide the “special something”. This “special something” should not be understood as an added bonus to the situation. Moreover, it should be seen as an unintentional and therefore not to be “functionalized” cooperation of qualities. To fully understand the phenomenon one has to go back to the experience of such a “blink of an eye” moment of certainty. Even if the moment can be provoked, it also cannot be produced. The example given in the beginning of this lecture elucidated that.

After showing the conditions of a “blink of an eye” moment of sensuous realization, the second part of this lecture presented the dynamics of the emergence of sense within aesthetic realization. Concluding, I talked about the phenomenological investigation of certainty during the “blink of an eye” moment.

Unlike the cognitive reflection where the moment of experience precedes its realization, the particularity of aesthetic realization is presented through the fusion of the moment of experience of the phenomenon and the understanding of it. That is why the evidence of the moment can be assumed.

References

Local sport in an era of post-territoriality

Pippo Russo
University of Florence, Italy

Abstract: The current trajectories in sport are undergoing a deep transformation of the traditional relationship between sport’s actors and territory. The effects of glocalization processes have mainly weakened the traditional territorial and institutionalized hierarchy of the nation-state. This has in turn impacted on the equilibrium between localities and sports’ actors as it had been developed in the twentieth century. This paper analyses such mutation by proposing a theoretical framework that focuses on the hypothesis of post-territorial sport in the twenty-first century.

Keywords: sport actors, territory, glocalization.

Introduction

Sport is experiencing an era of great transformation today, linked to a general process of change that is affecting all levels of institutional and individual life. It is a transformation that is impacting on the field of sport as a social and cultural phenomenon: identity, belonging, imagination, and the bond with space and territory. The consequences of globalization are spreading to a local level and redefining its inner features, shaping a pattern which can be detected and analysed using local sports as an observation-point.

From the traditional point of view, sport – especially team sports – is a basic element of local identity. It acts as a peculiar manner of embodiment and self-representation of the local community, which sees in local teams a special feature for the expression of local life. But in an era of globalization, with ever greater interdependence between local and global levels, a different point of view is required in order to interpret this phase of profound change. One interesting approach is the theoretical point of view that seeks to distinguish between the local dimension of processes (in sports and in general) and the territorial dimension. Analysts have long been accustomed to viewing these dimensions as two related aspects, because local is considered an extension of territorial, and vice versa. But in an era of globalization the two dimensions should often be regarded as separated (Magnier & Russo, 2002), because of their different inner logic and strategies. Thus on the one hand, local should be taken to mean a located social context in which one finds a specific collective identity and shared memories; on the other hand, territorial should be understood as meaning a space context of activities run by actors that could be local and non-local. It follows that one of the consequences of globalization is the increasing separation between the local and the territorial, in a sense that could be termed post-territoriality. Such a term can be used to define a process through which territories are spaces of
agencies not bound to local structure. Sport is a master field of this specific pattern, as will be outlined in this paper.

**Some elements for a framework**

As a first approach to this topic, it is helpful to single out the main elements in the post-territorialization of sports. Three main elements can be identified in order to devise a framework for the interpretation of changes in global sport: individual actors, institutional actors and territory.

Individual actors are single persons who through various different routes are involved in sports. The analysis undertaken here focuses above all on the increasing presence of individual actors of sport who show a tendency to the international and cosmopolitan arena, and whose outlook, accordingly, tends toward the international perspective: athletes firstly, but also referees and officials.

Institutional actors are collective bodies whose mission is to organize the practice of engaging in sports activities. Such actors may be prompted by different rationales in their approach to the organization of sports activities. A distinction should also be made between private actors as clubs, whose main task is to obtain sports achievements and (if possible) financial gains, and public or semi-public institutions such as national and international federations, whose impact is linked to the public interest by virtue of extensive participation in sports activities and promotion of the world of sports.

Territory is the space dimension in which process and agency (both individual and institutional) take place. Here one finds issues of collective and territorial identities embodied in sports clubs (Andersson, 2001; Ben Porat, 2001; Suigden & Bairner, 2001).

In seeking to shed light on changes in global sports, it is essential to determine which new logic of interaction is currently driving this field of activity.

Previously, the underlying logic was one that governed a hierarchy from the institutional to the individual level, with territory (both local and national) as a space of belonging and identity (Russo, 2004a, 2004b). In the present sports context, however, a new logic is leading to a loosening of the old hierarchical ties and is generating new bonds, as a consequence of the redistribution of power and the spread of new meanings of identity and belonging. In particular, a variety of different attitudes towards the three elements and the change in the underlying logic of action can be identified. Individual actors exploit their natural tendency to cosmopolitanism with a new form of protagonism: they are offered the challenge of new opportunities in the global market of sports. Such prospects arise not only from the increasing chances of migration from a country to another by accepting offers from clubs, but also from the new style of behavior displayed by national federations and Olympic committees in recruiting foreign athletes, adopting the same path used by private clubs through the free market of sports.

A change of logic concerning profiles, roles and action pathways can also be observed with regard to institutional actors, starting from the standpoint of
differentiation between actors with general goals, versus actors with private and specific goals. The old hierarchical logic compelled private institutional actors to show loyalty to general institutional actors, obeying the top-down dynamics of the relationship between center and periphery (Shils, 1961). Today, however, a new form of equilibrium is becoming established, with the consequence of calling into question the old principle of the national interest. As stated in an earlier work (Magnier & Russo, 2002), the concept of national interest is usually taken to mean: “an end, or a system of ends, that is set by a central actor endowed with legitimacy, which is compulsory even for these (peripheral) actors whose interests are conflicting”.

Thus even in sports there was an era in which the prevailing principle was the national interest. This era now seems to have come to an end. Private institutional actors, in particular those with greater financial strength, have begun to act as if they had no hierarchical level above them. Furthermore, institutional actors find it more and more difficult to act as leaders of sports processes in their constituency. This evolution is clearly observable in the European Community space, where post-nationalization has a special impact in sports, and where the large private institutional actors show a tendency to act in an ambiguous manner, sometimes with the threat of exit, sometimes using the voice option, but always with the aim of obtaining higher advantages in return for their loyalty (Hirschmann, 1976).

Finally, with reference to territory, it is interesting to note the gradual change affecting the meaning of this concept within the world of sports as a consequence of new strategies that choose local levels as the spatial dimension of glocal interests. Territory becomes the subject of a new symbolic definition built up by both individual and institutional actors – and, among the latter, not only by institutional actors with general interests but also through the action of those prompted by private interests – with the aim of setting up sports competitions and a new space logic in which such actors have greater scope for their proposals.

In the following sections of this essay some examples of sport post-territories will be described.

**The case of the “No Borders” Winter Olympics bid**

A special case of post-nationalization and post-territorialization in sport was that of a particular entry to the Olympic Bid Coalition in which bidders sought to be awarded the 2006 Winter Olympics organization. The competition was won by the Turin (Italy) bid, and Turin was chosen by International Olympic Commitee to host the Winter Olympic Games. The Italian submission was a traditional bid expressed by the Italian National Olympic Committee and central government as a national interest. An Olympic bid can be said to be a national interest as the organization of a global sports event such as the Olympic Games represents a rare and special chance in the economic, cultural and communicative senses. The same approach characterized for almost all the other bids, inasmuch as they were national bids expressed in the national-city formula. But one of these was a rather special bid, of post-territorial character. It was named the “No Borders bid”, and was set up by a local coalition
formed of three different cities, each forming part of a different nation-state. The three cities were the Austrian city of Klagenfurt (the bid leader), the Slovenian city of Kranjska Gora and the Italian city of Tarvisio. In particular, the presence of Tarvisio in the Olympic coalition had a special significance because it – to some extent – represented an end of national interest in sports. Thus it pointed to a trend by which local interests can come together and build up coalitions that may run against the national interest. The post-territorial nature of the “No Borders” Olympic bid was based on the cross-cutting of nation-state borders among the three cities involved. This is a case where one can speak of soft borders and region of interests. The coalition between three cities belonging to three different nation states is an example of a growth machine (Logan & Molotch, 1987), based on exploiting an opportunity for economic and social development. Furthermore, the case of the “No Borders” bid is a good illustration of what is meant by the existence of urban systems, namely a system, organized around a single-issue movement and rooted in the sharing of a territory, a common historical past, environmental resources and sports facilities. Finally, the territory of “No Borders” is a post-territory because it does not exist in an institutionalized form, and thus it expressed no institutional aim of seizing an opportunity in the global market of sports.

G-14 Europe

Another post-territorial profile in sport can be observed in European top level football. In this case, it is not a question of a territory with fuzzy or non-existent borders, unlike the example of the “No Borders bid” for the 2006 Winter Olympics Games; rather, the question concerns a lobby of top level football clubs, all located in Western Europe. This lobby is named “G-14”, and was officially set-up in 2000 by the 14 self-appointed best clubs of European football: three from Italy (Internazionale Milan, Juvents Turin, Milan), two from Spain (Barcelona and Real Madrid), two from England (Liverpool and Manchester United), two from France (Olympique Marseille and Paris-Saint Germain), two from Germany (Bayern Munich and Borussia Dortmund), two from the Netherlands (Ajax Amsterdam and PSV Eindhoven) and one from Portugal (Porto). At a later stage – in 2002 – another four European clubs were “invited” to join the G-14 group: the English club Arsenal London, the French club Olympique Lionnais, the German club Bayer Leverkusen and the Spanish club Valencia.

The aim of G-14 is basically to promote the interest of the member clubs, at all levels of domestic and European competition. The associated clubs exert pressure on national federations and professional leagues in order to achieve the best results for the organization of home leagues and to obtain maximum advantage in distribution of TV rights. In addition, as a group they exert pressure on international football organizations (Uefa and Fifa) in order to demonstrate that their lobby is a body wielding substantial power in international sport politics. G-14 is the first driver of a conflict centered on the use of football players by national teams. It puts forward claims for the payment of prize-money resulting from the use of club players by national teams (a
form of football renting), and pushes for the recognition of financial indemnity for clubs in case of players injured during national team matches. Moreover, it is the main actor in the planned – but still unrealized – organization of a European Superleague of clubs, independent from national and international federations and designed as a closed league. But in the meantime G-14 proposes itself as a crucial part of the institutional European football system, participating in the elaboration of new strategies for the future of international football. Thus the G-14 lobby adopts a threefold strategy that merges Hirschmann’s three options: it skips from loyalty to voice and vice versa, menacing exit.

In the case of G-14, conditions of post-territoriality can be found in two elements. One is the peculiar distribution of the associated football clubs on the European territory: they are all from Western Europe countries, with a northern extreme based on the axis Liverpool-Manchester, an eastern extreme based in Munich, a western extreme based in Oporto and a southern extreme based in Valencia. The rest of Europe is cut off, but this includes the very same countries which, for the member clubs, are the context of national territoriality and sense of belonging. From the territorial point of view, G-14 is a mix of national and post-national territory. Its clubs exploit a national position in an international sports system still based on the centrality of the nation state.

A further and perhaps more subtle condition of post-territoriality resides in the fact that the Europe imagined by the G-14 actors is a virtual space that represents an escape route as compared to the national and international spaces. G-14 Europe can thus be described as a sort of interest space, which does not coincide with any specific territorial segment of the continent but is, rather, construable as a segment of the global arena within which interests of a post-national character can be pursued. In the framework of the post-territorial interpretation, G-14 Europe is a sort of non-territory as it does not coincide exactly with a space that is precisely delimited in territorial and functional terms; instead, it tends to coincide with a logical representation of a post-national space in which private institutional actors can engage in action according to a local-global logic that bypasses the national level.

**Regional championships: post- and ex-territory**

Among the territorial concepts that have undergone the greatest change in meaning as a result of globalization processes, the concept of region is probably the most significant. The regions to which reference is made here do not coincide with the political-administrative territories which, according to the normal acceptation of the term, stand a couple of degrees below the central state. Instead, these are territories characterized by elements of cultural, economic, historical-cultural or landscape homogeneity. Seen in this perspective, a region may cut across the traditional borders of the nation state (as in the case of the Olympic “No-Borders” bid illustrated above). But it can also group together the nation states present in a sub-continent, as in the case of the three sports leagues analysed here below.
The leagues in question are: the Royal League, a Scandinavian football league which grants admission to teams from the Danish, Norwegian and Swedish championships; the Baltic League, another football league that groups together teams from the championships of the three Baltic republics; and the Adriatic League, a basketball league in which the participating teams come from the countries born from the break-up of ex-Yugoslavia. In all three cases the aim of the organizers (the national federations of the countries involved, with the approval of the European confederations) is that of setting up competitive tournaments for their clubs, creating a level of commitment that is not guaranteed either by the national championships or by participation in European tournaments.

In the case of the two football leagues, the Royal League and the Baltic League, these can be described as leagues representing two areas whose clubs are respectively of medium-low and low level. Their respective championships are of low competitive level, partly because they are expressed by schools of football not supported by a great long-standing tradition (as is the case for championships grouped together under the heading of the Baltic League), and partly because the best footballers emerging from the nurseries of the area are soon attracted by the adventure of more competitive and more remunerative foreign championships (as occurs in the case of the Scandinavian tournaments). The presence of these conditions that are so penalizing in terms of competitive sports leads to the early exclusion of these leagues from the main series of European football events (Champions League), and to an equally poor chance of ranking high in the second European cup, the Uefa Cup.

It was precisely with a view to overcoming this handicap in international competitions that the federations of the two sub-continental areas in question organized regional leagues whose main aim was to guarantee an adequate level of international presence and interaction for their clubs. But in addition to the competitive aspect, the sociological element of greatest interest resides in the territorial logic that underlies the two leagues, namely the presence of two institutional organisms that have an intermediate position between the national federations and the European confederation. These organisms were set up according to the criterion of territorial proximity among the countries involved. In both cases, the appeal to a dimension of a supra-national local awareness (consisting of a shared historical past and the existence of consolidated economic, cultural and social relations) has made it possible to redesign the territorial borders by grouping them together.

The case of the Adriatic League is even more original. What has been created in this case is an ex territory, which has recomposed, by virtue of the needs of sports competition, which was disaggregated by ethno-nationalism in the early 1990s. In effect, this is a league that reconstitutes the former basketball championship of what used to be united Yugoslavia. In contrast to the two regional football leagues that involve Scandinavia and the Baltic republics, the Adriatic League does not spring from the need to achieve an adequate competitive level on the international plane, as this is already assured by the fact that the national championships and the national representatives of the countries born from the break-up of ex Yugoslavia continue to
express teams and players of extremely high competitive level. Rather, the underlying aim was to reconstruct, through the Adriatic League, the competitive context within which the individual and institutional actors of sports in ex Yugoslavia developed the optimal conditions of training and competition that characterized the period ranging from the end of the Second World War to the beginning of the 1990s. Therefore, in the case in question, the logic of sports prevailed over the logic of politics, and contributed to a revival of what used to be the political space of a nation state, but this time in the form of a sports territory.

In other words, what has been created is an ex-territory, reconstituted purely to perform a specific function: that of being an organizational space of a regional phenomenon which, however, embodies conditions of persistence with respect to a historical past that is no longer current in institutional-political forms.

The three examples of supra-national regional leagues can be included within the typology of sports post-territories outlined in the present analysis, enriching this concept with variants. In effect, the prefix post- does not imply merely the fact of overcoming the geo-political borders of the nation state. It can also cover cases in which groupings include the borders themselves within broader and more homogenous regional territorial entities. In such cases, a sports post-territory is a synergic response to the demand by individual and institutional actors of national sports for more adequate spatial configurations.

Conclusions: post-territoriality as a possible framework

Despite the diversity among the above cited cases of post-territorial organization that have arisen from the world of sports, taken together they describe a situation of change which highlights the increasingly accentuated separation between the local dimension and the territorial dimension.

In the context of this change, one can observe an overall reformulation of the logic of action informing the three elements indicated as essential within sports processes: individual actors, institutional actors (to be distinguished, in turn, into those pursuing general aims and those pursuing private aims), and territories. For all three elements, the crucial criterion for measuring change can be identified as mobility. Conceptually, mobility should be viewed as a pattern of transformation, both material and symbolic, of the borders of action, therefore, it does not necessarily coincide with a material transfer: rather, it may come about through a process of restructuring of meaning.

As far as the individual actors are concerned (athletes, technicians, race directors, high-ranking officials, healthcare personnel), mobility constitutes a factor that involves no excessive difficulty, since – at least in purely material terms – they are subject to less stringent constraints as regards the structure of their relationship to the territory. This natural tendency towards mobility is enhanced by the present-day characteristic of a different quality of mobility itself. Mobility now makes it possible to place less emphasis on traditional loyalties, i.e. those that previously established a strong bond with the nation state and the constraint of citizenship of a given nation. The individual actors of sports are now allowed not only easier mobility within territories that are
becoming increasingly more vast, but also the possibility of access to new and different forms of belonging as compared to allegiance to the nation state in which the actor was born.

A different kind of mobility is that open to the institutional actors: for these actors, a distinction must be made between cases that concern institutional actors pursuing general ends and those pursuing private ends. The former maintain their functions as subjects that organize activities, but they engage in these functions in territories that may have undergone a profound restructuring of their boundaries: and this constitutes their specific mobility. On the other hand, with reference to institutional actors pursuing private ends, that is to say, institutional actors pursuing and representing specific interests, such actors experience a form of mobility by threatening (at least in the case of elite actors in the world of sports) to set up their own alternative competition space, uncontrolled by the institutional actors that are pursuing general ends.

Finally, one may also find a form of mobility for the element that appears least likely to benefit from mobility itself: the territory. Boundaries of a territory may be redrawn and the territory itself may become the object of strategies for the re-structuring of meaning. In such cases, this has the effect of distancing territory from the local dimension, either because the territory is projected towards a supra- and trans-national dimension, or because, on the contrary, it is reconfigured within new local regional contexts.

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“Networking without checks” – golf as a calculated business accessory?

Jürgen Schwark
FH Gelsenkirchen – University of Applied Sciences, Germany

Abstract: The scientific exploration of the golf sport, its organizational structures, and social connections within the sports sociology has barely been the subject of discussion so far. This is all the more surprising because the golf sport has been affected by remarkable quantitative and qualitative developments in the past 20 years. In the sport sociological technical literature golf is up to now characterized as sport of the upper class. This is unquestionably right – also right.

The question of this article focuses on how and where social capital is created and who has access to these fields. Which strategies do different actors develop to benefit directly sport-relating or indirectly functionalizing from and with this sport, especially when access to the exclusive and traditional golf clubs remains impossible?

In the first part of the contribution the theoretical frame of reference is to be explained, based on the central concepts of distinction and of the social capital, developed by Bourdieu.

In the second part, I will describe the current state of sports sociological statements and research to golf. This implicates results regarding social structure and sports activity.

In extension to the sports sociological findings, in the third part the golf sport is going to be characterized in a more far-reaching, sports scientific way. In the fourth part, the developments of the golf sport are presented and the last two chapters deal with the internal and external differentiation of golf in Germany.

1 Distinction and social capital – the theoretical frame of reference

The theoretical access happens in reference to the French cultural sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, because he developed a culture sociological theory, which transcends the one-dimensional, economically oriented theory of the contemporary Western society. Social spheres such as culture and education are no longer exclusively derived as a phenomenon of superstructure from the social production ratios, but are to be analysed as relatively autonomous fields, and work with their own logic and their own rules. In extension of the traditional concept of capital, Bourdieu puts the relatively autonomous areas of social and educational capital alongside the dominant economic capital. All three types of capital are generally convertible with each other, although this is not tradable and predictable to the same degree. Thus, a theory of the “three-dimensional space” (195) arises, according to which the three types of capital have to be analysed with regard to

1. their volume of capital as the sum of the single capital,
2. their capital structure as the ratio of capital varieties, and
3. their temporal development as a rise (for example “new middle classes”) or
descent (for example “the cheated generation”).

With the concept of habitus (277ff) as a “schema of thinking, perception and assessment” Bourdieu (1987) tries to overcome the unilateral view of the traditional theoretic scientific approaches, which comprehend the relationship between society and individual either as deterministic or subjectivistic. Accordingly, the habitus acts as a connector between structure and practice, it is “structured and structuring structure” at the same time. Mainly based on the fields of the symbolism, of taste and aesthetics, Bourdieu identifies, on the basis of the struggle for the “legitimate culture”, the vertical inequality by “distinction” (405ff), “pretention” (500ff) and the taste of necessity (585). Horizontal inequality arises at the same time within the various class factions by distinguishable lifestyle forms.

Hans-Peter Müller refers to the ambiguity of the term of distinction, which is firstly understood as a conscious, intentional demarcation. The distinctive quest becomes apparent in the bourgeoisie in “more appearance than reality” and is characterized by Bourdieu as pretention. (Müller, 1992, 348f), secondly, distinction is understood as a structural demarcation, which can be compared only in relation to the other taste respectively. Thirdly, distinction refers mainly within the upper classes to the “distinction without the intention of distinction” in the “there is more to it than meets the eye”.

Thus, the bourgeois classes unmask and disqualify themselves by their exerted and therewith futile quest for distinction in the struggle for the legitimate culture. On the other hand, the lower classes content themselves with a taste of necessity, born from the absence, combined with the resigning acceptance and approval of the legitimate culture.

For the middle class the unquestionably cultural acceptance does not apply anymore, as it has done in the 1950s and 1960s, in its before diagnosed exclusivity. Distinction as a demarcation downwards, quasi as an expression of a predominantly vertical stratified society, is now practiced, within various milieus, as an expression of horizontal stratifications, also against each other and partly also against the higher class groups. In this respect, it is questionable whether the mere exercise of a sport that is labelled as exclusive and as having specific advantages in terms of generating social capital, such as golf, is already sufficient to make the predominantly economic investment profitable, and also to create or to convert to other types of capital.

We deal with golf not only as a practice which differs (and dissociates itself) from other social practices as a result of its luxury geographical conditions, but also because it has always been able to create and amplify social capital also as a result of its largely social-egalitarian composition, alongside the practice of sport.

The (apparent) quick start into golf, as it is offered today by tour operators and commercial golf-providers – supported by big stores with cheap golf equipment – differs significantly from the model of golf shown above. Those who entered solely because of the sport will be at best surprised, depending on the age, about the difference between promises and their own development of handicap. Those who
primarily look for distinction and social capital – in particular the up-and-coming leaders, the “high-potentials”, from the IT and computer industry, the banks and insurance companies, consulting firms, the automotive industry and real estate industry – have, for several years, almost simultaneously entered a market which decreases upwards like a bottleneck.

One’s position in the social space is supposed to be strengthened or improved by means of social capital. Social capital develops, according to Bourdieu, a network of relationships with the dimensions of acquaintance and friendship, leading to both a business as well as a private network. This differentiation is characteristic, because in the club system of golf both directions are intertwined. The risks of social capital can be described as “asymmetric reciprocity”. At the level of acquaintance, these are forms of ingratitude (for example, not to fulfil unilaterally a former given promise to support each other in elections in certain offices). At the level of friendship, these are forms of unacceptability (e.g. to give the order for building measures in black labour and without official account). Bourdieu entitles these asymmetries status traps.

2 The sportsociological discussion about golf

In his empirical studies at the end of the 1970s, Bourdieu ascertained the position of golf in the social space. However, the empirical results of the 1970s from France are not transferable to the current situation of the Federal Republic of Germany. Nevertheless, the theoretical model remains valid for the contemporary Western European societies:

Whereas some people prefer to gain visible athletic muscles, others expect to achieve more elegance, grace and beauty; where some people ascribe importance to health, others rather aspire emotional balance, etc. In other words: class-specific distribution of sporting practices is not only due to the unequal distribution of the necessary funds for covering the involved economic and cultural costs; it also refers to a difference of perception and assessment of the advantages given short- and long-dated by the individual practices (Bourdieu, 1986, 107, author’s own translation).

The sport-sociological results in Germany so far still show a class-specific relevance in terms of participation in sports and in terms of preferences for certain sports (see also Heinemann, 1984, 200ff; Weiß, 1999, 98ff and former sport-sociological publications of Rigauer, 1982; Voigt, 1992; Winkler, 1995). Heinemann describes this collectively as state at the end of the 1970s, and repeats this statement at the end of the 1990s: “In a study period of 30 years, a remarkable stability of the class-specific dependence of the sports participation can be observed, although this participation has grown strongly and gender and age-specific differences have decreased” (Heinemann 1998, 201).
Table 1. Sports participation and social level (researches of 1963 and 1987)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Level</th>
<th>Sports Participation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper class</td>
<td>tennis, hockey, golf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper middle class</td>
<td>rowing, swimming, horse-riding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean middle class</td>
<td>gymnastics, table tennis, badminton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower class</td>
<td>field handball, wrestling, weightlifting, football (soccer)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Heinemann, 1998, 201

On the one hand, the reasons for a relatively homogeneous composition of golf are of interest and, on the other hand, the question whether the statements that are based on research results of the 1960s and 1970s are still valid. In the sport-sociological literature dealing with golf, or in general with sports that are practiced by the so-called upper class, the arguments of economic capital investments, greater possibilities to participate in sports in general, a socialization-determined habitus and resultant social, cultural and body-related value and interpretation patterns are used. Golf still demonstrates the highest average in the household income of its participants compared to other sports (GTC, 2005). The development indicates, however, that in a few years the current level of tennis can be achieved.

3 Characterization of the sport golf

If the socially auspicious context is plausible and understandable, this does not necessarily apply to the characteristics of the golf sport. The associations and the media continuously assert that the image of older gentlemen in checkered pants belongs to the past. This reading is understandable from the viewpoint of the stakeholders and gets apparent with the changes in the member-statistics. But in the practical exercise of the sport, apart from technological changes in the equipment, nothing has changed. So what forms the specific appeal, the subjective reason for acting to play golf?

The symbolic and practical use of the body and associated workaday practices such as the wearing of clothing, the manner of food intake, facial expressions and gestures, the speed of movement, and even the mere choice to practise golf are an expression of habitus. First of all, golf is contactless. The body cannot be embarrassed by direct confrontation with an opponent, such as in the direct comparison of a 100m-heat, or by the visible effects of violence as they may occur caused by fouls in football or knockouts in boxing. Furthermore, outwardly visible and audible efforts of the pure application of physical force, as they occur, for example, in shot put or all forms of heavy athletics, are omitted. In playing golf, and that is the way the golfers see themselves, aesthetic and physical integrity are, despite the competition situation, maintained.

Secondly, golf demands an extremely high concentrativeness and self-discipline. The quest for perfection is still faced with the latent uncertain outcome of the result, and in this way it differs from the more or less switched off environmental influences of other target-shooting sports such as shooting or archery. In conjunction with the long-term learning of the highly specialized motion and the achievement of a handicap, clear parallels with the stipulated occupational skills get visible. Individual work on a long-term project, with a high concentration and perfection, and the
willingness to accept setbacks, and to continue to work on “oneself”: these are virtually the sport psychological basic skills that one should have for golf, or that one should acquire at the latest in the exercise. These compounds can be found, for example, in job advertisements when certain traits or symbols of sports are associated with the future (next) executives.

The alluring promise formulated by the associations and tourist operators of a late and fast access into golf could shape up after intensely temporal, financial and physical engagements as only limited accomplishable. Older beginners at the age of end of 40/beginning of 50, who often change from tennis to golf, will hardly achieve the necessary handicap of 28 for the most attractive courses in Europe. Even the 36er handicap will mean a long-term hurdle for a lot of of them. Currently, 41% of the members of the German Golf Association have a handicap above 36 (state 2005).

To make clear what is meant with this from a sport scientific point of view, movement requests from the category of sport with nearly one sensomotor skill can be shown, where action and activity are almost completely coinciding (unlike sports with different skills and not defined interaction such as playing sports). High diving, individual gymnastics exercises or javelin throwing, all highly specialized movements with little intervention points, would unquestionably not be interpreted as suitable for 50-year-old beginners. At least no one would expect remarkable quality standards to be achieved. Perhaps this is also the reason why there are relatively high rates of nonconforming rule acceptance in golf. According to the results of a US-American survey of local golfing managers, 82% of these managers betray in the golf game. “86% of the 400 questioned executives stated also to take liberties in their business life, too” (as cited by www.gq-magazin.de, access on 18.09.2004).

From the point of view of the operating companies and associations as well as the media, golf is now advertised with health effects in order to acquire new, additional target groups. The real, recognized, established sport shall now be sanitized by previously not advertised values such as health, endurance, muscle activity and such bizarre arguments as calorie consumption. According to the sports medical literature about this topic, the health effects are strongly limited. Because proprioreceptoric skills decrease with advancing age, the frequent repetition of the complicated total movement results in dysfunctional movements, which causes damages in the long run.

With the growing popularity of playing golf, the medical problems of this sport increase. The cardiovascular strain in golf is generally low or moderate. The supporting apparatus and the musculoskeletal system are often critically strained, because of the specific movement of the golf swing, especially at a faulty technique and too intensive practices. Approximately 40% of the recreational golfers suffer at least temporarily from disorders, especially in the back, hand and elbow joints (Wolff & Boldt, 2001).

1 For the same survey see also Süddeutsche Zeitung, 40, 13 August, 2002.
This aspect, however, refers to another fact, which is not to be neglected in the discussion. To escape the old-gents image, the main protagonists around Tiger Woods are optimally suitable for giving the golf sport not a youthful, but at least a more youthful image. Meanwhile, management, technology and outsourcing service providers display not only Tiger Woods in their large job advertisements, but also combine the first name of the golf player at the same time with the required characteristics of the job applicants. “Do you see opportunities where others do not? Go on. Be a Tiger” (Display of Accenture, in Süddeutsche Zeitung No. 282/2004, V1/19). Moreover, the profiles of the Young Professionals of renowned consulting firms show in the category “hobbies” almost exclusively sports, in particular skiing, mountain hiking, diving and golf. Golf is, due to its game characteristic, suited to offer an adequate platform for the part of those actors who hope to achieve professional or business benefits – either as a primary goal or only as a desired side effect. It is this practical and intuitive sense either to meet “my peers” there or to attain to these social spaces which suberves one’s career, communicates social distinction and generates benefits for the future quality of life. We are dealing with a combination of sports culture and professional economic calculus. Hardly any other sport offers the opportunity – referring to the consistent interpretation of the actors – to observe the “partner” at close range, without a separating net or spatial distance and without the concurrence of the sports exercise, and to watch the “partner” in his actions and to be able to draw more or less coherent conclusions out of this for the further action.

4 Developments of golf in Germany

For the golf sport it is now necessary to analyse in detail how it has developed in the Federal Republic of Germany. Speaking in the economic language, Germany is on its way from a developing to an emerging nation. The following two diagrammes illustrate the development of golf courses and memberships in Germany. Over the past thirty years, a rapid growth in both segments is noticeable. The number of golf courses has been increasing well within fifty years from about 50 to over 700. Especially since the mid-1980s, the development receives a particularly intense dynamic. A very similar trend is shown in the number of members of the German Golf Association (DGV), which has developed – although somewhat delayed – very dynamically from the beginning of the 1990s.
“Networking without checks” – golf as a calculated business accessory?

Figure 1. Golf courses in Germany since 1951. Source: DGV 2005.

Figure 2. Members of the German Golf Association since 1951. Source: DGV 2005.

5 Internal differentiation of golf

The extension of about 50 club facilities at the beginning of the 80s to over 700 golf courses today causes, that this differentiation also implicates different distinction appraisals. For this different criteria must be used:

Table 2. Internal differentiation of golf

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>Occurrence</th>
<th>Valuation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Space</td>
<td>9 – 18 – 27 hole course</td>
<td>+ size</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form of organization</td>
<td>club – operating company – public course</td>
<td>+ privateness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Position</td>
<td>external infrastructure</td>
<td>+ urbanity, destination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Design</td>
<td>structural elements of the course (in form and content)</td>
<td>+ prestige of architect sport qualification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport qualification</td>
<td>54+ – 36 – 28 handicap</td>
<td>+ level of difficulty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport</td>
<td>success in sport, relevants of tournaments</td>
<td>+ prestige</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructure</td>
<td>club house, proshop, utilization</td>
<td>+ quality and approach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure of members</td>
<td>social and econ. Capital</td>
<td>+ volume</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tradition</td>
<td>age</td>
<td>+ prestige</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: author’s own representation
If we go beyond the concrete level of the golf course, there are different forms or manifestations of golf that, following Bourdieu, are to be located in the social space.

Figure 3. Space of golf forms (Germany from 2000). Source: author’s own representation.

Some forms of golf are dealt with by way of example in the following. From the point of view of the established, of the private clubs, the increasing demand is insofar advantageous that the financial protection is secured by maintaining the social etiquette and the social status. However, the additional and cheaper offers increase competition. The relatively homogeneous social structure also stays more or less the same, because of the maintenance of the various mechanisms of exclusion such as probational membership, warrantors, admission fees.

Organized golf sports and companies increasingly focus on the space of corporate golf:

Corporate culture on the golf course. Compensational sports and a better quality of life with the play golf card. Those who want to persist in the daily competition depend on not only motivated, but also efficient staff. Now the entrepreneurs can donate their employees or business partners relaxing hours on the golf course – with the play golf card (Advertising campaign of the German Golf Association, 2003).

And also the media take up this subject for the purpose of customer loyalty.
The new golf season is just around the corner and with it the prelude to the “Süddeutsche Zeitung German Business Masters”. The successful tournament series has already been carried out for five years – with a steadily-growing number of participants. In addition to the common exercise of the passion golf, which we share, the b2b-idea is in the foreground. Our goal is to promote communication and to form a platform for business contacts alongside the aspect of the sporting competition (Süddeutsche publishing company 2005).

“After-Work-Golf – every two weeks young-professionals, managers and employers meet after work to play a 9-hole-course.” This community based on an Internet platform can realize common interests in a significantly more effective and efficient way. In contrast to the requirements of the established golf clubs, here the common values, norms and rules are eased. The interaction platform allows quick and short-term contacts. More noticeable than in the golf club, homogeneous member structures in terms of age (younger) and the branch of business (corporate consulting, freelance professionals, self-employed, banks, insurance companies in upscale, (yet) not the highest positions) can be found here.

In contrast, the public courses possess significantly less distinctional potential, and also the potential of social capital lies below the aforementioned forms.

6 External differentiation of golf

Golf is increasingly influenced in its development by external, primarily economic partitions. Therefore, more and more asymmetric connections exist between those and the sport golf itself with its clubs and associations. How, where and in what way golf is played and how it is depicted in the media will no longer be subject to the political control of the association. Golf is “produced” by the economic aspects of the sporting goods and equipment industry, architecture industries and tourism economy. Sports media, national daily newspapers and business newspapers increasingly discuss golf. And sports-external economic sectors (automotive, construction and real estate industry, banks and insurance companies, computer industry, fashion and jewellery industry and exclusive areas of the beverage industry) funktionalize golf for their own purposes. This is not necessarily stacked against organized golf. There is often a connection in an exchange relationship: “image improvement of the sponsor against financial donations”. With the organization of more than 8,000 so-called corporate events and the purposeful use for commercial purposes it gets clear that the weighing of a sport by the association has moved increasingly to the economic sector. Besides, the golf it is also about the capacity of hotels and destinations in the early and late season, the sale of apartment houses in the immediate vicinity of newly built golf courses and the dependence of the customers on the sports equipment manufacturers as a result of the growing mechanization of the sports equipment (connected with the certainly existing objective advantages).
In the recreational sociological debate of the 1960s the thesis of “the long arm of the job” was developed and it referred to the physical and psychological effects of workloads on leisure. The thesis can be formulated at least for the ambitious employees and the self-employed in this way that a leisure activity gains sense and attractiveness by promising both to offer the marketplace of social capital, as well as to support the concrete business relationships in a pleasant and undisturbed atmosphere. The traditional golf club is not necessary for this career strategy anymore – and plaid trousers are even less.

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Violence in sports

Aleš Sekot
Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic

Abstract: Sport – as an important socio-cultural phenomenon – is so much fascinating for many people because it performs its compensatory function as an opposite pole considering the killing stereotype of the “predictability of life”. Sometimes violence and bad behaviour in sports could be apprehended as an effective way leading to victory. Thus, the medialized top-level sports attractive to spectators are seen as a possible means of compensation for human aggression. Today’s medialized sports are concentrated rather on suspense than on a relieving calming down. In this sense, we can sum up the four basic types of violence in the field of sports: brutal physical contact, borderline violence, semi-criminal violence, criminal violence. Strength-requiring high-performance sports use in some cases harsh physical contact in various manifestations of violence, brutality or intimidation as a part of the game strategy. Semi-criminal or even criminal behaviour is left aside as reprehensible but brutal physical contact on the verge of violence becomes a part of the game rules.

The existence of violence among spectators evokes a number of questions. The perhaps most cardinal one is: does sport provoke violence in spectators/viewers? Today, attention is paid to the problems of the negative phenomena in the field of sports, particularly in the context of various forms and manifestations of deviation. But we take into account that different socio-cultural environments attach different degrees of evaluation, and consequently also different criteria of deviation, to the same phenomena or behaviour. Particularly in the field of sports, it is a behaviour grossly violating the principles of fair play since it is a behaviour that is aggressive, often unlawful but tolerated and in many cases encouraged on purpose. As a symbol of the ideas of society, sport is seen as one of the most important marks showing the identity of today’s world. Parents of children doing sports, fans of “their” teams, trainers of athletes, they all express typical emotions reflecting the present importance of sport. Tears of defeat and euphoria of victory are proofs of sports passions. Atomized TV viewers, people crowding in front of giant open-air screens, the “boiling cauldrons” of sport stadiums, all this illustrates today’s culture of sports, the nature of the contemporary world. It has been indicated that the category of the lovers of sports competitions and matches (or in a better case of sports performances), who are usually passive as regards physical exercises, can also create sources of grudge and hostility. Fanship in the field of top-performance sport attractive to media (but also outside its framework) may both bring people together and also divide them owing to an intensified polarization of likes and dislikes. In this context, it is possible to define three large groups of sports fanship: sports spectators, sports fans, hooligans (hoolifans).

Keywords: sociology of sports, violence, fanship, spectators, human aggression.
No human institution is immune to critical investigation. Not even the institution that brings so much attention, joy, expectations, enthusiasm or excitement like sports. The question why sports are so popular among the spectators finds typical answers in formulations of the following type “brings so much joy”, is “so entertaining”, “includes suspense and extraordinary excitement”. By the very fact of asking questions and answers we usually get to a position outside the framework of the attitude to sport known usually by the part of athletes and journalists. Sophisticated reflections on the subject of fascination with sports were never too popular in the past. Because there prevailed the opinion, that is strongly appealing even today, that sport is a business of “men of action” not “philosophers”. But it is just not possible to avoid a number of issues relating to sports. Sport is an institution that is so economically strong, politically important and has such an enormous influence on the style of life of the present global society that it must be taken very seriously also as a subject in the field of academic discussion.

We agree with the outstanding expert on the varied forms and manifestations of the phenomenon of sport, E. Cashmore, that sport is a fascinating phenomenon especially because it performs its compensatory function as an opposite pole considering the killing stereotype of the “predictability of life” (Cashmore, 2000, 3-11). Surely we can agree to the claim that in accordance with the separation of the private and public spheres of life of modern society, people long for something extraordinary, exciting. They long for substitute experiences exceeding everyday life i.e. that what, somewhere else, the travel agencies promise us in the form of an active experience beyond the horizon of the “border of everyday life”. In accordance with Weber’s description of the ethos of modern “calculability” of life in the order of banality, people pine for everything that represents the opposite of a life defined by the bureaucratic principles of administration of society. Thus today the discussions on the subject “post-modern times” remind of the growing trend of personality patterns connected with “episodic character and inconsequence” when the “post-modern body adventures” lead from “a supplier of possessions to a collector of experiences” and from “health to physical performance”, from accumulation of material possessions to a virtual experience (Bauman, 2002, 77-84).

Sometimes it seems that the modern passive consumer spectator-depending society is more and more bored in spite of the wide supply of information and entertainment. In this sense we may consider just boredom as the source of the thirst for the extraordinary and dramatic and risky character of a sport experience. In addition, professional sports offer also the form of excitement by sports betting that might have nothing to do with a concrete fondness for a particular sport or sports in general.

High-performance sports, especially at the level of clubs in league competitions, bring also a number of negative phenomena today. We have in mind in particular the existence of some practically actualized manifestations of deviation, in terms of qualitative or quantitative deviation from common standard. In this context we find it
helpful to define the relative and frequently used terms of violence, aggression, intimidation and hostility.

From the point of view of sociology of sport violence expresses “use of disproportionate physical force that may be the possible source or cause of bodily harm or of destruction”. Aggression is a term describing “verbal or physical behaviour based on the intention to dominate, control or injure other person”. The meaning of the word intimidation relates to misuse of “words, gestures and actions threatening with the use of violence or aggression” (Coakley, 2001, 174-175). Manifestations of enmity or hostility express permanent tendency to hostile thinking and hostile acting, namely up to the verge of aggression.

Violence in the field of sports definitely is not a phenomenon of modern times. The so-called blood sports were popular already among the ancient Greeks and Romans. Death was part of the ritual games of the Mayos and Aztecs. The medieval knights’ tournaments, as a preparation for the turmoil of war, brought about also fatal injuries. “Sporting” fights of animals were – and unfortunately in some places still are – full of blood and brutality. Modern sport with its activities governed by rules becomes much more formal and consequently bans the most visible forms of violence. But the process of commercialization and professionalization of sports at the global level brings new forms of instrumental “dramatic” violence focused on spectators’ amusement. Because today’s medialized sports are concentrated rather on suspense than a relieving calming down. In this sense we can sum up the four basic types of violence in the field of sports:

1. **Brutal physical contact** used in some sports in the form of collision, bumping, pushing, taking the ball away from the opponent, obstruction and other forms of physical contact that may lead to an injury. It is of interest that even the trainers deliberately encourage their trainees to employ such manifestations of violent behaviour.

2. **Borderline violence** includes practices that are indeed against the rules of the game but they are usually tolerated by both players and trainers: pushing with elbow in football, fight for the puck in bully in ice hockey etc.

3. **Semi-criminal violence** includes practices that seriously break not only the rules but also the recognized legal and moral standards and endanger the players physically: kicks, striking in the face, obvious fouls.

4. **Criminal violence** includes practices that are evidently unlawful, are disapproved by players, and are subject of criminal prosecution, e.g. attempts to seriously injure or even kill a player in the course of the play or after it (Young, 2000, 382-409).

Violence is very rare in the so-called non-contact sports we may rather encounter intimidation. Thus, in tennis we can see players protesting against the umpire or the opponent verbally or slamming the ball fiercely on the ground. Using rude verbal expressions as a form of intimidation is typical rather of men. In women’s sports disciplines it occurs only quite exceptionally, namely also as an expression of a feeling of injustice or fear of impairment of one’s health or personal welfare.
Strength-requiring high-performance sports use in some cases harsh physical contact in various manifestations of violence, brutality or intimidation as a part of the game strategy. Semi-criminal or even criminal behaviour is left aside as reprehensible but brutal physical contact on the verge of violence becomes a part of the game rules. In hard contact sports such as boxing, American football, ice hockey or rugby intimidation and violence are usual as a means to achieve victory, support of personal career development, amplification of the dramatic character of spectator’s experience and increase in the commercial contribution of athletes and sponsors. Sometimes we may have a feeling of a clearly set pattern: Either I will use violence – or I will be punished myself! In professional ice hockey some players are allegedly given just the task to indeed protect their team-mates but on the other hand to assist their team by provoking and intimidation and even to put out of the game some selected opponents. It is natural that the price of these forms of violence is pain, injuries and impairment of health. It is also backed up by the data according to which 90% of all injuries in the field of top-performance sports were caused just in the course of sport competition (Coakley, 2001, 186). This fact is undoubtedly directly or at least second-hand connected with the fact that professional top-performance sports often lay the emphasis on the difference in dimensions of strength and power, lays stress on control of other people and adores a status derived on victory over the others. In addition it tolerates behaviour and actions that are usually punishable outside the arena of sports.

British scientist Scott Fleming offers – by way of a case study from ice hockey – interesting typology of violence in sport (Fleming, 2006, 26-34). Ice hockey is characterized by high level of skill and aggressive (often violent) confrontation. The violence associated with hockey is so embedded that it has entered many forms of popular culture in movies, books and Internet. It is reminded that in national survey in 1970, 40% of all British respondents reported that they liked to see violence in hockey. Fleming believes that there are (at least) three forms of violent conduct that can be differentiated and are tolerated within the ethos of elite sports – tactical, symbolic and actual (Fleming, 2006, 28). Tactical violence reflects a situation, when players and coaches may employ violent conduct because they believe that in doing so, their chances of achieving overall outcome success are enhanced. Symbolic violence is the form of violent conduct represents ritualized aggression as culturally patterned behaviour. Such form of violent behaviour is being mostly associated more with the performance and spectacle of aggressive conduct than with the actual consequences of violence. Actual violence really gets hurt. It is mostly a result of a lack of competence and/or sophistication in “acting out” the role. It is believed that the three preceding types of violence are accepted within hockey. They also represent something of a paradox. For whilst the actions are, de jure, violations of the game’s constitutive and regulative rules, they are also, de facto, become normalized into the social fabric of the game.

The existence of violence among spectators evokes a number of questions. The perhaps most cardinal one is: does sport provoke violence in spectators/viewers? In this respect it must be pointed out that sports events attract hundreds of millions of
Violence in sports

Violence in sports worldwide, in the medial form it involves in some cases rather billions of spectators. From this point of view it is necessary to distinguish between TV viewers and the direct audience of a sport event (Sekot, 2006, 245-260).

Isolated cases of striking mass violence of sports fans are not today only exceptional. If it occurs we usually face serious manifestations of social deviations. In this respect, also the possible limits of the systematic efforts of sporting events organizers and the police to prevent negative phenomena in the field of sports are actualized. But in many cases the existence of deviations in sports points out the obvious or hidden problems of the respective sport branch and in a wider context also the limitations of the reference framework of relevant social, economic and political structures.

To discuss the phenomenon of violence in sports means also to mention the issue of sports enthusiasm as a socially stimulating factor of serious practical implications. In the first place, attention must be drawn to the fact that in case of formation of national identity there is a danger of a very critical phenomenon that is, however, considerably limited with regard to time. Therefore as regards the football fans we can, with a certain exaggeration, talk about a “ninety-minute patriotism”. Besides, the time-dependent enthusiasm alternates with usually longer-lasting gusts of disappointment and disillusion. Basically, it is a problem framed by the general idea of top-performance sports: to win at any price. And the idea, beside other debatable aspects, contributes also to the escalation of rewards in most popular sports and to many top sportsmen/women. The passionate struggle for victory not only in contact sports then also brings violence, injuries, pain. Thus “sport ethics” today includes, as its natural attributes, the readiness for sacrifice for the game, victory, the incessant efforts to better one’s performance and to increase one’s personal prestige, taking the risks, pain, injury and bodily damage, acceptance of the ideas of overcoming the limits of human possibilities (Coakley, 2001, 161-169). These standards are deeply rooted in the culture of current high-performance and top sports and they also reflect the adored value system of the contemporary world: high performance, success, admiration, wealth, fulfillment of dreams beyond the border of everyday life.

There is a number of theories trying to explain the phenomenon of violence in sports. The psychologists base their thoughts e.g. on “frustration-aggression hypothesis”, finding the sources of aggressive behaviour in frustration originating in the inability or impossibility to attain one’s aims in life (Dollard, Wann). “Social learning theory” enlarges this thesis with the emphasis on the power of the influence of biological factors on the behaviour of a frustrated individual (Bandura). The theory of “strongly identified fans” then describes a group of sport spectators who derive their self-respect from the degree of success of “their” team and are ready to turn their possible frustration into aggression against rival fans or their team (Wann). At the same time, the fact that sports events by their nature offer such excitement that does not exist in everyday life has an increasingly important impact. Today, also the generally experienced lack of consideration for other people, disintegration of traditional family standards, urbanized crowd anonymity, hidden or even open
adoration of violence in mass media and the generally widespread feeling of the omnipresence of aggression in the society undoubtedly contribute to this.

As early as in the 1960's in the cradle of modern sports – Great Britain – football hooliganism, as the perhaps most visible form of violence in sports, was rated in a rather simplified way as an expression of “loss of control and immaturity of some young spectators inclined to violence” without taking into proper consideration the broad spectrum of other social factors whose revelation could lead up to appropriate preventive measures. Only Ian Taylor at the turn of the 1960s and 1970s pointed out the necessity to pay attention to the relevant social and economic context of football violence. We also meet a sociologically remarkable thesis about the sources of football violence in Britain as a result of a conflict of the original working-class identity of young football spectators with the commercialization of football and it “becoming bourgeois” and consequently as a specific expression of the opposition of young members of the working class to those who primarily see sport as a source of wealth and personal advantages (Taylor, 1971). Later on more and more experts in this field realized that such form of violence is a “serious social threat” that is not easy to overlook (Giulianotti, 1999, 41). Other authors go even further and see football hooliganism as an expression of “folk’s evil” (Clarke, Hall) or “moral uncertainty” of British society (Whanell). Later on it was pointed out that the so-called hooliganism in the field of sports takes a more organized form in spite of the fact that their “tribal assemblies” are not built on firm foundations, shared commitments and rituals (Armstrong). Therefore the members of such aggressive groups often can only hardly be distinguished externally from ordinary population. The often patriotic fan fortified with beer and the company of his fellow “sports friends” and doped with the prevalence or everyday character of presentation of violence in commercial televisions “gets his money’s worth” especially with his “black and white” world view. A world of simplified models of good and evil and looking for an enemy while at the same time showing uncritical admiration for local worshipped sport idols.

The sociologically interesting subject of spectator background of direct spectator spectacle in accordance with the phenomenon of sports fanship and violence in the stadiums draws attention to the necessity to distinguish football hooligans from other sports spectators. In this context it is possible to define three large groups in accordance with the recently published scheme:

**Sports spectators** – characterized by considerable size, heterogeneity and permeability, on the other hand by low level of group characteristics such as constancy, stability, integrity, cohesion or degree of control. Further, this group is characterized by objectivity of evaluation of matches, non-existence of violent behaviour and racism. Passive observers of the play who are not governed by team rivalry, they appreciate especially the intense experience of watching a sport match.

**Sports fans** – high degree of group stability and integration, of clubism and manifestations of nationalism, medium size, constancy, degree of intimacy and permeability, low degree of manifestations of violent behaviour, subjective evaluation of matches. They are attracted to a certain (usually a single) sport – particularly in the
field of football - through their favourite team or player. The group is characterized by viewing the sports scene as “US” and “THEM” (fans of other clubs).

_Hooligans (hoolifans)_ – high degree of group stability, integrity, homogeneity, cohesion, constancy, autonomy, violent behaviour, manifestations of nationalism and xenophobia, low level of group permeability and extremely subjective evaluation of matches. The primary aim is to provoke a conflict or a fight with similar groups of the rival team. They accentuate their identity especially with street wear of favourite differentiating brands, flags, scarves, and outwards also by publishing fanzins (sports fans’ magazines) or by activities on websites. Especially in the sphere of football matches we are witnesses of racist, anti-Semitic and national-chauvinistic manifestations. In some cases, a certain “superstructure” of football hooliganism is its interconnection with organized crime (Smolík, 2001; Mareš et al., 2004, 11-14).

If we try to create a typology of sport hooliganism then we usually base it on a relevant situation of the functioning of extreme negative behaviour in football stadiums (and also outside them). Here we most frequently encounter the following manifestations:

- invading the pitch,
- throwing things at the pitch,
- disturbances (scuffles with the police, with the organizers etc.),
- vandalism (tearing up seats, destruction of the stadium equipment),
- conflicts with use of both verbal and physical violence (towards hooligans, fans and spectators supporting the rival team, towards the players of one’s own team or the rival team, the referee, the organizers, the police, the representatives or management of the football club)

The subject of violence in the environment of sports spectators is more and more topically diversified by growing forms of football hooliganism outside the stadiums. It usually concerns vandalistic, riotous or violent breach of legal or social norms that is committed with at least partial relation to a sport (usually football). Here we recently encounter pre-arranged or impromptu violent conflicts of bunches of hooligans in places such as parking lots, parks and streets in the vicinity of stadiums or in specially chosen places out of reach of usual social (and particularly police) control. Further, we are witnesses of “raids” on pubs and clubs if they are “bases” of the enemy hooligans or the players of the rival club. Weapons of such hooligan gangs range from “fists” through knuckledusters, baseball bats or knives up to – in extreme cases – firearms. The viewpoint of age structure points out the internally functionally differentiated groups ranging roughly from 10 to 30 years when really highly socially dangerous are individuals forming the so-called hardcore (hardcore hooligans). And: The fans are intensely conscious of the categories of “US” and “THEM”.

Discussions on the causes of football hooliganism are usually concentrated on the possibilities and limitations of an understanding of the behaviour of the persons involved when it is supposed to reflect:

- relations to lower social strata of society,
- low education level,
Reactions to various manifestations of violence in sports (or around sports) are reflected also in the effort to exceed the local scope of sport hooliganism and to create an effective regionally or globally coordinated counteroffensive. European policy against football hooliganism and racism brings various legal norms and other documents, or their implementation in practice. While in the 1980s in this respect emphasis was put on combating violence in the sense of the conflict of different gangs and subsequent mass vandalism, today the accent is put on an anti-hooligan policy of prevention of racist manifestations (“booing” players who have a different colour of the skin, racist symbols and slogans on banners etc.). At the present time most European countries have available a special legislative regulation for organization of football matches and prevention of disturbances connected with them. It usually draws inspiration from British experience that produced surprisingly effective positive results at the end of the last century. Also the competent bodies of the European Union (especially from the point of view of intergovernmental policy in the field of judicial and police cooperation in criminal cases) and transnational football organizations deal with this phenomenon. Therefore UEFA and FIFA, in accordance with the catalogues of types of the players’ and spectators’ misdemeanours, issue measures to improve the situation in the stadiums, laying emphasis on the fair play principles. The viewpoint of practical measures in the stadiums then points out effectiveness of preventive measures, ability of the concerned parties to communicate, adequacy of an intervention, differentiation of individual groups of fans, ability to carry out an informed evaluation of a possible intervention (Mareš et al., 2004, 16-173).

The academic interest in the subject of violence in sports is usually focused on the extreme manifestations of this form of culture such as football hooliganism and violence in the stadiums. At the same time it is difficult to precisely define what constituent elements form the phenomenon of fanship: Is it an objective phenomenon taken for granted or rather a specifically experienced form of personal identity? Because the nature of sport fanship is not characterized by “only” a sum of special historical and cultural characteristics but it also depends on particular individual dispositions and specific social circumstances. From this point of view it will obviously be useful to view the category of sport fans not as a monolithic mass of spectators with an identical value anchoring, but as an internally structured loosely dispersed group firmly interconnected with the real world of everyday life.

The dimension of the consumer market environment in the context of important sports events is also a subject of sociological reflections on the tendencies of the development of sport attractive to spectators that is interconnected with the existence of violence. In the case of football fans it is usually based on a more general framework of the contemporary post-modern “society of spectator’s experiences” interconnected with the principle of market fetishism: “There is an additional set of stories in the background of every spectacle” (Tomlinson, 2002, 50). And just the
deciphering of this hidden context counts to the important preconditions of the understanding of the essence of the sports experience through the media. At the same time it is obvious that different types of society produce different types of spectator experience in sports and consequently also different types of sport fans. Even in the field of such a seemingly monolithic sport culture as football we can encounter culturally, politically and socially distinguishable fans such as “Danish roligans”, “Italian ultras” (after stunned “Catania case 2007” bringing around new impulses for upgrading security measures at the stadiums) or “Scottish militant tartans”. Thus the Italian fans reflect primarily political attitudes, while the Scottish football devotees express particularly their national independence from England. The Danish football fans are usually presented with their peacefulness as the opposite pole to the English fans. In general it can be summed up that ethnically or culturally defined characterization of sports (especially football) fans is derived by means of an intricate tissue of generalizing observed manifestations, medialized picture and imaginative conceptual definition by the research front. At the same time the world of elite top-performance sport becomes a reference framework also for the attitudes and reactions of the world of “non-sport” celebrities. Therefore the media keep a sharp eye on and properly inform about how singers, actors, politicians, government representatives and successful businessmen anticipate important sports events. Local celebrities are presented by media as fans of “their” teams, sports celebrities court the actors’, singers’ or politicians’ favour. In this way the viewers are drawn into the virtual world “beyond the border of everyday life” that with its usual inaccessibility and almost transcendental nature only increases the value of the adored sport idols and the world of the sports attractive to viewers in general. At the same time, fans are not only important consumers of the sport spectacle but also – namely above all – citizens. Sport spectacle is intended for fans who also become co-creators of the sport spectacle. But it is often very controversial, to say the least, whether this principle improves the overall level of democratization of sports. It is correctly pointed out that – beside the often enormous financial costs available to only a narrow group of fans – the extreme sport fanship may divert citizens’ due attention from the economic, political or environmental problems (Lee, 2005, 203-205) and, consequently, to become an “opium of the people” of its kind, compensating the loss of religious convictions: Sport idols replace religious deities. From a purely sociological point of view it is also necessary to bear in mind the indistinct and hardly exactly graspable dividing line between fanship and fanaticism: Is it an expression of sound sport fanship to sleep overnight in front of booking offices just to get a ticket for an important football match or the ecstatic crowd manifestations when they meet the sport “icons”? Is the extreme obsession with sport spectacle not an expression of a conflict of the social reality versus the possibility and limits of personal aspiration and consequently also a possible source of extreme tension or even a conflict or violence? One thing is certain, sports science looks forward – also through the prism of the phenomenon of violence – to a wide spectrum of multidimensional and usually unpredictable manifestations of culturally anchored relationships between sport and society.
References

The impact of public administration reform on sport policy in the Czech Republic

Irena Slepičková and Miloslav Staněk
Charles University of Prague, Czech Republic

Abstract: The article is focused on the topic of public policy in civic society which is a relatively new phenomenon in the Czech Republic. After 1989, the sport sector has gone through great changes related to the implementation of the principles of decentralization, pluralism, privatization and liberalism. Sport promotion has also become a subject of the public sector activities, where public administration at all its territorial levels has gained great importance. The question how sport is now included in the public administration policy, concretely at the level of the municipalities, has to be dealt with. Using the case study method, this article analyses the situation in two districts of Prague (Prague 11, Prague 13) through the optics of theoretical, political, and sociological backgrounds of the up-to-now sport development in the Czech Republic.

Keywords: municipality, sport policy, case study, Prague.

1 Introduction

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 of 2000-2002.

Together with this process, public administration at lower territorial levels started to constitute rapidly as a basis of democratic 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 subject to this type of monitoring so far. The presented article is trying to contribute to increasing the knowledge of the present-day position of sport in the Czech Republic in relation to

1 The study was supported by a grant from the Czech Ministry of Education, Youth and Physical Education, MSM 0021620864.
municipalities and their policies. The task is to explain how the situation has developed and which position sport has gained in the Czech public administration. The topic illustrates the situation using the sport policy of two Prague districts as an example.

2 Socio-political framework of changes in sport policy

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 – 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, were the following (MV ČR, 1999):

- high level of centralization and insufficient number of administration levels,
- excessive centralization when ministries were providing too many operational tasks instead of conceptual work,
- impossibility of implementation of subsidiarity principles because of a lack of higher territorial state and public administration levels; this caused an increase in deconcentration and a growth of field state bodies.

The whole process resulted in the constitution of regions, dissolution of counties (despite this, some state administration acts are still solved at the “county” level) and adoption of new legislation in Prague, regions and municipalities. The whole process culminated by the accession of the Czech Republic to the EU in May 2004. In this relation, the following must be mentioned:

- 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 were accepted.

The above-mentioned changes have affected the sport sector in the following way:

- Voluntary (third) sector: independent organizations exist, many of which have formed their umbrella bodies to back up their activity – as compared to many European countries, the resulting structure of the voluntary sector is highly segmented. The voluntary sector is the sole owner of the largest Czech betting agency SAZKA.
- A law supporting sport was passed (Act No115/2007) providing a framework for the role of state administration and self-administration (government and its ministries – regions – municipalities).
- 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). The case study presented below is a component part of the wider research project which is presently being developed at the Faculty of Physical Education and Sport, Charles University.
3 Sport policy and its evaluation

In the past years, the public policy issues have become a subject of great interest practically in all spheres of the life of society. But public policy study is an interdisciplinary subject involving disciplines like political science, public politics, sociology, economics and philosophy. Due to the fact that people vary by their interests, the term used in this respect is so-called public interest, which was characterized e.g. by Lippman (1955, 42)\(^2\):

Adults, one would likely believe, share identical public interests, not mixing, however, public interest, which is sometimes in contradiction to them, with their private and special interests. If this is true then we may say that public interest is apparently what people would choose if they could clearly, rationally see and act without prejudice and in good will.

Identification of a specific form of public interest, therefore, is far from a simple and unambiguous matter as numerous actors enter this stage. Here, the issue of public interest will be left aside and we will concentrate mainly on the ways of formulating public policy. It is a political cycle which has a number of phases. Several models exist. The model most frequently implemented in practice is according to Potůček, Vass & Kotlas (2005) a four-component model shown in figure 1.

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Figure 1. Four-component model according to Potůček, Vass & Kotlas (2005)

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\(^2\) Cited from Potůček et al. (2005).
The principle of civic society, among other things, implies that the citizens’ problems should be dealt with as close to the citizens as possible, i.e. at the municipality level. The principal task of municipalities then is to aim at creating conditions for improving the quality of life of the people who live in them. Municipalities enjoy considerable freedom in deciding on the priorities of their policies and on how to use the resources available.

4 Research objectives, methods, sample and organization

The main goal of research was the analysis of the situation in sport delivery at the municipal level. An operational goal was to assess if the examined municipalities really follow a policy (see the model above), or only adopt partial decisions concerning support for sport.

In order to show how the sport sector may be perceived and catered for at the municipality level, two city districts of the capital of Prague have been chosen. In this respect, 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, which, however, was not included in our research.

Two districts were analysed – Prague 11 and Prague 13. Their characteristics are given in the chapter dealing with results. The method of the case study was used (Hendl, 1997). Several printed and electronic data sources, like municipal newspapers and web pages were used as entry information on the districts, but also on their sport policy. In both municipalities, at the beginning of 2007 structured interviews were carried out with officials whose job-related responsibilities somehow cover the sport sector. The structure of the interviews was based on the partial research projects completed to-date, both at the Faculty of Physical Education and abroad (Škoda, 1998; Slepičková, 2000, 2001; Haschar-Noe, 2002; Haschar-Noe & Bayeux, 1998, 1999). The topics and items analysed are clear from the results stated below. A comparison of both municipalities carried out, too.

5 Results – sport policy situation in Prague 11 and Prague 13, and their comparison

Both city districts are very similar to each other by their character with an identical structure of inhabitants and type of land development. Both represent peripheral city districts which started to be newly developed about 30-40 years ago in localities of original villages adjoining Prague. Thus, they were part of the metropolitan growth as it is known in all developed countries. This also predetermined their appearance and their changes in time, e.g. large blocks of flats, the initial population mix with a low average of age and many children, gradually transforming into a mixed structure, gradual additional development of free spaces etc. Their present-day social structure is stabilized, further urban planning is on the way and problems connected with urban development start to appear on a larger scale. Both city districts are very well

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3 Newspapers of Prague 11 (Klíč), and of Prague 13 (Stop), volumes of last 12 months.
accessible by public transport (metro) from the city centre. Their inhabitants mostly commute to other parts of the city of Prague to work. The districts do not accommodate industrial zones, but administrative headquarters of various companies and large shopping malls.

In both city districts, their approaches to sport delivery which may exist in different spheres were examined. Attention was focused mainly on the integration of sport delivery in the administrative structure, support and cooperation with voluntary associations, funding, maintenance of sport facilities, participation in an offer of programmes for the general public and, naturally, the existence of sport policy.

The following analysis of the above-mentioned areas explains how much both city districts differ from each other or share common approaches to sport delivery.

The first and essential one is the sphere of administrative provision, which in turn affects all the others. In the organizational structure of the local administration of Prague 11 (P11), a Commission for Sport, which acts as an advisory body for the sport sector, has been established at the Council of Prague 11. The authority for the implementation of the decisions taken has been delegated onto the 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. The local administration of Prague 13 (P13) has not established any advisory body for the sport sector working at the Council level. Within the municipal office, no special department or section has been established either. Sport falls under the scope of duties of a single person – the assistant to the vice-mayor, who is also in charge of the cultural and leisure time sector. The maintenance of sports facilities owned by the municipality Prague 13 is, like in Prague 11, delegated onto the Department of the Environment.

In the area of support for sports organizations active on the administered territory, both 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 Prague 11, the grant awarding procedure is split into grants for continuous and grants for single activity, and further split into open (accessible for all) and closed (only for members of individual sports associations). In considering which sports organizations will succeed in the grant awarding procedures, the Council and the local administration respect the annually approved instructions, which set out the selection criteria. The assessment is run in three rounds. First, the grant applications are assessed by the Commission for Sport, then by the municipality Council and finally by the local administration. The municipality tries to support all types of sporting activities. There is, however, a marked interest in supporting the development of athletics. In supporting the local sports organizations, the municipality of Prague 13 applies two basic approaches. The first is a grant-awarding procedure, which is split into grants for the support of all-year activity (for operation) and grants aimed for single events where as part of its support for a respective sports event held by some of its sports organizations the municipality may act as a co-organizer covering partially the costs of the event. The second
The impact of public administration reform on sport policy in the Czech Republic

approach is laying out conditions under which civic societies may utilize school sports facilities. The municipality of P 13 has established a system facilitating the access of these sports organizations to the sports facilities. The local administration of P 13 guarantees that the price for hire will be set to cover only the costs incurred by the hire to the respective primary school. (By approving all short-term hires at all schools within P 13, the municipality Council ensures control.) 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 component part of a grant application is a filled in registration form with data on the membership size and profile, the number of people coming from P 13 etc. This information is available for the grant committee (consisting only of elected representatives), which assesses the adequacy of the allocated amount. In their assessment, the grant committee members are guided by their own experience from the events organized by the respective sports organizations. 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 projects of non-material nature tend to be oriented towards the category of “Co-organization of events”. The municipality of Prague 13 presently has no priority field of sport which would gain more support than the others.

The utilization of the resources spent is checked at both municipalities 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. In Prague 11, an authorized member of the local administration tries to attend at least one event of each supported sports organization per year. There are also random visits to the organized events by the members of the Commission for Sport (elected representatives). In Prague 13, the activity of sports organizations is assessed only during public events held by them to which representatives of the local administration are invited as well. Their participation, however, is only voluntary.

Unlike the city district of Prague 11, which never organizes any sports events on its own always acting as a co-organizer only, Prague 13 holds its own single events or tournaments targeted mainly on adult population (in some cases close to the town hall), while analogical events for children and youth are delegated onto the initiative of sports organizations.

The strategy in relation to sports facilities located on the territory of the city district of Prague 11 focuses mainly on the reconstruction of sports facilities 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. The sports fields are accessible for the public from 4:00 to 8:00 p.m. (in summer months to 9:00 p.m.) A greater part of these sports facilities are utilized on the basis of long-term hiring contracts by local sports organizations (Sport Club TJ
Chodov etc.), but 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 administration is the absence of a swimming pool whose construction is planned within three years.

The city district of Prague 13 has, in the past two years, concentrated its efforts mainly on the construction of new and the reconstruction of existing sports facilities located directly inside the built-up spaces (baskets for basketball, rope climbing frames, sandpits, multi-functional areas). These playgrounds are 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. The local administration also relies on the people from the immediate vicinity and their interest in keeping the areas in good condition (reports of wrong doings and vandalism). P 13 also makes 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.) P 13 also owns two other sports facilities, which, however, are hired out on long-term contracts. The local administration of Prague 13 presently does not subjectively feel any deficiency in sports facilities.

The policy line in the sport sector developed at the P 11 municipality in the past years is presently being replaced by a new policy elaborated for the forthcoming election period. The implementation of the previous policy was continuously monitored, and specific achievements were yearly published in the annual reports of the Department of Education and Culture. The municipality of P 13 still has not started the elaboration of such a document, and is not considering this in the nearest future either. The only guidance at hand then may be the local election programme of the political party in power (as reported by a local official, the document from the last elections is no longer available for the public). No annual activity reports are elaborated for the sport sector.

6 Conclusions

The completed analysis manifested that the approaches of both municipalities to sport show many differences. At the same time, however, both localities are very similar to each other in terms of geographical, social, historical and economic aspects. The causes of the identified differences and, in particular, of a totally different approach to policy making, therefore, must be sought elsewhere. On the basis of several years of
personal observation of the development of both localities, we may assume that there are also other factors that have a share in the different approaches to sport. Among them, we may rank the political bias of elected and decision-making bodies of the municipality, the degree of personal enthusiasm for sport of the persons who have decision-making authorities in the municipality. Of importance 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.

In terms of theory, public policy may be referred to in the case of Prague 11. Here, not only analyses of state have been made, but plans of sport development have been designed and operational goals have been set. This, however, put the whole process in the position of a genuine political process (not in the party sense) with efforts to control the activities financially supported by the Council not only by doing the accounts, but partially also by affecting their quality. Nevertheless, the criteria for this evaluation have not been identified through our research.

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, very different approaches to sport delivery may be found as is stated in all above-cited studies. The study implemented in the city districts of Prague 11 and Prague 13, however, confirmed the up-to-date assumptions and partial knowledge that there are also a number of additional factors which are very likely to affect the approaches to solutions in this area of life. Thus, the study has suggested that policy making in the area of sport is not yet a common standard.

References


http://www.praha11.cz/ (7.2.2007)
Youth sport spectators: their experience and motivation for attending sport matches

Irena Slepičková and Pavel Slepička
Charles University of Prague, Czech Republic

Abstract: The youth are not only active participants of sport events, but also significant actors of passive consumption of sport in the form of spectatorship. The youth as sport spectators constitute a specific group, different from the other spectators not only by their age or completed education, but also by their potential motivation leading them to attending matches and enjoying the watched sporting fight.

The problems of the youth as sport spectators in the Czech Republic, like in other countries, are associated particularly with competitions in popular sport games, mainly football and ice hockey. The presented article is, above all, oriented towards the reasons young spectators have for visiting matches and their experiences while watching the game. The presented results are based on an empirical survey held at football stadiums including 940 spectators and using questionnaires verified within previous studies of sport spectators.

The achieved results prove that the motivation of young fans is significantly dominated by a possibility of belonging to a group of spectators or getting into conflict with another group of spectators. The sphere of experiences shows a more intensive emotional response with potential links to the atmosphere at the stands more appreciated by young spectators.

Keywords: youth, sport spectators, motivation.

Introduction
If we think about the social impact of sport on the youth, we have to consider that we cannot be engaged in these impacts only in relation to active youth sport. There are other connections between the youth and sport and we can also find these connections in the framework of “passive consumption of sport” (meaning as sport spectators). To what extent the youth watch sport competitions in the Czech Republic is visible from the results of the studies focused on the social reflection of sport (Slepička & Slepičková, 2002; Jansa, 2002). These studies show that only a minor part (17%) of the observed youth sample does not attend sport events as spectators. On the other hand, those who attend sport events as spectators regularly not less than once per week have the same representation. Others stated that they attend sport events irregularly with a frequency from three times per month to less than once per month. In this case, the spectators concerned go to sport stadium stands and they have an opportunity to watch sportmen immediately at sport competitions and also an opportunity to co-create the atmosphere at the stands.
Furthermore, there is also an opportunity to watch various sport events through the media and especially on TV. Also in this case, there could be a marked interest of the youth in this form of participation in sport events. The cited studies document a big interest of the youth in television sport broadcasts, because only a very small part of them (8%) do not watch sport programmes at all. There are, however, only 5% who watch all the sport events broadcasted on TV. The biggest part of the youth (87%) watch selected sport events on TV and they select these events according to sport branches (most popular in the Czech Republic are football and ice-hockey) or to the significance of the respective sport event (for example World championships or the Olympic Games). From these conclusions we can see that the youth is not only an active participant in sport actions (according to the cited studies, the part of the youth who practise sport in an active way is 65%), but also passive participants – sport spectators. Therefore, the evident fact is that the youth spend part of their free time “consuming” sport as spectators and this cannot be without any influence on the youth socialization.

Nevertheless, a frequent tendency of young spectators is to visit sport matches as members of a group and this is also one of the major motivations for attending the game. Membership in a group of spectators can help the youth to supply the need for self-realization, the need for positive appreciation from the others and the need for belonging somewhere. The influence of a spectators’ group is also stimulated by the fact that these needs are not supplied in other social groups, for example in the family or at school. Opposite attitudes to common social rules are manifested there, the maximalism in the evaluation of other people and events, the effort for self-realization, self-expression in any way, the easy creation of idols with a tendency to immitate their behaviour, the deflection from formal authorities and full acceptance of other casual authorities and groups.

The problems of the youth as sport spectators in the Czech Republic are connected mainly with sport games, namely with football, which has been the most popular sport in the Czech Republic for a long time. This is the reason why we will focus our attention on football spectatorship and on the role of the youth in football spectatorship. From the above-mentioned connections, it results that the youth is one of the most important parts of sport spectatorship.

The questions that arise are: to what extent will this situation be similar in the population of other football spectators, how intensive will young spectators experience football matches, what reasons for attending the matches do they cite, how do they react to certain game situations and to what extent do they differ from adult football spectators in their reactions?

To answer these questions, we will use the results of research focused on football spectators. This survey was implemented at each stadium of the football clubs participating in the highest Czech football league.
Youth sport spectators: their experience and motivation for attending sport matches

Methodology
The research sample of our survey consists of 940 football spectators of the highest Czech football league. These spectators are first-hand consumers of football shows and they attend football stands personally. The questioned spectators were contacted directly at football stands before the beginnings of the matches. The research sample was chosen to reflect the structure of the football spectators’ population.

We chose a questionnaire form as our research method. The use of the questionnaire was verified in the research study of Slepička (1990, 2005). This procedure was used with the aim of possible data comparison.

Results and discussion
First, we bring the results that illustrate the part of adolescents under 18 years of age (further below only youth) in the whole population of football spectators.

Table 1. The football spectators’ age structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 18 years</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>40.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19-22</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>12.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23-30</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>11.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>13.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>10.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-60</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>5.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 60 years</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>4.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witheld</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>940</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in table 1, the youth under 18 make up a large segment of football spectators visiting football stadiums. If we consider the fact that the youth constitute over 40% of all football spectators, this fact also implies the presumption that the youth have a big influence on creating the atmosphere of the football stands. This also means influencing the reactions of football spectators during their watching.

The youth segment within football spectators has significantly grown in numbers in comparison with older research studies implemented in the Czech Republic, and if we consider the fact that general attendance has decreased, we can conclude that the youth behaviour is in the centre of attention of organizers, football clubs, the public etc. The organizers are mainly interested in watching the youth’s behaviour trying to prevent potential negative youth reactions in the role of football spectators. We can presume that the growing segment of young spectators, their experiences at the stands and mainly their reactions make older spectators leave football stands and prefer TV.

In connection with the increase of the part of the youth among football spectators, the following question arises: what leads the youth to attend a football match? Table 2 (see next page) shows the main reasons for attending matches, the choice was not limited.
Table 2. What does a visit of a match mean for me?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Under 18</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Under 18 in %</th>
<th>Others in %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Change in daily routine</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>18.85</td>
<td>21.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunity of being a member of a group</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>14.29</td>
<td>6.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escape from daily obligations</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>20.47</td>
<td>30.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunity to support their team</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>40.35</td>
<td>39.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possibility of getting into conflict with other fans</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6.04</td>
<td>2.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>679</td>
<td>881</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Presently, it is shown that the youth associate their visit to the stands mainly with an opportunity to support their favourite team. They do not differ from other spectators in this aspect and it proves that at the stands there are mostly those people who are fans of one of the playing teams. These fans expect success of their team and this is connected with a certain emotional state.

Football matches also provide an opportunity to escape from the daily routine, and the spectator can be “out of time” for a while. If the rules of a usual day do not apply, unusual experiences can also be expected connected with the being at the stand and with the contact with other spectators. This fact is supported by the answers which prefer a change in the daily routine as an important stimulus leading to attending the match. Mainly the fact that the attendance of a match is the opportunity of being a member of a group of friends distinguishes the youth from adults. The youth also want to enjoy the opportunity of feeling loyalty with their spectators’ community, to stimulate themselves together to certain types of reactions and to strengthen the impression of acceptability of these reactions.

There are also young spectators for whom the match is an opportunity to get themselves into contact with rival fans and eventually to intimidate these groups of fans. As practice documents, this behaviour stimulates the experiences of some spectators and these experiences become the most important reason for attending the match for this group. Another important reason for the youth’s attendance of the football stands is an opportunity to support the favourite team. Mostly they want to try to influence the team’s performance via oral supporting during the game. What do young people concretely want to accomplish via their cheering? It is shown in the next table.

Table 3. What is the aim of oral supporting of the favourite team?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Under 18</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Under 18 in %</th>
<th>Others in %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To support the favourite team</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>568</td>
<td>42.38</td>
<td>68.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To weaken the rival</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>17.29</td>
<td>9.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To influence the referee</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>4.83</td>
<td>4.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To relax and have a rest</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>19.33</td>
<td>13.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To intimidate the rival fans</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>16.17</td>
<td>4.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>538</td>
<td>831</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The support of the favourite team is the most frequent cause of the youth’s cheering. Their support is an expression of their relationship to the football club or to the players. It is also a way to express their identification with the club and the opportunity to manifest their affiliation to a certain spectators’ community (and their difference from the rival fans). Spectators of all age groups cite that the effort to support their favourite team is the most important aim of oral supporting. The youth differ in another aspect – they also want to relax in many cases. But this relaxation is often very active and it can also influence their reactions. The endeavour to relax in an active way can activate a tendency to induce strong emotional experiences with an opportunity of tolerating such behaviour which is out of conventional social standards. This behaviour is also not in accordance with the expressed wish of supporting the favourite team. Young spectators also very often believe that they can influence the rival team’s performance by creating a hostile atmosphere at the stands.

Furthermore, it is an important fact that there are very high numbers of those young spectators who try to intimidate the rival fans. We can consider (in accordance with the situation at the stands) that spectators oriented this way can pass over from supporting their favourite team to an immediate verbal aggressiveness focused on the rival fans very easily. This form consequently passes over into attempts of mutual attacks of antagonistic groups of spectators.

The focus on the intimidation of rivals creates conditions for a rise of intergroup conflicts, because of the dynamics of emotional experiences. Young spectators try what their surroundings tolerate or very often even appreciate. It is also an important fact that young spectators come to the stands with already accomplished attitudes, especially to other groups of spectators. In this case, these attitudes become prejudices and we can speak of a special type of persistent emotionally based attitudes.

The attitudes of many young spectators, non-critical fans, towards the supporters of the rival team can be marked as prejudices, because they are hostile attitudes towards people from another group of spectators only because they belong to this group, basically. This attitude comes from the presumption that each member of the rival fan group has all negative characteristics which are attributed to the whole group. Usually it holds true that each prejudice is irrational and has a large rate of emotion that vents into the antipathy towards its subject.

From the above-mentioned reasons, the importance of the intensity of young spectators’ emotional experiences while watching the game results. It is shown in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emotional experiences of young spectators</th>
<th>Under 18</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Under 18 in %</th>
<th>Others in %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Emotional excitement for the whole time</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>35.91</td>
<td>25.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occasional emotional excitement</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>48.34</td>
<td>56.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calmness for the whole time</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>15.75</td>
<td>18.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>542</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As is visible from table 4, a great part of the youth has intensive experiences either for the whole time of the game or in some situations according to the development of the game. In comparison to adults, the youth are emotionally excited in a larger percentage for the whole time of the game. If there is a situation that more than one third of the youth are strongly emotionally excited for the whole time, any impulse can increase this tension, and the young spectator may get to a state leading to low rationality of his/her behaviour.

For his/her consequent reaction, it is not very important if he/she comes home to himself/herself with low rationality of his/her behaviour, because he/she is satisfied with the fact that his/her behaviour is discursively based. Then the crucial fact is that he/she came out from emotionally biased information. Conditions for more intensive dynamics and variability of the youth behaviour with a higher possibility of the appearance of mass reactions (panic) or aggressive reactions focused against other groups of spectators are created in this way. Sport practice brings many examples of the fact that groups of young spectators in particular are initiators of reactions at the stands and these reactions very often cause many conflicts. The reactions are spread through the whole stands and also offend adult spectators, who are mostly not oriented towards aggressive and violent behaviour exceeding social standards of behaviour.

For the understanding of youth experiences and reactions in the role of sport spectators, it is important to know what spectators mainly appreciate in the match. The researched spectators’ answers are presented in the following table.

Table 5. What do spectators mainly appreciate in the match?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Under 18</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Under 18 in %</th>
<th>Others in %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fighting spirit of the players</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>412</td>
<td>31.76</td>
<td>35.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Players’ technique</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>23.91</td>
<td>25.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tactics</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>8.53</td>
<td>9.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The atmosphere at the stands</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>20.43</td>
<td>4.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The result</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>15.38</td>
<td>24.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>891</td>
<td>1168</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Football spectators of every age group appreciate mainly the fighting spirit of players and their technical performance. Another very important aspect which is connected with a visit to the match is the atmosphere at the stands. This aspect is crucial for more than 15% of the youth. It has been shown again that not only the happening on the pitch but also the happening at the stands is very important for the youth.

Again, the fact that the result of the game is an important, but not the most important appreciated aspect can be seen in table 5. The result is the most crucial thing of the match only for 15.38% of the youth (in contrast to 24.66% of adults). Other spectators can gain satisfaction from other activities which take place during the attendance of a football match. These activities can be very often connected with the match only indirectly. It is, for example, the opportunity of meeting peers and the
opportunity of presenting oneself as a supporter of the football club. The latter aspect leads to the opportunity of identifying oneself with a larger social group which shares similar opinions and attitudes.

It is just the atmosphere at the stands and the opportunity of being in contact with peers – which allow to experience very intensive emotions – that make young people attend football matches in many cases, even if there is a decreasing trend in the number of spectators in general. This is also the reason why the percentage of the youth at the stands increases. On the one hand, we can regard it as a positive phenomenon, but on the other hand it has also negative implications. The positive aspect of increasing the percentage of the youth is that it can lead them to practising sport regularly. The negative aspect is that a high percentage of young people at the stands also increases the risk of the outbreak of violence. Then the organizers of sport events have a difficult choice. On the one hand, they have to maintain the youth’s interest in sport events, while on the other hand they want to prevent the possibility that the youth can become a problematic part of sport spectators, which can deter other spectators from the attending the matches.

References
The role of local authorities of Czech cities in support of sport: a case study of the capital city of Prague

Miloslav Staněk and Libor Flemr
Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic

Abstract: The integration of the Czech Republic into the European Union structures and associated reforms of public administration resulted in a stronger position for cities and the public policy of the local authorities. The approach of local authorities to particular areas of public policy including sport issues influences the environment and quality of life in administrated areas to a great degree.

This paper presents partial results of the study on the approach of local authorities of the particular districts of the capital city of Prague which are related to sport issues. The research methods included content analyses of official documents and interviews with responsible municipal office members. We report on the status of sport in the public policy framework as well as its organizational, financial, and personal background in the structures of local authority.

The first outcomes of the study showed differences in the approaches of local authorities in regard to sport issues and the impact of financial limitations and political priorities as well as professional competence, or personal preferences of particular councilors.

Keywords: city, local authority, sport policy, public policy.

Introduction

In addition to the generally accepted opinion that sport is an important part of a healthy lifestyle, its role and contribution to the development of personality and social consciousness of an individual is also being stressed more and more nowadays. An active lifestyle becomes, especially for the younger generation, the most effective tool for the prevention of negative social phenomena, for example crime, alcoholism or drug abuse. Sport is generally accepted not only as a factor influencing physical health, but also as a phenomenon which cultivates an individual on the spiritual, social and moral side.

Even though it is mainly an individual activity, it definitely takes place in a social context. Therefore, it must not lie outside the field of view of society and its specialized institutions, state administration and municipal organs, which should create conditions nurturing its development, encouraging it and making it easily accessible (Slepička, 2000). In the legal environment of the Czech Republic, this is confirmed by Act no. 115/2001 Coll. on Support for Sports, which sets the position of sports in society as a community-benefiting activity and orders the institutions of the state and local administration to support it. The competent organization of sports in the environment of large cities, in particular, becomes even more important. In settlements
with more than 100,000 inhabitants, children and youths are exposed to higher risks brought about by the currently growing problems related to crime, drug abuse and other negative social phenomena or to civilization illnesses such as child obesity (Collins, 2005; Buriánek, 2001). All this is for its specifics, which are caused by effect of urbanity factors such as density of population, type of housing construction, polarization of residential and working zones, but also by demographic factors including number and composition of inhabitants etc. (Horská, Maur & Musil, 2002). These specifics significantly influence social relationships inside the community, related to the elevated level of the aforementioned risks on one side and urban-limited possibilities of sporting activities on the other side. Another strong factor in the realm of large cities is also the constantly deeper and deeper diversification of the individual town areas concerning the social-economic composition of the inhabitants (Horská, Maur & Musil, 2002), which forces each local municipal administration to react to specific conditions and requirements, even in the field of sport, and find their own solutions maximizing the positive impact of sport on the community. The specific way of providing such support strongly depends on the above mentioned institutions and their approach to public politics.

Objectives

Only recently, the Czech Republic went through a wave of important changes, such as entering the European Union and reforms of the public administration. These brought along, besides other factors, a significant reinforcement of the role of the municipal administration (Act no. 128/2000 Coll. on Municipalities, Act no. 129/2000 Coll. on Regions and consequential laws) at the regional and, mainly, municipal level. However, the distribution of competencies in sport was not clearly specified legislatively, and neither did the long-expected Act no. 115/2001 Coll. on support for sports clarify anything. Therefore, it depends on the individual regional and town or municipal authorities what approach they take regarding the concept of the support and development of sport. One must realize that the municipal authorities became, even in the field of sport, one of the main elements of its support.

The object of our research is to find out whether the organs of the local administration are ready, with respect to their organization, finances and personnel, to undertake this responsibility and, after evaluating a specific situation in the area administrated by them, conceptually design and implement a specific policy in the field of sports and continuously adjust it according to the continuous results of permanent evaluation of its impact on the quality of the life of the administrated community. This is not only an immediate measure of the municipality administration itself, but also its cooperation with the non-profit sector, formed by civil associations, or with the commercial sector, formed by the entrepreneurial units, offering services in the sports field.

Key objectives of this phase of the research were to learn the approach of the individual town parts to the sports issue, identify the spectrum of the work agenda of
the responsible employees and subsequently create a questionnaire for the next phase of the research.

**Methods**

After the introductory study of domestic and foreign specialized literature, available official records and documents, we proceeded to conduct semi-structured interviews with selected employees of the municipal authorities of five randomly selected parts of the capital city of Prague. The interviews were carried out with the employees who are engaged the closest to the sports sphere. Because of the different approaches of the individual town parts to the support of sports, the respondents were both, the employees who only handle sports as well as multi-tasked employees. Most often they were heads of the education and culture section, in which the sports care is often included. These interviews took place during agreed meetings, in person, at the workplace of the contacted persons. The goal of these interviews was to learn the approach of the individual town parts to the sports issue and to identify the spectrum of the work agenda of the responsible employees. The content of the interviews was gradually adjusted according to the previous interviews, which expanded the interviewer’s knowledge of the relevant matter. The scope was from 45 minutes to two hours. The interviews were recorded on a voice recorder and, afterwards, in the form of a verbatim transcription and summarizing protocol, transferred into written electronic form.

Based on the evaluation of the data collected in the first phase of the research, i.e. data from the specialized literature, official records and documents as well as from the interviews, we created a questionnaire which will serve to collect data from all the town parts of the capital city of Prague. The questions were chosen to cover the sports issues completely from the point of view of the municipal authorities and work agenda of its employees or elected representatives. The questionnaire was, with respect to the different approaches of the individual town parts, designed as semi-structured, to cover the causes and nuances of the chosen approach to the sports field. The data collected in this way will clarify the position of sport within the public policies of the local municipal authority.

In order to verify the structure of this questionnaire, the chosen questions were discussed with a sample of relevant respondents. The five previously contacted employees, as well as five employees from other town parts were contacted. All those experts were asked to respond and provide comments to the content and comprehensibility of the questions. The results showed that the questionnaire must be adjusted. It was mainly due to the imprecise or too narrow understanding of the questions, which led to incompleteness of the information on the approach to the sports field in the individual town parts. Also, comments by the experts pointed out the unclear formulation of some questions or, due to the distribution of the competencies amongst more departments, the difficulty to provide precise information. The questionnaire was, therefore, adjusted. These adjustments covered not only the formulation and content of some questions, but also their number, where some
questions were completely removed and some new were added. The questions regarding the exact information of financial character were removed. On the contrary, questions focusing in detail on the specific forms and processes of support and care of sports were added. The pertinence of these adjustments was then again verified on all previously interviewed employees. The evaluation of the adjusted questionnaire brought significantly more specific and complete information than its previous version. Also, the comments of the interviewed employees were positive. All the interviewed agreed on the comprehensibility and justness of the questions.

Results

Even the preliminary results of the pilot study imply that the individual municipal authorities in the pertinent town areas attach a diametrically different importance to sport and sporting activities. A large difference is already visible in the managing of sport and sporting activities within the organizational structures of the municipal authority. Sport is often incorporated as a part of the education or culture sections, where it often gets much less attention compared to the main specialization of the section. It also happens that more separate sections are assigned to take care of sports, when it apparently causes insufficient mutual communication about the steps taken by the individual sections and consequent disinformation. The position of sport is much stronger in the town areas when sports care is a part of the work agenda of the mayoral office and his/her assistants. During the pilot verification of the questionnaire, no separate department or section for sports was found. There is almost no town part where a document outlining a concept or goals in the sports field exists. In several town parts, they take the statement of policy of the Council of the town part as a directive document; however, it tends to be very general in the sports field. This consequently results in the approach to the individual fields of organization and support of sports. Many town parts rely, probably too much, on the grant proceedings with which they support the activities of the sports organizations with activities within their territory. However, these grant proceedings are based on non-uniform, and sometimes very controversial, selection criteria and, also, the following check and evaluation of what is spent appears insufficient from either the theory of public politics or from a management theory viewpoint. Also, in the field of organizing sporting events or the realization of social programmes directly by the municipal authorities, we can see very different approaches which are, along with the priorities of the local municipal authorities, also influenced by human factors. A very diverse approach is also seen in the field of maintenance and development of the sports infrastructure and its utilization. In all of the contacted town parts, the major importance is on renovation of school facilities. However, the announced access to the public in the afternoon or evening hours, to extend the possibilities of sport for the general public, often collides with the clearly commercial use of the facilities.
Conclusions
The outcomes of the study showed the impact of financial limitations and political priorities, 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. That is why it has not been definitely decided yet whether the created questionnaire will be distributed solely in a written form with an attached cover letter and instructions or whether the questionnaire will be filled in directly in the presence of an interviewer. In the latter case, the selected persons will first be sent the questionnaire and responses would be conveyed during the meeting directly to the interviewer who could immediately ask complementary questions if necessary.

References
From talking shops to constructive partnerships: a case study in community engagement

Chris Stone
Sheffield Hallam University, United Kingdom

Abstract: Sheffield United Football Club, based in the Sharrow district of inner city Sheffield, has had a formal relationship with representatives of its local community ever since a working group was set up in 1994 as part of the consultation process for building a new stand. The Blades Partnership, as it was known, remained beyond the completion of this process but with a seemingly less strategic role.

This paper explores recent changes in the relationship between the two main organizations that formed the Blades Partnership, namely Sheffield United Football Club and Sharrow Community Forum as it has moved from one of “club appeasing local activists” to one of “creating mutual benefits to club and community”.

Keywords: football, partnership, community, case study.

Introduction
The relationship between professional football clubs and their local communities is often central to discourses surrounding the sport. Historically, football clubs have been seen as a valuable source of social and civic identity to be contested and celebrated within towns and cities as well as between them (Russell, 1997). In addition to these nostalgically driven assertions to the “warmth” and “security” attached to notions of “community”, there may also be negative impacts on the local neighbourhood, such as noise, litter or parking problems (Bale, 1993) and minimal engagement from local people. Recent research suggests that for some football clubs their local neighbourhood communities are no longer the main source of support (Brown et al, 2006). As a result the presence of a football club offers little for many local people with which to identify themselves.

Furthermore, much discussion recently has centred on the responsibility of professional football clubs towards a variety of stakeholders – fans, the grassroots game, local neighbourhood communities or shareholders, for example. The aim of this paper is not so much to examine the moralities of such responsibilities but use Sheffield United Football Club as a case in point to examine the reasons for and issues involved with clubs attempting to form partnerships with local groups and engage or build bridges with their local communities. It is based upon involvement with the Blades Partnership as part of a recently completed three year research project funded by the Football Foundation on “Football and its Communities” (Brown et al, 2006) and a current project, “MatchMaker”, funded jointly by the British Arts Council, Sheffield
United FC and Sharrow Community Forum aiming at breaking down barriers between the football club and local constituents. It is not intended as a conclusive piece of research, based as it is on ongoing observations, but will hopefully provide the foundation for a more comprehensive investigation once the Matchmaker project is complete.

The club
Sheffield United F.C. is one of the oldest football clubs in Britain. Throughout their history they have flirted with success, and, for a city of the size of Sheffield with a relatively large fan base, could best be described as perennial underachievers. Having said that, they have consistently maintained a position within the top two divisions of the English professional league, though last season (2006/7) was their first in the top tier for twelve years only for them to be relegated straight away in controversial circumstances.

The club’s stadium is located in an area on the very edge of the city centre, surrounded by terraced housing. These streets that immediately surround the ground still house people that have lived in the same place, or at least within a couple of blocks, for a whole generation. Many more, though, have moved out, partly due to successive waves of redevelopment around the area. As a result, the club’s neighbourhood has become home to a fairly transient population. It is an area that has undergone significant demographic change during the last couple of decades (Bennett, 1997). Most noticeable is the relatively large numbers of ethnic minority inhabitants, especially Bangladeshi, Pakistani, Afro-Caribbean, Somali and Chinese (these groups make up approximately 30% of the local population).

Against this cultural backdrop, Sheffield United have, like so many other mid-sized professional football clubs, been trying to expand whilst competing in an increasingly diversified leisure market and relying on the historical roots of football and the loyalty of supporters to maintain their customer base.

During the past ten years, Sheffield United has had a history of working with local “communities”. A persistent link with a local anti-racist organization, Football Unites, Racism Divides (FURD) has seen a conscious effort to break down racist attitudes within the game, though it is debateable how strong a partnership this is in terms of commitment by the club. Secondly, an increasingly more professional relationship with Sharrow Community Forum, that initially became formalized as the “Blades Partnership” in 1998, has emerged.

The partnership
The Sharrow Community Forum (S.C.F.) was founded in 1997 by a group of local people involved in local development issues. They are currently funded by Objective 1 and Yorkshire Forward, through the South Sheffield Partnership. One of their main objectives, as listed in their mission document is, “to facilitate and encourage community cohesion...” by,
working to establish trust between different groups and communities; coordinating umbrella groups, joint working and partnerships; facilitating formal and informal networking; connecting community, local organizations, organisations, businesses and statutory bodies, facilitating discussion and brokering the different interests (S.C.F., 2004, online).

The Blades Partnership itself seemed to emerge from a number of converging interests. In 1994, part of Sheffield United’s stadium, namely the John Street Stand, was demolished and for the next couple of years local residents were exposed to much upheaval as it was being rebuilt. During this period of major redevelopment work, the club saw fit to form a Community Liaison Committee with local residents. This was partly because there was a feeling that local people always seemed to protest against plans to develop the club.

A meeting in May 1998 between the club chairman, a local resident/activist and founder member of S.C.F. and another representative of a local tenants association became the inaugural meeting of the Blades Partnership. At the time the chairman, Kevin McCabe, was keen to offer something positive to the local community and as part of the rebuilding of that side of the ground the Blades Enterprise Centre and Community Hall were established and incorporated within the structure of the stadium. The former was partly provoked by an early policy statement from S.C.F. which was included in a match programme during the 1997/98 season calling for greater integration and proposing that Sheffield United and Sharrow Community Forum work together to provide jobs for local people. The fact that Kevin McCabe’s main business is property development and such developments were a major part of his company’s portfolio makes it seem less altruistic, but it was still designed to be of benefit to local people, part of the original costs being met by European Social Fund Objective One funding (Brown et al., 2006, 45). The partnership played a crucial role in obtaining this money to help finance the build as well as communicating the possibilities of these provisions to the local community.

The Blades Enterprise Centre was opened in 2001 and specific targets attached to the funding bid needed discussion meaning that the monthly meetings of the Blades Partnership had a project centred purpose. The centre manager would report, a representative from FURD would seek assurances that the needs of black and minority ethnic (B.M.E.) communities were being appropriately addressed, the Federations of Stadium Communities (F.S.C.) would offer support, the Sharrow Community Forum (S.C.F.) would represent the interests of local people. However, once this was up and running and starting to become self-sufficient, with the original goals seemingly less important than financial stability, the Blades Partnership began to fall into disarray as it lacked any prominent focus. The use and management of the Community Hall remained on the agenda but the issues being raised, as recorded in the minutes, seemed to be rather parochial.
There were attempts by the chair of the Blades Partnership to address this lack of direction, but possibly the biggest problem was that the club’s representative at these meetings was the stadium manager who seemed to be simply acting as a messenger and possessed no “community” experience, in terms of formal skills. The club, once the commercial aspects had been addressed, deferred responsibility of the community hall to S.C.F. Whilst the Forum was probably in a better position to do this job, as a result, any notion of the partnership as an active relationship between club and community seemed to dissolve.

Partnerships emerge for specific reasons, but according to Geddes (2005), for partnerships to work the following characteristics need to be in place. Clear strategic objectives that are reviewed and readdressed for long term commitment, commitment to change and an understanding of the political/commercial arenas each partner works within in order to achieve a mutual way forward to the benefit of all and specific added value that can demonstrate the benefits to the individual partners. Having said that, what it seems to come down to most often is the individuals involved, their enthusiasm and commitment to the goal of the partnership. This can lead to great achievements but without the structures in place can become dominated by personal issues. When individuals are working within a clear structure and with an understanding of their relative positions within the partnership, the strengths and knowledge that individuals bring are what makes partnership working succeed.

The individuals involved with the Blades Partnership ended up as follows:

– The chair of Sharrow Community Forum who was a local neighbourhood activist with her heart in the right place and who had developed a good relationship with Sheffield United but had limited vision of what was needed.
– A local counsellor who was also a long standing Sheffield United supporter. Her experience of the political process and community issues was unfortunately sometimes dominated by self importance.
– A local resident and life long United supporter and possibly the oldest living season ticket holder who was very familiar to the club and had spent most of his life politically involved with local issues.
– A representative from the Federation of Stadium Communities who was present as an advisor only and offered practical information when required based on situations arising in the neighbourhoods of other football clubs.
– A member of staff from Sheffield United whose official title was Stadium Manager and who was mostly concerned with structural, match day issues such as litter, parking, etc. Whilst he was most likely the most appropriate person from the club to attend, he had no formal “community” experience or skills and was unlikely to gain any such career development training to assist him in this role.

As a result, the monthly meetings simply became “talking shops”. They became a reason to meet in and of themselves as opposed to a means of challenging the status quo and taking the next step. The same issues were constantly being raised and
meetings seemed to take on a parochial air. The partnership lacked a strategic direction in part due to personal issues dominating wider contextual issues and possibilities.

**Matchmaker**

The Matchmaker project emerged because the chairman, Kevin McCabe, wanted the “Legends of the Lane” club museum to become a more prominent part of the club. Ideally, that the museum, as one of the few “outward facing” parts of the club, could somehow become an attraction to both supporters and locals interested in the history of the area, in the development of which the stadium and club play such a major role.

In its original guise, the project, entitled “United Journeys” aimed to set up a number of workshops to be held within the confines of the stadium that would explore, in a number of creative ways, the journeys that different individuals (long term local residents, recent arrivals, supporters, players, casual stadium staff such as cleaners, stewards, caterers, etc.) had made to get to Sharrow/Sheffield United. The process would result in something that could be exhibited, or a series of exhibitions, in the museum. It was felt that what was equally as important as any final products was the process through which they were created, which it was hoped would break down barriers between local people and the football club.

For the duration of the two years that the project has been in the development stage (a year longer than planned due to a change in circumstances of key stakeholders), it has provided a strong focus for the partnership between Sharrow Community Forum and Sheffield United to consolidate its aims. This project is a very small part of much greater plans for regeneration in the area, but if the club show as much commitment to other community issues as they have to the Matchmaker project, a far more strategic partnership could emerge. Due to the conviction of the project management team, Sheffield United have committed £15,000 to an initiative the results of which were unknown and due to the creative nature of the project will not be known until it is finished.

At the time of writing, “MatchMaker” has had its initial launch at the start of the 2007/8 football season and will culminate in a focus on the match day rituals that take place in the club, the neighbourhood and supporters’ lives on one particular match day mid-way through the season. The rituals will be captured using the creative methods (film making/documentary, photography, printmaking, and poetry/textual narrative) that the commissioned artists will have helped those involved in the project to develop in the period leading up to the chosen match day.

What the possibilities of the Matchmaker project present is a genuine attempt to break down barriers in a unique and potentially progressive way. It is a partnership that includes individuals with proven track records at achieving integration. The steering group for the project is comprised of the following:

- **Project Management** – two creative artists who have successfully completed similar engagement projects.
- **Sheffield United** – the Finance Director who is commercially motivated but understands the importance of communicating with local communities as well
as supporters/customers and the Museum Curator whose enthusiasm for the history of Sheffield United and Sharrow cannot be overestimated.1

– Sharrow Community Forum – the current Director who has a much more realistic understanding of the potential that a partnership with the club could hold as well as the differing motivations of the two organizations and a Community Engagement Worker who is part of a recently assembled Neighbourhood Management team (Sharrow Partnership, 2007).

– Federation of Stadium Communities – the new Chief Executive who has been keen to develop innovative means of community engagement with sports clubs throughout Britain.

Whilst each partner’s individual aims may still be to some extent based on self interest and self promotion, they are also concordant to the positive benefit of an ongoing connection.

The concern is that beyond the life of the project, engagement will falter in a similar way to that of the Blades Partnership. The possible difference is that, unlike the Blades Partnership which had at its core a feeling of antagonism, or at least a constant imbalance that suggested the “community” were mostly complaining or asking for favours from the club, this project has at its centre an understanding that the local community could be a resource for the club and that Sheffield United is a part of the neighbourhood rather than an imposition upon it. Sustainability of such a relationship, however, will rely on continuing communication about the further possibilities that community engagement could bring, rather than seeing the simple act of communication as the be all and end all, which is how the Blades Partnership slid into a meaningless existence.

To come full circle and address the role of professional football clubs in an increasingly commercial environment, what has to be realized is that part of their business (as a football club, rather than the increasingly diversified companies many are becoming) is the maintenance of a specific identity – a “brand” in today’s marketing speak – which has at its core appeals to historically and geographically defined values both as a business and as a club. If these are not upheld, the market takes control and football fans, possibly the most brand loyal individuals of all, simply become consumers of a product and are most likely to base their support around success on the field, which at present is limited to very few clubs.

The promotion of “football culture” to a new locally based population and a more open and diverse way of engaging with local people will offer a new “market” for the club that is based on a different type of “belonging” than that centred on competition and glory, images that those who are unfamiliar with football constantly have reinforced by the media.

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1 Since the original presentation of this paper, the Finance Director has left Sheffield United. His role is being filled by the Media Manager, who has been very enthusiastic about the project since taking over.
The responsibility for maintaining and promoting the more prosaic aspects of “belonging” attached to football culture, is not, however, solely that of football clubs (or any of the football bodies promoting the grass roots game). Upheld for generations by more solid family and kinship ties, support for the local football club could now be more reliant on strategic “community” interventions to promote the possibilities and advantages of having a professional football club in the neighbourhood.

References
The reputation of sports clubs in Japan

Kozo Tomiyama
Osaka University of Health and Sport Sciences, Japan

Abstract: Sports clubs have the important role of promoting sports in a community. Each sports club prepares a good sports programme for the people in a community, and members from children to the elderly participate in the activities. To get the support from stakeholders such as a community, club members, and the government, sponsors are very important for the stable club operation.

The concept of “reputation” is receiving increased attention from social scientists studying sports. A sports club’s reputation is based on a relationship of mutual trust which is built up through the various club operations to the stakeholders. If a sports club is highly regarded by the stakeholders, this good reputation means the sports club can have stable operations for a long time.

The purpose of this study was to apply and test the concept of reputation of the sports club in order to identify exactly what a sports club’s reputation is. The data were collected by the spectators of a football club belonging to the Japan Football League, using the questionnaire method. Two hundred and twenty-two spectators of the club’s last home game in 2006 answered the questionnaire. The club’s reputation was measured by “reputation measurement items” consisting of twelve items developed by the author consulting Fomburn (2004). The results demonstrate the different reputation characteristics based on gender, age, and the frequency of attendance. Females were more affected by the players and coach than males. Older people (over 36) were more affected by the items that bring pride and sentimentality than younger people. People who attended games frequently were more affected by the vision and game performance than those who attended less often.

Keywords: reputation, sports club, sports promotion.

Introduction

The reputation paradigms are competing for the sports management researchers’ attention. The purpose of this study is to identify the spectators’ attitudes towards a sports club (football club). These attitudes form the reputation of the sports club. Reputation is a managerial indicator that is constructed by stakeholders such as spectators, the local government, local residents, sponsors, and so on. A good reputation will help lead to the stable operation of the club.

A good reputation of a sports club will help build up and sustain a sports club’s intangible assets, such as a good working relationship, positive work environment, and knowledge. Building up a good reputation is like putting pennies day after day into a piggybank. One day you stop, count the pennies, and you are surprised to learn how
much you have saved. You cannot touch a good reputation, but you will know it when you see it.

When managing a sports club, it is very important to keep the good relationship between the club and the stakeholders. Figure 1 shows the four typical stakeholders of the sports club. First, if a sports club is a competitive team, the spectators are one of the big stakeholders. The frequency of attendance to the games by the spectators varies, some spectators are fanatics and the others are just casual fans. The next stakeholder is the local government. The education board is the organization that takes responsibility for the local sports promotion. In addition to the governmental organization, local sports organizations, such as a local soccer association are one of the stakeholders of the sports club. Other sports clubs can also be stakeholders of the sports club. Important stakeholders of a club are its sponsors, being crucial for obtaining operational funds. And the last stakeholders dealt with here are the local residents. The management of a sports club can greatly affect the local economy and improve the psychological cohesion of the local residents.

![Fig.1 Stakeholder of the club](image)

Figure 1. Stakeholders of sports clubs

A good reputation is an indispensable asset in managing the sports club in a stable way. So, how can we generate the reputation for the stakeholders? Figure 2 (see next page) shows how to improve the reputation. “Commitment” is the first way to get a reputation. The personal commitment level of the club is influential in improving the reputation. The next one is “Frequency to obtain information”. Being able to obtain good information of the club frequently is influential in building up a good reputation. And the third one is “information source”. To get good information about the club from a reliable source improves the reputation.
Figure 2. Elements that can improve the reputation of a sports club

**Method**

**Types of clubs**

There are various types of sports clubs in Japan. Some clubs have about 10 or 15 members like a kind of sports circle, while professional soccer clubs in the “J-league” have 31 teams in Japan. This study focuses on the “FC-Ryukyu” soccer club belonging the JFL league (Japan Football League), located in Okinawa prefecture in Japan. Okinawa prefecture is the island prefecture located in south-west Japan. There are 18 teams belonging the JFL. Figure 3 shows the hierarchy of the Japanese football league.

Figure 3. Hierarchy of the Japanese football league
Survey
Research using a survey was conducted on the spectators at a FC Ryukyu home-game in November 2006. The game was the season’s final home game. A questionnaire was distributed at the stadium entrance gate before the game, and collected at the seats and exits before the game, at half-time and after the game. The sample included 223 questionnaires, and the response rate was 74.3%.

Results
Demographic characteristics
The demographic characteristics of the sample are shown in figures 4a to 4d. Figure 4a shows the age of the sample. Participants aged from 30 to 39 constitute 38% of the sample, 23% are 40 to 49 years old. The average age was 37.6. Figure 4b shows the gender distribution. About 60% of the sample were male.

Figure 4a/4b. Age and sex of the sample

Figure 4c shows the number of visits to home games. Spectators who attend from one to three times make up 41% of the sample, while 27% attend matches four to six times. Figure 4d shows the number of visits to away games. 16% of the sample attend away games.

Figure 4c/4d. Number of visits to home games/away games
Reputation score

Table 1 shows the average reputation score. Each item was asked using a five-point Likert type scale, and scored from 1 (disagree) to 5 (agree). “Representative of Okinawa Prefecture” (4.61) was the highest score of all, and “supplies a good sports environment for kids” (4.56) was second. On the other hand, “satisfied with the game” (3.08) and “revitalizes the local elderly people” (3.34) are the lowest scores of all.

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<th>Table 1. Club reputation score (average)</th>
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<td>1. representative of Okinawa pref.</td>
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<td>2. supply the good sports environment for kids</td>
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<td>3. give pride to prefecture people</td>
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<td>4. make prefecture bonds stronger</td>
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<td>5. revitalize the local economy</td>
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<td>10. satisfied the game</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 shows the reputation score compared by gender. Only two items, “players are viewed favorably” and “coaches are viewed favorably” are significantly different between male and female. The average score of the female is higher than the male scores for these two points. This result is due to greater female interests in players or coaches personally.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2 Reputation score (compared by sex)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. representative of Okinawa Prefecture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. supplies a good sports environment for kids</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. gives pride to the prefecture's people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. makes prefectural bonds stronger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. revitalize the local economy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. revitalize the local elderly people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. feel sympathy the club’s vision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. players are viewed favorably</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. coaches are viewed favorably</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. are satisfied with the game</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. fun service is satisfactory</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 shows the reputation scores compared by age. There are eight items that are significantly different. Elder respondents’ scores of all these items are higher than younger respondents’ scores.
The reputation of sports clubs in Japan

Table 3 Reputation score (compared by age)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Score 1</th>
<th>Score 2</th>
<th>P-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. representative of Okinawa Prefecture</td>
<td>4.53</td>
<td>4.70</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. supplies a good sports environment for kids</td>
<td>4.40</td>
<td>4.74</td>
<td>p&lt;.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. gives pride to the prefecture’s people</td>
<td>4.03</td>
<td>4.43</td>
<td>p&lt;.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. makes prefectural bonds stronger</td>
<td>3.95</td>
<td>4.40</td>
<td>p&lt;.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. revitalizes the local economy</td>
<td>3.92</td>
<td>4.31</td>
<td>p&lt;.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. revitalizes the local elderly people</td>
<td>3.18</td>
<td>3.51</td>
<td>p&lt;.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. feel sympathy with the club’s vision</td>
<td>3.98</td>
<td>4.42</td>
<td>p&lt;.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. players are viewed favorably</td>
<td>4.23</td>
<td>4.52</td>
<td>p&lt;.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. coaches are viewed favorably</td>
<td>4.11</td>
<td>4.18</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. are satisfied with the game</td>
<td>2.97</td>
<td>3.19</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. fan service is satisfactory</td>
<td>4.09</td>
<td>4.38</td>
<td>p&lt;.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 shows the reputation score compared by frequency. There are three items that are significantly different. These items refer to “club vision”, “players” and “satisfied with the game”.

Table 4 Reputation score (compared by frequency)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Score 1</th>
<th>Score 2</th>
<th>P-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. representative of Okinawa Prefecture</td>
<td>4.68</td>
<td>4.70</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. supplies a good sports environment for kids</td>
<td>4.57</td>
<td>4.71</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. gives pride to the prefecture’s people</td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>4.28</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. makes prefectural bonds stronger</td>
<td>4.16</td>
<td>4.31</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. revitalizes the local economy</td>
<td>4.10</td>
<td>4.29</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. revitalizes the local elderly people</td>
<td>3.28</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. feel sympathy with the club’s vision</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>4.50</td>
<td>p&lt;.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. players are viewed favorably</td>
<td>4.28</td>
<td>4.67</td>
<td>p&lt;.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. coaches are viewed favorably</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>4.22</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. are satisfied with the game</td>
<td>3.23</td>
<td>2.76</td>
<td>p&lt;.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. fan service is satisfactory</td>
<td>4.20</td>
<td>4.42</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conclusion

Talking about the reputation of FC Ryukyu, the responses show that women care more about players and coaches than men. The sample’s scores of older people are higher than the ones of younger people as far as the club’s role for representation is concerned. Frequent spectators’ scores are higher concerning questions about the game and vision of the club.
“Acrobatic Salsa” in Germany –
adoption process and body norms

Silke Vagt-Keßler
German Sports University of Cologne

Abstract: In Germany, we find an implementation of salsa dancing that is characterized by the use of acrobatic elements. In this article, I ask for the social reasons of this behaviour and discuss “Acrobatic Salsa” with the body habits and commitment of performance of German culture. I will specify this central phenomenon of the salsa scene with a heuristic model by Strauss and Corbin with a link to Grounded Theory Methodology (GTM). To interpret this phenomenon, I will analyse its social context, the strategies of acting, its consequences and its causes. In my field work in the city of Cologne, I used a mixture of methods like expert interviews referring to the local salsa scene, observational research in salsa clubs and problem focused interviews with dancers.

Keywords: dance culture, body practice, body norms, cultural change, salsa.

1 Introduction

Physical activity and body cultures do not exist inherently. They develop in the social context in which they are practised. They are a cultural phenomenon depending on social values, thus their perception and transformation in different cultures may be diverse as we can see in the case of Finnish Tango. This article focuses on the perception of cultural/ethnic differences in the context of physical activity. I am interested in the cultural body practices of immigrants who brought their facilities to the German society and the interaction that occurs. The world of salsa dancing is still something exceptional in Germany. The reactions of German non-dancers range between exaltation and odium. Salsa dancing is identified with Afro-Caribbean music and Spanish language, hip accentuated moves and the jolly atmosphere in salsa clubs. It offers the fame of erotic, philandering and fun. Salsa dancing is rooted in the 1960s in New York when different music influences from Cuba, Puerto Rico and American Jazz met. It was the music of a socio-cultural movement of Puerto Rican immigrants who lived in segregated quarters of New York (Quintero, 1998, 868). Salsa is a mixture of different Latin-American rhythms like mambo, chacha, rumba and so on (Steward, 2000, 617). For about twenty-five years, salsa dancing is present in Germany (Zwack, 1998, 20). There are some big cities with

1 I would like to thank all my interview partners for opening their experience base. I would like to thank Elke Vagt for assistance, Catie Keßler for helpful review and Eva Marie Günzler, Jürgen Appel and Ramona Dreehsen for revision.

2 Steward (2000) gives a good overview about the history of salsa, the stars and the implementation in different Latin-American countries and the U.S.
sizable salsa communities like Hamburg, Berlin and Munich. But also in smaller towns we can find an increasing amount of salsa-clubs and salsa-courses. Cologne, the location of my research, is seen from experts as the “salsa-metropolis” of the western part of Germany.

Salsa is a matter of my particular interest because of the high percentage of multicultural participants, mostly Latin-Americans and Africans. As our body is a social phenomenon, in the process of socialization, we learn how to use and to present our body.

What ever we do with our body, how we treat it, how we use it, what attitude we have towards it, how we judge it, feel it and which meaning we attribute to it, all this is shaped by the society and the culture, we are living in (Gugutzer, 2004, 5, author’s own translation).

The questions that arise are: what happens if different cultures come together? How do the Germans react to this new influence? How do they perceive salsa dancing in comparison with other cultures? How do the Germans feel dancing and what does it mean to them?

2 Methodology
I took the data of this study from my qualitative orientated research in the Cologne salsa clubs. Participatory observation was an important part of it. It was necessary to immerge in the salsa scene and to make own experiences as a dancer. Introspection was one of my central principles by collecting data. This was especially important because I noted different body practices of my dance partners depending on cultural/ethnical background.

Up to now, I did six problem focused interviews (Witzel, 1982, 66) with male dancers about their perception of their own dance activity and of other dancers from different cultures. It was a relevant first step to do interviews with male dancers because usually they lead the woman and have the most influence and power to arrange the situation.³ My theoretical sampling was aimed at the different cultural backgrounds of dancers: Latin-American, German and African. Moreover, I did three expert interviews with a club owner, a dancing master and a dancer who knows salsa and tango.⁴ Also, I got lots of benefits from informal talks with dancers because I could communicate with them without any fear of an interview-situation and without

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³ In the salsa scene of Cologne, there also exist a small number of dancing couples who change the leading position and play with gender roles and power. We can find some couples of men or women in the salsa scene. There exist dance schools especially for women (http://www.swinging-sisters.de) and for homosexuals, transgender and their friends (http://www.seitenwechsel.zeughaus24.de). This alternative role-playing seems to be even more usual in the more experimental and distinguished tango scene: E.g. since the year 2000, there’s organised an International Queer Tango Argentino Festival in Hamburg (http://www.queer-tango.de). From the starting point of gender studies, Saikin (2004) analysed the cultural heterosexual roles and found homosexual traces in the history of tango.

⁴ More interviews, especially with female dancers, are planned in the further research.
perspective of social acceptability. I got to know the affirmative feeling by improving my technical skills. I got deeper and deeper into the salsa scene up to the point when it was important to exit the field to regain more scientific distance.

In the analysis of my data, I will specify the central phenomenon with an heuristic model by Strauss and Corbin (1996, 78) which is linked to Grounded Theory Methodology. To analyse the central phenomenon, I will interpret the phenomenon in its social context, its causes, its consequences and the strategies of acting.

Figure 1. Paradigmatic Model of Strauss and Corbin

3 The central phenomenon “Acrobatic Salsa”

As salsa is spread in many regions, a lot of different styles have developed, e.g. Cuban, New York or Puerto Rican style. These styles differ in relation to the basic steps, rotation figures, the arm movements and other expressive details. What kind of style we can find in a certain city depends a lot on the teachers and their philosophy of dancing.\(^5\) In Cologne, e.g. the Puerto Rican style is dominant.

3.1 Description of “Acrobatic Salsa”

The central phenomenon of German salsa dancing I found in the Cologne Salsa scene is independent of the different styles I described above. The phenomenon that I will call the “Acrobatic Salsa” means the attitude and the way how in Germany the different styles are performed: Often, the dancers act with a lot of artistic elements and the willingness of technical perfectionism. My African interview partner Malik\(^6\) described the phenomenon as follows:

Like a friend said to me: This is not a dance any longer. It’s a fitness dance (laughs) because you turn around, turn around... Afterwards you

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\(^5\) Also and in combination with this, the cultural influence on the region is interesting. In Berlin e.g., as a lot of Cubans lived in the G.D.R., they brought the Cuban style to the Eastern capital. This style persists as dominant until.

\(^6\) All the names of my interview partners are anonymized.
go home and get muscles. Because this is more a training, muscle training. Strength instead of passion, instead of emotion.

In contrast, we may find other ways of dancing, too. There is a group of the dancers who prefer to dance the “seducing Salsa” in a very close body contact instead of dancing figures in an expressive way. It is the more erotic variation combined with the basic steps. The accent lies on the erotic meeting of bodies while dancing, not on the performance to the audience. My German interview partner Andreas described his perception as follows:

After a hot dance with a Latin, some female friends of mine told me, that they preferred to sit down again because the guy would not stop to fumble for their G-string.

Additionally, there are for example dancers who do not have got the ambition to present a perfect performance but who want to feel the rhythm and to dance with the inspiration of the moment. This is described by my African interview partner Malik who used to dance like it is usual in his native country Senegal. This means, he danced more intuitively, fixed on the rhythm and the music and not on special steps or figures.

3.2 The interpretation with an heuristic model

3.2.1 The context of “Acrobatic Salsa”
In Cologne, in the year 2007 salsa is hardly ever played next to rock or pop music. The salsa scene is a special community, apart from the common.\(^7\) We can find about ten salsa-clubs and several parties each day.

![Figure 2. Development of the Cologne salsa scene: clubs and parties per week (1989-2007). Source: author’s own data; collected in expert interviews and online-research.](image)

About twenty years ago, there was only one club with a small amount of parties. Moreover, in the surroundings like Bonn, Wuppertal and other towns, there are further locations, too. The entrance fee is about 3 or 4 Euros and the locations offers differ in

\(^7\) In Spain, the situation is totally different: The sport sociologist Beatriz Muñoz reported in an interview that there it is nothing special to dance salsa because of similar roots of music, language and culture. It is almost ordinary in everyday life to hear this kind of music all-around. Most of the people know basic dancing steps and dance without perfectionism.
furniture, audience and level of dancing.\textsuperscript{8} All in all, we notice a lot of possibilities to dance. Here, we can see an increasing offer what is combined with rising interest.

To vary the atmosphere and dance partners, in the 1980ies, the dancers used to go dancing to other cities in North Rhine-Westphalia like Düsseldorf, Wuppertal or Dortmund. As one owner of a salsa club expressed, about 80\% of the guests came from other places. Today, the contingent is about 20\%. We have to consider this together with the high amount of dancers and parties today that brings more variety to the Cologne scene.

There are about 1,000 dancers who go out more than once a week in Cologne (estimation of an club owner) so that it is not absolutely necessary to leave the city if you want to get to know new people.\textsuperscript{9} The social composition of the local salsa scene is heterogeneous\textsuperscript{10}: the age ranges between 25 and 60 years, the average is about 35 years. The social status seems to be mixed, but in general a bit lower than the average of population. In Germany, dancing is a traditional part of female sport culture.\textsuperscript{11} Looking at Salsa dancing, interestingly more or less half of the people are men. There is a high rate of Latin-Americans, African and Turkish male dancers who maybe have less timidity to dance from her cultural background. In addition, we find a high rate of female singles that may motivate a part of the male dancers.

3.2.2 Strategies of acting

If we have a look at the social behaviour in Cologne salsa culture, we find a high frequency of dance activity: e.g. Andreas is in daily contact with salsa dancing either learning new skills in dancing classes or spending free-time on parties. Many dancers go out for dancing up to five times a week. A lot of them consider themselves as “addicted to dance”.

During the evening, there is a high rate of dance activity: Dancers seldom rest during the evening and usually do not drink any alcohol to stay capable for dancing.\textsuperscript{12} We can find a lot of rotation of dancing partners during the whole evening. This appears to be very important. Thus, there is a lot of social contact in the scene. Many of the dancers come without partners, so many people go out alone and need to make contact with strangers. We can see the important social dimension of this physical activity: A lot of dancers want to stay with others, but without commitment. It is a

\textsuperscript{8} Here, we can see a social spatial segregation of the salsa scene: There are on the one hand “moral niches” and on the other hand locals with status-conscious audience and fancy setting.

\textsuperscript{9} A result of this high amount of dancers is the anonymous atmosphere, changing from a “family-feeling” to more superficially contacts in the scene.

\textsuperscript{10} Further on, I will run a quantitative survey about the social structure of the Cologne scene to verify the following data from observation.

\textsuperscript{11} A representative CATI-survey of Germans up from 14 years showed clear gender differences: To the question “Which kind of physical education do you practice at least now and then?” a part of 9.6\% of female respondents mentioned dancing, but only 2.6\% of male respondents (Puhe et al., 2005, 18).

\textsuperscript{12} This may bring financial problems to club owners because usually, they earn an important part of their business volume with alcoholic drinks.
“community of moment” (Klein & Haller, 2006, 244). People can come, drink something, dance one hour or just meet people while listening to the music or watching the couples. It is a perfect situation to get to know new people, to play with each other and to flirt.

The central strategy of acting in the Cologne salsa scene is to visit dancing classes to improve the technical skills. As formal instruction “is regarded as extremely important (…) Germans believe that one should learn it from the bottom up and from a qualified teacher” (Wieschiolek 2003, 127). There is a high amount of courses and workshops, either before dance parties, in cafés or in dance schools. In Cologne, the university sport is exceeding important: In 1997, there was only one course once a week with an amount of 30 students, today, we have 16 courses with about 500 students and different levels per week. Often, the dancers visit several courses per week because they are highly motivated. In the consequence, there is a continuous flow of new people who arrive freshly at the scene.

![Figure 3. Amount of salsa courses: University sport in Cologne (1997-2007). Source: author’s own data; collected in the programmes of different organizations of university sport.](image)

3.2.3 Consequences of “Acrobatic Salsa”

The consequence of “Acrobatic Salsa” is a more reserved way of dancing with a high contingent of different and ambitious figures. This leads to a higher technical level and, together with a good body feeling, to the capacity of expressive presentation on the dance-floor. Andreas told me that after two years of excessive salsa dancing: “Now I know a lot of women who like to dance with me. (…) I became more self-confident.” Before dancing, he described himself as a very shy young man. He was even afraid to speak with women. Now he has got an instrument to get in contact. He likes it to

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13 Germans like to take dance lessons not only in salsa but also traditionally in other ballroom dances like waltz and foxtrot. There is a sophisticated system of dance schools established.

14 There is built up a market of salsa-classes, and it is a possibility to benefit from this process if you know to dance. A lot of Latin-American and Cuban immigrants had brought the dance to Germany, and they gave classes, built up salsa-clubs and presented their knowledge on the stage. It is a way for immigrants to augment their opportunity for advancement: They may find work without the need of a German diploma and distinguish because of their body use and feeling of rhythm.
perform and in his perception, he gets affirmation from female dance partners much improving his self-esteem.

The aim of a part of men, for sure, is to impress female dancers (and also the watching audience), but there is also the need of basic and superior skills to realize it. This brings a lot of pressure to the salsa scene because the expectations of female dance partners seem to be orientated towards figures and styling. The leading job of men is to give security and variety to the dance because of the leading position of male dance-part. But a lot of men feel overstrained to play with different elements and with the movements and rhythms. From a critical point of view, a dancing teacher complained that his pupils wanted to learn “thousands of turnings” in a very short time and without patience to understand them and to learn them profoundly. At the end, we can find the phenomenon on stage that a lot of difficult figures are memorized and danced like a must. The dancers often combine the figures as a programme they had learned before. And if the programme is over, some do not know how to continue without repeating the same figures in the same order.

In my field work and in my interviews, I got to know a lot of examples of men who felt frustrated because of the rejection of women. If they cannot deliver an exciting dance-experience for the woman, she could feel bored and turn the man down. This experience was a part of Andreas dance biography, too. He told me the story of a woman who said once: “I feel bored with you. Let’s dance other figures!” Andreas’ answer next to disappointment was to learn more figures in order to arrange more diverse dance situation.

Another reaction of these kind of destructive comments is the retreat from dancing. In these days, my African interview partner Malik just sits and watches the stage, drinking a beer. He told me a key situation that was very frustrating for him: “The dance lost its soul. I don’t dance anymore since a woman said to me: You can’t dance figures, so you’re not interesting for me any longer.” All the people in his country used to dance, as part and expression of life but without special steps and figures and without flirt with someone all the time. To stay in closely body contact is something very normal in Senegal. In his perception, the people do not need such special situation as the Germans.

Malik stays in the salsa scene because of his love to the music and his profound relation to salsa because he grew up with this music in Senegal. For him, the “Acrobatic Salsa” becomes foreign. In the interview, Malik rejected strictly to visit German salsa courses because of his dissatisfaction with dance lessons.

I have never seen an African who visited a dance school. (…) I don’t want to tell someone how to dance. (…) If someone says: Let’s dance in this way, there’s no sensation left. That’s too mathematical. (…) I just want to move, just enjoy the music.

In addition, we can recognize another male reaction to the female desire of entertainment. As I described it above, this performance is more orientated to the erotic atmosphere, to a deep intensity of dancing. The Latin-American dancer Fernando told
me: “We know how to reach our aim, in relation to women. (...) You can play, you know what to do. You have learnt to dance very early as child.” My interview partner mentioned body techniques to get in emotional contact. These could be eye contact, the compression of hands, the closeness of dancing, signals of attraction, compliments and others. To German female dancers, these body techniques may be interesting, exotic and fascinating. In other study, they expressed that in salsa, they “just feel like a woman”, without assuming responsibility for the dance situation and with the pleasure of pure enjoyment (Eksi, 2004, 88-89).

To understand the use of these body techniques, we have to reflect the image of women of the dancers: “But in Latin-America, we would retard. (...) Here, we play this game of seducement. (...) We don’t want to respect the women any longer. We live in Europe now. We think that women only want the one thing.” In this comment, we may see a change in Latin-American perception of women in dancing. Maybe there is an intensification of the internalized habits of behaviour but also a consciously use and overplay of the image of the Latin-American identity.

3.2.4 The causes of “Acrobatic Salsa”
From the sociological sport science, we know very well that different cultures have varieties of somatic cultures, norms and habits (Rittner, 1986, 125; Schaua & Keiner, 2006, 139). In consequence, we have to look for the causes of “Acrobatic Salsa” in the German society and culture. I see two relevant points:

– the willingness to perform and
– the acceptance of norms of distance.

First: in Germany, we live in a society which is affected by success, achievement orientation and rationality. For many people, work is the most important part of their live, with the risk of stressed-based illnesses. In this situation, the body offers the opportunity to develop sense and identity (Rittner, 1996, 440). We can interpret the increasing interest to dance salsa in the possibility to get in contact with others, to forget the daily problems and to enjoy the vitality of dance to balance the personal situation (Eksi, 2004). But like in work, we follow as well in our free-time our performance principles. We find them in the competitive western sport system. And we know that especially male persons have internalized norms of winning, power and efficiency at their disposal. They often aim for social recognition by gaining victories (Neuber, 2006, 132; Mrazek, 2006, 85).

This high performance orientation of men is reflected in the salsa scene, in the willingness to advance the technique of salsa-dancing. The German dancers usually attend several courses to learn new turns. Some of them visit courses up to five times a week to improve their skills and therewith the control. My German interview partner Michael stressed:

Because salsa became physical activity. We establish criteria of performance. (...) How many figures do I control? How many procedures of movements do I know? How can I direct the woman? How
can I do my footwork? How precise can I do my cross-body-lead? (... ) This is totally different than saying: Oh man, the music drifts me.

Second: a central aspect to analyse “Acrobatic Salsa” seem to be the German norms of distance and rules of comportment. As Argyle (1989, 270) showed, we can differ between cultures with a lot of and others with less body contact. In Germany, like in other Northern European societies, we live in a more distanced society. This fact we find reflected in the interview with my African interview partner Malik:

People don’t have many contact with others, beside school or work.(…) You go out carefully, for example to Salsa (…). Here, it exists this fear of contact that we don’t have in Africa.

We can find some interesting points in relation to the perception of contact in the story of Andreas:

When I dance with a girl, when I don’t know her, I have to come closer, to touch her, without even knowing her name. And with dance, it’s easier, because I know: I have got a rule. (…) Only to embrace her and to sway with her to the music, a German wouldn’t do that. He escapes to figures. (…) Touching by rules is easier (…), if it’s more than hand-shaking.

In this statement, we can see the desire and fear of social and body contact at the same time. On the one hand, we notice the desire of embracing and just swaying to the music. On the other hand, there is the usual norm of distance. In the perception of Andreas, he described the figures of “Acrobatic Salsa” as escaping from a close situation. In this situation, we note the following of rules of politeness while dancing “Acrobatic Salsa”. Here, we can see the perception of German norms of body-distance and respect towards women.

4 Conclusions

The contact with foreign body practices can be a source of cultural impulses and may affect the identity and self-perception. The adoption process can be an enrichment for the adopting culture, the same way as the adoption society may transform body practices analogical to own habits and norms. In the case of salsa in Germany, the handling of distance and closeness in the contact with dance partners seems to be a sensitive point.

As I demonstrated, a central phenomenon of the German adoption process is the implementation of “Acrobatic Salsa”. The dance is seen more as a physical activity than as a passionate experience. This result I discussed with the finding that body norms are cultural formed. This means that people perceive and realize the physical and social activity of an Afro-Cuban dance culture against the background of their own cultural socialization and they convert salsa next to their norms of behaviour and adopt it into the German society.
In conclusion, the causes of “Acrobatic Salsa” are ambivalent. On the one hand, German dancers have the fear of close social and body contact. Germans have grown up with norms of body-distance and willingness to perform and often keep them by dancing figures. On the other hand, they get in contact with a foreign culture of body-habits and closeness and also get in contact with dancers from other cultures. This offers a field for new desires and exciting new experiences. The consequences are ambivalent, too. There is a chance to get appreciation, accompanied by the pressure to learn more and more figures, to invest time and money if the dancers do not want to be disappointed. At the end, this produces pressure to the whole scene and a high percentage of participation in workshops and salsa courses.

I come to the result that dancers who are grown up with salsa in other cultures may perceive the adopted version as a foreign habit. As possible reactions I found
- the retreat from dancing and
- the intensifying of erotic body contact and using the image as a foreign to perform “seducing Salsa”.

These findings lead to the thesis of an ethnic differentiation of German salsa culture that should be explored more deeply to understand the relations between ethnicity, gender, body and identity. A central question is the perception of female dance partners according to the different ways of dancing that may oscillate between rejection, pleasure and intoxication.

References


Sociological explanations of sport tourism

Hanna Vehmas
University of Jyväskylä, Finland

Abstract: The article deals with sociological explanations of sport tourism. It represents theoretical parts of a doctoral study focusing on the questions why people engage in sport during travel. The concept of sport is defined as both competitive and non-competitive physical activity. Key focus is given to the theory of distinction, protestant ethics and the concept of serious leisure in explaining sport tourism. The postmodern cult of youth and health, community spirit, the so called “disneyzation” and the nature relationship are also seen as phenomena explaining sport tourism groupings. Observations between sport tourism and society generally derive from the Finnish perspective.

Keywords: sport tourism, sociology, protestant ethics, serious leisure

Introduction

Writings on sport tourism have increased especially during this millennium. Among the most frequently quoted scholars is Gibson (1998) who launched the “tripology” of active, event and nostalgia sport tourism. Standeven and de Knop (1999) presented a typology of the various types of sport travel with addition of work related travel in the classification. Weed and Bull (2004) examined the profiles of sports tourists in Britain. The sports tourism demand continuum exemplifies the significance of sport in the various characteristics of sports tourists. Hinch and Higham (2004) have given a great contribution especially to understand the geographic relationship between time, space and sport, and the interpretations of sport landscapes. The most recent contribution is a book about concepts and theories on sport tourism edited by Gibson (2006). In addition to a versatile list of writings on the issue, a key point is made on the need of sport tourism studies that would be more closely linked to the parent disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, psychology etc. The common knowledge about different forms of sport tourists, markets, activities involved, consumption and impacts (especially economic) is nowadays relatively substantial. However, there is a lot less research conducted about the facts why and for what reasons people take sport related trips.

The question of why people engage in physical activities during travel can be approached at least from two different disciplines. Firstly, psychological and socio-psychological approaches generally focus on travellers’ motives. Secondly, sociological examinations observe sport tourism from the social point of view. Sport tourism may be approached as a reflection of western societies. One of the fundamental questions of sociology is the relationship between individual and society. What comes first, the individual or society? Do individual characteristics and actions explain social phenomena or vice versa? The debate about the power of structure on one hand
and the individual choice on the other still continues. The post-modern actor has evermore alternatives to choose from today’s leisure alternatives. Sport tourism can function as an important part of lifestyle construction. In the individual level the solutions and decisions of a post-modern actor and consumer are increasingly more difficult to estimate. At the same time studies show that macro phenomena of our society still direct and partly explain various practices of leisure. The attention then will be given to those features of the contemporary society that are assumed to reflect types of sport related travel. The presented perspectives come from the Finnish society.

Interpretations about sport tourism derive from the distinction theory, protestant ethics and the idea of serious leisure especially when active participation is a primary reason for travel. The cult of youth and health, the nature relationship, the quest for community spirit together with the ideas of the so called “disneyzation” explain tourism that includes sport partly or as a secondary reason for travel. The variety of interpretations reflects the variety of sport and tourism practices. The same differentiation that has been taking place in the sport culture, tourism practices and post-modern leisure in general is also seen in differentiated types of sport tourists.

The presented types have been formulated according to the sport tourism consumer and market segmentations and academic typologies. The types themselves are not an outcome of the study, rather the conceptualization of them with sociological writings. The types are close to what is called ideal or pure types. They profile sport travellers, but seldom exist in real life per se. Neither do they necessarily represent sport travellers exclusively. It is possible that Finnish sport tourists can be classified also in other ways.

**Theory of distinction, protestant ethics and serious leisure in explaining sport tourism**

Bourdieu (1990) offers an adaptable model for observing leisure as another social field of life style distinction. Sport, tourism and other leisure activities can be seen as battle fields of the fundamental forms of capital, namely economic, social, cultural and symbolic. What is significant for the actor is firstly, how much he/she owns certain type of capital and secondly, what is the proportion of the different forms of capital acquired. Social fields will be then formulated in the way that actors with same or similar positions in the field acquire similar preconditions for life style choices. These positions Bourdieu describes according to Goffman, senses of one’s place and senses of other’s place. Acquiring a certain capital is often unconscious as it has become internalized as a set of typical attitudes and orientations for one’s own social class or group. Bourdieu’s “solution” for the individual-structure-battle is that actually both have an impact in the form of one’s habitus. Habitus illustrates the simultaneousness of the cultural meaning structures and freedom of individual personalities in our social behavior. Whereas the cultural meaning structure lays the foundation for the more permanent ways of living, life styles within these structures are more actively formulated by the individuals. Sport tourism practices may function as channels of life style
A specific physical activity or a set of them is a prime reason for travel for the actual or primary sport tourists. What can be found “behind” this type at least in Finnish society is firstly, protestant ethics describing the performance or accomplishment or development oriented features of our society, the kind of a “doer sentiment” of the individuals. Secondly, we can observe sport tourism through the concept of serious leisure.

Protestant ethics and the concept of serious leisure are applicable concepts in approaching sport tourism especially in Finland where protestant ethics have traditionally been one of the interpreters of high working morals and achievement orientations (Vehmas, 2004, 263). For example recreational running and other physical activities of the clerical workers may not purely function as counterbalance or relaxation, but rather ways to improve the qualities that post-modern work improves. Post-modern clerical work implies certain behavioral tendencies such as constant energy, abilities to exert oneself, willpower to complete the most demanding projects etc. It is largely about the same willingness that a physical activity such as running improves: ability to stretch out, knowledge about one’s own limits, overcoming one’s own limits and about sustainability, responsibilities etc. Activity holidays and physical activities can be seen as dimensions of paid work of contemporary tourism (Karisto, 1988, 59; Jokinen & Veijola, 1990, 115-116).

Protestant ethics have traditionally been prevailing especially in competitive sports as the ethics emphasize obeying the authorities and discipline. Hard work is considered as virtuous whereas idling and enjoyable life as sinful. Work is a central measure of values in protestant ethics. However, it may not be applicable to all of the reasons and motives that are prevailing in new sport cultural situations (Puuronen, 1991, 80-81).

Leisure can be defined as relaxation, recovery, every day routines, nonsense and freedom of duties (Jones & Green, 2006, 33). Roughly defined leisure refers to the portion of individual time that is not directly devoted to work or work-connected responsibilities or to other obligated forms of maintenance or self-care. Usually the concept of leisure implies freedom and choice that relate to individuals’ self-reflection, self-enrichment, relaxation or pleasure. As leisure often involves some form of voluntary participation, it may also be regarded as a holistic state of being or even a spiritual experience (Hinch, Jackson, Hudson & Walker, 2006, 11).

It has been claimed however, that the traditional definition of leisure as an outcome of work and an opposite of obligations does not serve sport tourism research or the use of the concept of leisure. In fact, many leisure activities, such as sport tourism include obligations, commitments and responsibilities that can be seen as parallel to many “important work-like” activities. This raises the question of how sport tourism and like contradiction activities can be classified as leisure activities at all. In fact there are plenty of situations when leisure as a concept is more closer to the
definition of work than the traditional definition of leisure (Jones & Green, 2006, 33-34).

Two immediate sources of incongruity of the concept of serious leisure can be identified. Firstly there is the apparent oxymoron of serious leisure, a term which combines the seemingly hedonistic, trivial, unobligated activity of leisure with the connotations of importance and obligation produced by the term serious. Secondly, the use of the term serious seems out of place when applied to the hedonistic activities often associated with tourist activities. Both leisure and tourism are associated with activity that is often based on the pursuit of pure pleasure. However, serious leisure provides a useful theoretical concept to describe and explain certain sport tourism activities (Jones & Green, 2006, 35).

Why do people then make their leisure serious? Sport tourism can be observed as a form of identity and community spirit in times when the traditional sources of social unity, such as work, religion and family have lost many of their unifying meanings. Jones and Green (2006) present three applicable reasons for the commitment and involvement in serious leisure. Firstly, commitment to certain serious leisure activities can be explained by using the profit hypothesis that is applicable to Bourdieu’s ideas of participation gaining economic, cultural or symbolic capital. Secondly, commitment to other forms of serious leisure can be explained through the concept of social commitment, where individuals are tied to an activity by the expectations and needs of the others. Thirdly, a strong sense of social identification tends to lead to the individual undertaking compensatory behaviours to maintain and enhance their social identity, and subsequent participation in the activity. Travelling for the purpose of supporting a sport club could serve as an example of that.

As post-modern leisure seems to have work-like qualities, contemporary work has begun to resemble (traditionally defined) leisure. As sport tourists may act work-like during holidays, work and incentive travel can be explained in the opposite way. Physical activities practiced during work and incentive travel give an interesting example of the vague relationship of work as leisure. Incentive travel by definition is a combination of work and leisure. Incentive travel uses leisure tourism products as work connected tourism services. The starting point of the boundaries of leisure and work travel is the idea that a business traveller turns into a leisure traveller as soon as the work obligations in the destination are accomplished and he or she participates in the official “touristic” parts of the programme, such as evening programmes or excursions. Incentive travel is one of the key areas in Finland’s tourism promotion. Including animation services that often involve nature related physical activities such as rafting, hiking, snow mobile and reindeer sledge riding, incentive travel can be seen as an important part of Finnish incoming sport tourism (Kantele, 2006).

Work and incentive travel become interesting as they at least to a certain level reflect the features of the so called post-modern “creative class” and the evermore vague relationship between work and leisure. By definition the creative class is understood as a heterogenic group of professionals who often share a high ambition, appreciation of experiences and possibilities to participate, individuality, open minded-
ness, possibilities for changing life styles and switching from one life style to another. A hectic life style includes consuming not only tangible items but also events, spectacles, in other words life styles, relationships and even values. The human body has become a target of work, as healthy and good looking appearance is an asset on the job and relationship markets (Jokinen, 2004). However, post-modern relationship between work and leisure is not only connected to the “post-modern” individuals such as members of the creative class. In Finland, studies show that work-related self fulfilment, forms of activities and participation and hedonism have also entered into the working ethos of the big generations. The traditionally hard working ethos of the Finnish workers has received new kind of “lightness” on the side. Seriousness that has described the working ethos of the big generations is now mixed with “lightness”, variability, quest for flow experiences and controlled hedonism (Tuohinen, 2000, 239, 244-246).

The active senior citizens is an interesting group both in terms of physical activities and tourism. As the big generations retire, also the number of travellers increases. In Finland the amount of 65+ is estimated to double by 2030 (Toivonen, 2002). The “third age” – the years between active working life and the old age – has become an interesting concept also in social sciences as Finns have nowadays approximately 20-25 years of life time after retirement (Karisto & Konttinen, 2004). What is significant about senior citizen in sport tourism is firstly the fact that they are in a good physical and financial shape. Secondly, studies show that the leisure of today’s senior citizen is filled with lots of expectations and attitudes that favour active life style. Finnish senior citizens are active both in sport and tourism participation. Physical activity participation begins to increase after the age of 40. Similar tendencies have been shown according to the European Compass Study. Significant increase in participation is reported only by the Finnish adult population at the age of 50+ years. Finnish senior citizens are also active travellers. Leisure tourism has increased fastest among the retired or close to be retired population in Finland (Karisto & Konttinen, 2004, 102, 147; Vuolle, 2000, 28). In addition to “appropriate” attitudes, physical well being, levels of energy and activity people in their “third age” possess a relatively large amount of unbound purchasing power as mortgage loans are paid back and children in general do not anymore cause high costs. The “third age” can thus be observed as a significant potential and challenge for the leisure industry, in the consumption of media and culture, in the use of services and in the housing and life style markets (Karisto & Konttinen, 2004, 13-14).

**The cult of youth and health, nature relationship and community spirit explaining sport related tourism**

Sport tourism is closely linked with health, nature and event tourism. Post-modern cult of youth and health becomes interesting in tourism practices as wellness and health tourism are parts of the global niche tourism. Health tourism is an overall term that includes health care tourism and wellness tourism. Health care holidays include packages with medical treatments and illness prevention. Wellness tourism on the
other hand is mainly directed to healthy people and includes activities and products that aim at increasing individual’s physical, mental and social well being. Health and wellness are considered as major developing tourism areas in Finland. Today Finland could be called as a promised land of spa holidays as there are approximately 50 spas in the country compared to the ca 5.3 million inhabitants in the country altogether. General societal orientations and trends have created the demand for health and wellness tourism. Finnish population is fast growing older, working days are relatively long, work and lifestyle are stressful, obesity is considered a growing problem, alternative medicine has become more acceptable and tourism to the destinations that have traditionally offered wellness packages is growing. In addition, there seems to be a general trend of health thinking and good looks in western societies (MEK, 2005).

Energy capital adapted from the theory of distinction seems to play an important role especially in the life span and life style practices of the post-modern consumers. Energy capital refers to the individual’s health, physical, mental and social capacities, vitality and self-reflection (Karisto & Konttinen, 2004, 166). Health is often seen and promoted as an “investment to oneself”. The goodness of life is nowadays largely evaluated through the prism of health thinking. For example food is increasingly evaluated by its healthfulness. Contemporary western societies are generally characterized by the cult of health, youth, efficiency and active life style. The culturally recognized value of health has increased with modernization and rationalization of western societies. Nevertheless, people do not always act and behave according to these health admiring “metapreferences”. Health issues become interesting also from the life style formations point of view as people need health for just about anything they do (Karisto & Konttinen, 2004, 39).

Finland’s nature and history with a relatively strong and late agricultural mode of production lay the foundation for at least two types of nature related tourism. Firstly, nature is seen as the main attraction of Finland’s incoming tourism. Together with the versatile supply of animation services and products, and the ideas of the country being a “developed periphery”, natural environment and outdoor activities are an important part of Finland’s tourism supply. The demand of nature related activities can be observed as reflections of the ideas of “back to the nature” of today’s urban people. Secondly, nature is highly valued also by the domestic travellers. Summer cottage tourism is culturally characterized. The amount of summer cottages (475,000) is internationally very big in Finland. Finns still spend most of their holidays in summer cottages. Nearly 2 million Finns spend summer cottage life and the interest is increasing despite the fact that the population of traditional cottage-owners is getting older. The owning of summer cottages became popular in Finland in the 1960s and 1970s especially among the population that had migrated from countryside to the urban centres. Finnish summer cottages are usually rather traditional cottages built for summer vacationing, although the amount of luxurious, “second homes” is increasing. Cottage life is linked with the nature life. Main reasons for travelling are closeness to the nature, change of scenery, relaxation, and various “cottage activities”. Travelling reasons related to physical activities are mainly fishing, berry and mushroom picking,
hunting, swimming, forestry, cottage maintenance and gardening (Pitkänen & Kokki, 2005).

Finally, mirror images between society and sport tourism are found in the vast area of event sport tourism. Firstly, sport events (literally) play an important role in the formation of community spirit and as sources of social capital. Post-modern society is often described as individualistic, which means that many traditional collective bindings have weakened. People’s orientations towards different collectives have become more mobile and uncertain. Traditionally the lack of community spirit and solidarity has been explained by the secularization of societies and the division of labour. The lack of social capital in the post-modern context can be explained for example by the economic competition and by the developments in the information technology that set new challenges for face-to-face–interaction. Contemporary sociology is concerned with the potentials of the modern and traditionally “good” communities, which could be formed on the side of the individual ethos and, which could be beneficial also for the state and for the economy (Jokinen, 2004, 19-23).

Secondly, the entertaining and merchandised nature of today’s mega sport events and differentiated roles of tourists reflect the ideas of disneyzation of many western societies. By disneyzation Bryman (2004) means:

the process by which the principles of Disney theme parks are coming
to dominate more and more sectors of American society as well as the
rest of the world, including for example theming, hybrid consumption,
merchandising, performative labour etc.

At the same time, sport events are interesting from the third sector point of view as millions of people worldwide work freely for sport in our otherwise very money-based society.

Conclusions

This paper deals with key theoretical considerations of a doctoral study. Sociological theories and writings that have been presented have a double function in the study: firstly, they function as parts of the literature review and secondly, they are used as a theoretical source of data that direct the presumptions and the general course of the study. The next phase of the study concentrates on the actual narratives of sport tourists. The aim is to examine what sport tourism, work and leisure mean to the actual travellers and how well and to what extent these meanings fit into the presented sociological theories and writings.

Tourism reflects many phenomena of its era. Tourism also changes its time. Sociological approaches in studying sport tourism offer ways to observe and explain contemporary life styles, leisure and work. Observations through the societal macro phenomena enable us to link sport tourism deeper to the structural terms and cultural meanings of our society. Perhaps there is more about sport tourism than just a trendy niche market of tourism or another way to promote sport participation.
References


Abstract: Positive Futures is a project which uses sport to engage socially marginalized young people. Existing research struggles to provide much “hard” evidence that such interventions have a significant impact. What evidence is available tends to come from internal assessment or isolated evaluation and is often overly quantitative. Our research was committed to Participative Action Research, an approach which is collaborative and characterized by a dynamic relationship between theory and practice. It engages those at the heart of the research in design, analysis, and the use of findings and leads to the development of flexible, locally appropriate methods of enquiry, rather than externally defined, fixed methods of assessment. It utilizes methods of enquiry located around the lived experiences of those involved with projects, which get behind the data which typically defines such neighbourhoods in the eyes of social policy analysts and commentators. We used a range of innovative, visually based methods to build up a rich sense of the backgrounds and everyday lives of the people we worked with, methods which ultimately illustrated the importance of, and techniques employed in, translating a national initiative into local delivery.

Keywords: action research, evaluation, young people, staff skills, organizational cultures.

Positive Futures

Positive Futures is a national sports-based social inclusion programme which was managed by the UK Home Office’s Drug Strategy Directorate and has been operating since March 2000; more recently, the charity Crime Concern took over management of the project, with the Home Office retaining involvement. The central aim of Positive Futures is to:

- have a positive influence on participants substance misuse, physical activity and offending behaviour by widening horizons and access to lifestyle, educational and employment opportunities within a culturally familiar environment (Home Office, 2003, 6).

The Positive Futures ethos is centred around, for both young people and agencies, relationship building and improving networks.

The Case Study projects are led by a range of agencies including sports clubs, local authorities and voluntary sector organizations and are located in three regional clusters; two in West Yorkshire, two on Merseyside and two in South London. The research was commissioned to assess the impact, organizational and process elements
of projects, looking not just at the distance travelled by participants, but also at the development of projects/partnerships. The benchmark for the assessment was the extent to which projects reflected the principles and objectives outlined in the Positive Futures strategy document *Cul-de-sacs and gateways* (Home Office, 2003).

What became clear early in the research was that the organization of projects is essentially a locally negotiated enterprise. Whilst all projects involve partnership, their character is typically defined by the lead agency, its cultural style and its staff. Some projects responded positively to the *Cul de sacs* document, whilst others did not fully engage with the approach outlined in it, adhering instead to the agendas and ways of working of their own agencies.

**Evaluating Positive Futures**

Crabbe offers:

> there has been a tendency in the past for people to see sport as a force for good in its own right, but there is very little if any evidence to show that this is true (*Guardian*, July 13, 2005).

The assumption that sport can facilitate positive behavioural characteristics in young people can be traced back to Victorian attempts to influence attitudes within British public schools to serve the needs of the Empire through the concept of “Muscular Christianity” (Crabbe, 2000, 382) with football, a staple of many Positive Futures projects, at times, viewed as “the elixir of personal and social ills” (Walvin, 1987, 257).

Positive Futures draws on models developed in relation to broader crime prevention and reduction programmes (Nichols, 1997; Robins, 1990). Nevertheless existing research approaches have struggled to provide much in the way of “hard” evidence that such prevention or treatment interventions have a significant impact on patterns of drug use or crime (Collins, 2002; Coalter, 1987). What evidence is available tends to come from internal assessment or isolated independent evaluation, is often overly quantitative, short term and does not clarify what causes measured reductions in offending behaviour.

Projects are accustomed to measuring outputs such as “number of young people referred” and “accreditation obtained” however, the more discrete outcomes that influence the outputs are less often recorded. In order to evaluate the success of the projects in achieving their core aims, the Home Office created a monitoring and evaluation framework utilising a range of qualitative and quantitative methodologies, including surveys, audio-visual work by young people, telephone interviews, literature review and the case study research. The case study research was very much a response to the fact that quantitative monitoring work had not captured the complex and evolutionary nature of projects, our findings helping to demonstrate that the quantitative approach had not unearthed how local projects can mask their lack of engagement with the national vision for Positive Futures.
The case study research

We contend that meaningful evaluation of initiatives such as those being examined here requires a methodological strategy that goes beyond simple quantitative analysis. It is only when the quantitative method, used sparingly, is utilized to support a qualitative approach that we can achieve an evaluation which communicates the social structures, processes, “feelings” and context in which participants, including delivery organizations, find themselves, and, in turn, how they respond to such environments. As such, the research attempted to ensure that the voices of participants and workers were at the heart of the evaluation, as without the active participation of stakeholders, evaluation is an empty procedure which offers few benefits to fund holders and policy makers. Our research was underpinned by a commitment to a Participative Action Research (PAR) approach. PAR is cyclical, moving between action and critical reflection, and seeks to bring together theory and practice in the pursuit of practical solutions to issues of concern. It aspires to empower participants through this collaboration, by promoting the acquisition of knowledge to achieve social change, whilst attempting to circumvent traditional hierarchies associated with researcher/researched dichotomies. It is characterized by a dynamic, change oriented relationship between theory and practice, between “academics” and “practitioners,” since:

Theory is essential in informing practice (praxis) (and, I would argue, vice versa). Whatever the theory, it must be an emancipatory one (…) hopefully, those in academe and those in the front line are working hand in hand (Hall, 1988, 336-337).

PAR is not just concerned with using participatory techniques within a conventional monitoring and evaluation setting. It is about rethinking who initiates and undertakes research and who learns or benefits from findings. It seeks to shift control of the planning and management of the research process in the direction of local stakeholders and away from senior managers and outside “experts”, leading to the development of flexible, locally appropriate methods of enquiry rather than externally defined, fixed methods of assessment.

We set up initial meetings with key members of staff and began to build an outline of each project. We communicated what the broad aims of the research were and impressed upon staff that our presence was not one that was intended to inspect, but rather that we are active participants, attempting to aid the development of projects.

Research tools

We believe that the use of PAR here was the most appropriate research approach as, because of the flexibility and complexity of Positive Futures work, we needed a method and tools which were responsive, which allow us to explore sensitive, complicated areas of enquiry, an approach which can document idiosyncratic situated or local knowledge (Selby & Bradley, 2003, 122) The PAR approach reveals not the “paper” version of projects which other evaluation has portrayed, but the “lived” versions of projects, Williamson and Prosser usefully offering:
the formal documentary life of mission statements, policies and procedures may contrast sharply with the informal private life of organisations (2002, 588).

As well as producing data which has more “richness” than that associated with quantitative research, we believe that a sometimes intense investment by stakeholders in the research means that findings are more likely to be respected and acted upon than those provided by more distant, non negotiated research. This is one of the reasons that when we were asked to create a new monitoring and evaluation framework for Positive Futures, we developed it in consultation with projects, creating a framework which is embedded in their daily activities.

“To seek knowledge is to strike a bargain and what is purchased always has its price” (Locke, 1989, 5). PAR, of course, has its critics; however, it can be argued that what those who experience unease with the approach see as vices are actually virtues. Hammersley refers to the inherent instability of action research, labelling the attempt to embrace praxis and theory internally contradictory (2004). However, such a standpoint is based on the belief in a false immersion/detachment binary and a privileging of theory.

Concerns about researcher bias are also often used to criticize action research, disingenuous if one holds that:

any kind of science can be done as rigorous and systematic inquiry,
just as any can be done as a careless or dishonest contribution to the pollution of knowledge (Locke, 1989, 11).

A central plank of our research was the desire to affect change, for a move from seeing young people portrayed as being a risk to being at risk, believing that “the field (…) cannot be considered in isolation from the social debate” (Hooley, 2005, 79). In fact, it is this, if you will, sometimes overtly political aim of action research that can help attract practitioners to such research and help to bind those involved to the implementation of mutually arrived at change.

Perceptions of research “bias”, on a practical level, can be problematic. Whilst the research method and motivation were welcomed by some workers, some of those considering themselves under scrutiny attempted to exert control over the research. There are examples of researchers not being invited to meetings, consideration of excluding a researcher from a project in the wake of the publication of a report which an agency considered portrayed their work negatively and an outright refusal by some to accept that their ways of working run contra to the spirit of Positive Futures. Here, the research was perceived not as a tool for project development but as a threat, as it sought to change the status quo at the local level, with senior staff seeing findings as personal constructions and, therefore, value laden, rather than assessments made using the Positive Futures policy document (Home Office, 2003) as a yardstick. In such circumstances, we stressed to practitioners the validity of the work, emphasising that the findings came not from snapshot observations, but in the wake of intimate and
long term involvement with frontline and senior staff at their own and partner agencies, and from discussions with service users.

The methods used, low-key, but highly engaged, participant observer methods, helped us to get behind the quantitative data that typically defines such projects in the eyes of social policy analysts. Extensive participation was conducted in project offices and at sessions, in more informal “social” locations, as well as in policy fora and conferences. This has enabled us to produce detailed “thick” descriptions (Geertz, 1973) of the organizational contexts in which the work is situated, the engagement strategies employed, particular sporting practices and the social worlds that surround them.

Interviews with staff were conducted, as well as “interviews” with participants which, in the main, took the form of “conversations”, or informal group discussion. As the research developed, we engaged young people more directly in the work through the use of a range of innovative visually based methods, particularly with cameras and maps, as some young people can experience discomfort with traditional text as a means of documentation (Seabrook & Green, 2004).

The map work was valuable because of the impact of space on the social relations of young people. Space is deeply embedded within local knowledge, and localities are subjectively inhabited, with risk, danger and safety being part of the calculation young people use to negotiate it. Discussion with young people gave insights into the reasons why, for example, they perceive certain areas as off-limits. In the case of one project, space is tied intimately to issues of “race” and drug territories, with some young people’s negotiation of local space being based on these. The work demonstrated, with useful immediacy, to local projects how certain venues and activities are perceived by participants, which may have an impact on their attendance.

We also identified participants and activities to track through the course of the research. These were selected to measure not just the distance travelled by individuals, but also the development of sessions and the projects as a whole, and reflect the research’s aim to examine the impact, organizational and process elements of the intervention. The difficulty in finding a substantial cohort of young people to track through some projects was a valuable finding about the structuring and engagement strategies of projects. The difficulty also demonstrates the gap between the national vision for long term engagement with young people to create development pathways, and local delivery which can be focussed on short term outputs, reflective of the demands of other forms of funding which lead agencies receive and of the cultures of those organizations.

We included an archival dimension in the research, focused on documentary sources relating to the role of sport in community development, as well as surveying local archives to establish the social characteristics of project areas. This material has been used to situate the place of sports based social interventions within the social ecology of the project areas and to explore sport’s relationship with particular regional histories and notions of neighbourhood.
Dissemination
We recognize the importance of language and dissemination in helping to refocus the debate which takes place about such project neighbourhoods. Hence, our dissemination strategy is aimed at reaching as wide an audience as possible, using evocative communication which attempts to avoid muffling the voices of those involved in the research. As well as attendance at conferences and seminars, publishing national and regional reports on a dedicated, and the Home Office’s web site, we reported local findings, discussing these with projects and helping them to move towards implementation of recommendations. Rather than the delivery of a report at the end of the two year process, we worked with practitioner colleagues to effect change as the research was happening, drawing on Chandler and Torbert’s observation that such research is about timely action in the present, seeking to transform historical patterns into future possibilities (2003).

Conclusion
What became clear early in the research was that the organization of Positive Futures is essentially a locally negotiated enterprise. Whilst all projects involve partnership, their character is typically defined by the lead agency, its cultural style and its staff. Some projects responded positively to the Cul-de-sacs (Home Office, 2003) document, whilst others did not fully engage with the approach outlined in it, adhering instead to the agendas and ways of working of their own agencies.

A strength of our approach is that by giving centrality to the voices of those who implement and are the targets of projects, rather than to those who design such interventions, it has highlighted what can be massive variations between the “paper” and “real” versions of projects, between the national vision and the local reality. It is hoped that by working with projects in a collaborative manner, and by continuing to develop the new monitoring and evaluation framework with them, these gaps can be narrowed, both by assisting local projects to better understand national aims and objectives and to adapt their ways of working to attain these, and helping the national designers and drivers of the initiative to see what can be the benefits of implementing their vision with a local “twist”.

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