

Sport in Social Context

BY
KALEVI HEINILÄ



Edited by Pauli Vuolle



UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

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Commemorative Book in Honour
of Professor Kalevi Heinilä

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Editors
Harri Suominen
Department of Health Sciences, University of Jyväskylä
Kaarina Nieminen
Publishing Unit, University Library of Jyväskylä

Portrait: Pasi Koski

Typing: Anne-Maarit Kukkola and Marja-Leena Tynkkynen

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ABSTRACT

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This is a collection of papers written by Professor Kalevi Heinilä. This book has been published in appreciation of his valuable contribution as a national and international pioneer, teacher and researcher to the sociology of sport. Professor Heinilä was the eminent first holder of the Chair in the Sociology of Sport at the Department of Social Sciences of Sport, Faculty of Sport and Health Sciences, University of Jyväskylä, Finland.

The volume contains a selection of papers published in scientific journals, or given at international conferences, by Professor Heinilä from 1972 to 1987. Some of the papers have previously been published in monograph collections. The topics include e.g:

- Sociology of sport
- Sport in society
- Ethics of sport
- Sport and international understanding
- Meaning content of sport
- Key roles in sport

The book will give the reader an excellent idea of the writer's ability to see, and critically evaluate, the social character of sport and its subdisciplines. Because the messages in the papers are not tied to their contemporary period they can also be used to interpret the present and future developments in the physical culture. The book offers as a basic introduction to the most essential topics in the sociology of sport to all institutions which teach and study physical education as a social movement. The book will also be of interest for everyone who wants to fathom sport below the surface. Professor Heinilä himself characterizes the book as follows: "Sport, once solely conceptualized within an idealistic framework which highlighted its positive contributions to human welfare, has more recently been shown to embody a range of both positive and negative values and consequences. The power of sport to contribute to both conflict and cooperations is pointedly reflected in this collection of papers."

PREFACE

This is a selection of papers published in scientific journals, or given at international conferences, by Professor Kalevi Heinilä, Professor of the Sociology of Sport at the Faculty of Sport and Health Sciences, University of Jyväskylä, from 1972 to 1987. Some of the papers have previously been published in monograph collections. The idea to gather Professor Heinilä's major publications in one volume came up when, after his retirement, he donated a large part of his collection of books in the field to the Department of Social Sciences of Sport. True to his character, the books were well-categorized and documented. Through the present volume, the Department of Social Sciences of Sport wants to thank Professor Heinilä, the eminent first holder of the Chair in the Sociology of Sport, for his valuable contribution to the sociology of sport as a national and international pioneer, teacher, and researcher.

The permanent value of this volume lies in that the papers gathered for it will give the reader an excellent idea of the writer's ability to see, and critically evaluate, the social character of sport and its subdisciplines. The messages embedded in the papers will open up even more substantially if the reader can link up the themes with the social reality in which Professor Heinilä gave expression to them. Those who experienced this reality with him will be able to see and acknowledge now afterwards the manner in which Professor Heinilä was well ahead of his times as an analyst and as a prognostician.

Moreover, the messages of the papers are not tied to their contemporary period: they can also be used to interpret the present and future developments in physical culture. For this reason the book can be offered as a basic introduction to the sociology of sport to all institutions which teach and study physical education as a social movement. But the book will certainly be of interest also for everyone who wants to fathom physical education below the surface.

The volume is opened by a characterization of Professor Heinilä by Professor Paavo Seppänen, Professor of Sociology and another well-known researcher of sport phenomena. It is a description of Professor Heinilä such as the writer saw him when he was sixty years of age. The title of the paper 'Kalevi Heinilä - a scholar and a fighter' is indicative of how he was seen in those days. The book also includes a number of caricatures by Dr Pasi Koski, a disciple of Professor Heinilä's.

I would like to thank Dr Koski, Anne-Maarit Kukkola and Marja-Leena Tynkkynen, who were responsible for the typescript, and all the people who contributed to the editing of this volume.

Pauli Vuolle
Editor
Professor of the Sociology of Sport
First Assistant of Professor Heinilä

FOREWORD

International cooperation in the field of sociology of sport began in 1964 when the Committee for Sociology of Sport (currently the International Sociology of Sport Association) was founded by the International Council of Sport and Physical Education. The author was one of the small group of "first generation" sport sociologists who initiated and promoted international exchange in this field. This book comprises a selection of the large volume of research papers that I have presented in international seminars and conferences during my career. Hopefully contemporary readers will find currency and relevancy in these writings.

From the inception of the Olympic movement itself, sport has become a global social movement promoting interest and participation all over the world. The increasingly global nature of sport has expanded its cultural significance within society. Moreover, as a form of international communication, it has inspired both popular and scientific interest.

Sport, once solely conceptualized within an idealistic framework which highlighted its positive contributions to human welfare, has more recently been shown to embody a range of both positive and negative values and consequences. The power of sport to contribute to both conflict and cooperation is pointedly reflected in this collection of papers. As I endeavour to demonstrate, without a critical social scientific evaluation of the problems facing sport, its ability to contribute to human welfare, both locally and internationally will remain in doubt. It is hoped that the unique and unconventional style of thinking utilized provides a critical basis from which important resolutions and recommendations concerning the future development of sport can be made.

Hoping that my early explorations in the most challenging field of sociology of sport could inspire and assist future students and scholars, I have, at the request of the Department of Social Sciences of Sport, put together the following collection. I express my sincere thanks to the Department of the Social Sciences of Sport for the valuable assistance in re-editing the collections of papers and to the Editorial Board of the University of Jyväskylä for publishing it in its series.

Kalevi Heinilä
Professor of the Sociology of Sport

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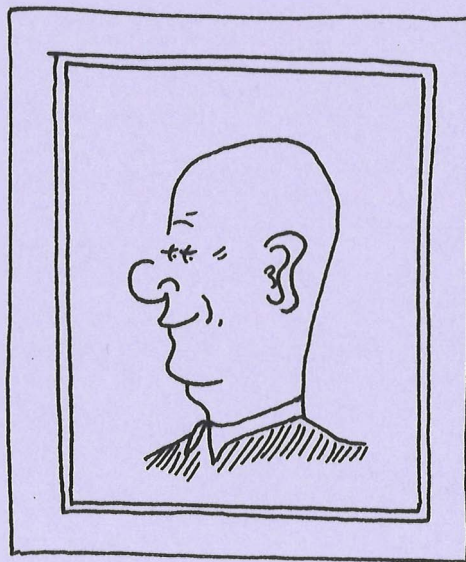
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CHAPTER 1

KALEVI HEINILÄ - A SCHOLAR AND FIGHTER

By
Paavo Seppänen

Department of Sociology
University of Helsinki
FINLAND



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1.1 KALEVI HEINILÄ - A SCHOLAR AND FIGHTER BY PAAVO SEPPÄNEN (1984)*

Readers who are familiar with the modern sociology of sport are hardly unfamiliar with the name Kalevi Heinilä, one of the most influential men of ideas not only in Finnish sport life but also in the international discussion of sociology of sport and physical education. Kalevi Heinilä was born in the small town of Salo, in southwestern Finland on February 16, 1924, or in the very same year that Paavo Nurmi made Finland widely known by his legendary victories at the Olympic Games of Paris. The meaning of those victories was great to Finland, which just a few years earlier, in 1917 to be precise, had won her national independence. The role of sport in the life of the new nation and its citizens became not only visible but also influential. Kalevi Heinilä's career is one which reflects the same influence, even if not in the most customary sense.

Like many other Finnish school-boys of the 1930's Heinilä was very keen on sports; especially on javelin throw and the Finnish national game, "pesäpallo", which was invented by Lauri Pihkala or "Tahko", the Grand Old Man of Finnish sport life and by far the most eminent man of ideas in the field for decades. Pihkala's impact on the life of Heinilä was not, however, limited into the school years but has continued until now. Yet, the core of this impact has not been the interest in any particular sport but a common concern for the state of Finnish sport and physical education in general.

Heinilä entered the University of Helsinki soon after the World War II and graduated in physical education in 1948. Not feeling satisfied with the degree of physical education alone, he decided to extend his knowledge and continued his studies in the social sciences, especially in sociology. Besides teaching physical education at the University of Helsinki and in the Finnish Sport Institute at Vierumäki during the years 1949 - 51 he attained an M.Sc. in sociology as his major in 1951. But even that was not enough. Having been called to a new position as the chief of the educational and organizational affairs in the Finnish National Sport Federation (SVUL) in 1951 - 54, he got an excellent opportunity to become acquainted not only with the sport organizations themselves but also with the social problems akin to sport and the role of sport in society. In fact, just during those years he deeply realized the shortcomings of daily routines in sport and the great lack of scientific knowledge in the field.

But the time was not ripe for reforms. His efforts to apply his ideas and knowledge to the everyday practice of sport organizations were neither understood nor widely accepted. More or less disappointed, he left his position in the SVUL and decided to widen and intensify his scientific competence. As he was fortunate to have a grant for postgraduate studies at the University of California, Berkeley, for the academic year of 1954 - 55, and after that got a position as an assistant teacher in the Department on Sociology at the University of Helsinki, the foundation of his later career as a sociologist was laid.

* Olin, Kalevi (ed.), *Contribution of Sociology to the Study of Sport. Festschrift Book in Honor of Professor Kalevi Heinilä.* University of Jyväskylä, Jyväskylä 1984, 21-27.

Heinilä attained his Ph.D. at the University of Helsinki in 1959. The doctoral dissertation *Vapaa-aika ja urheilu* is a survey on leisure, especially sport leisure activities among Finnish males. Although the work itself is a rather conventional type of study, it is, however, one of the first modern pieces of empirical research in sociology of sport in Finland. Undoubtedly, it is also a work which gave rise to a wider and more profound discussion of the role of social sciences and their application in the sport life of the country.

Heinilä is, however, not only one of the first persons ever to contribute to the sociology of sport in Finland, he is also a pioneer whose influence on promoting sport sciences has been crucial. The most important role in this transition played a special work group called "toimitusosasto", or the executive staff which was founded within the Finnish Society for Research in Sports and Physical Education in 1960. The group in which Heinilä had a leading position, was active during the first half of the decade introducing a great deal of new ideas and plans.

On the one hand the work group introduced and carried out profound changes in the activity of the society itself, and on the other it greatly influenced the position of sport sciences at the governmental level and at universities. The Finnish Society for Research in Sports and Physical Education, which was founded in 1933, was transformed from a discussion circle of educators into a primarily scientific society with its own scientific journal and scientific meetings and conferences. The first volume of the new periodical *Stadion* - later *Liikunta ja tiede* or Physical Exercise and Science - was issued in 1963 and the first national conference of Finnish sport policy was arranged in 1966. A special state commission, the Finnish State Council for Research in Sports and Physical Education, started its work at the beginning of 1967 with Heinilä as the first president of the council. The reorganization of higher education and research in sports and physical education took place when the University of Jyväskylä, with its faculty of physical education, was founded.

All these considerable changes happened during the 1960's and in all these changes Kalevi Heinilä's role was quite visible. Besides being the president of the state council for research in sports and physical education, he was also the president of the reformed society of sports sciences in 1966 and one of the main organizers of the new type of higher education and research in the field. Additionally, he has been the first person to pioneer international relations of Finnish sociologists of sport to their counterparts in other countries since the early 60's when he became a board member of the International Committee for Sociology of Sport. In fact, being the leading spirit of the above mentioned work group, he was also the prime mover of reforms in Finnish sport sciences in general.

Heinilä's main contribution in sports and physical education is, however, his personal research work and the criticism he has actively exercised in the field. After having finished his doctoral dissertation, his main interest was in the problems of the youth and the role of physical educators. Most of his works in the first half of the sixties were published in the form of articles and mimeographed research reports but beside them he also wrote a major monograph on smoking habits of the youth, *Tupakoiva nuoriso*. Characteristic of his scientific work is, on the one hand, a great emphasis on the reliability of research findings and, on the

other, a growing interest in the use of a theoretical frame of reference in the explanation of his findings. His growing criticism of increasing "madness" of top sport and his attack on sport attitudes in general has also been characteristic of his writing. His brilliant satire on the development of competitive sport in the years 1966 - 2000, which was published in the Finnish weekly periodical "Viikko" in 1966, is a splendid prophecy of what is going to happen in sport - and what has actually happened during the former part of the forecast period. In fact, this period also reveals a joking intellectual who ventilates convenient truths without fear of reprisal under the guise of amusement.

As the newly founded University of Jyväskylä became the national scientific center in sports and physical education in the latter half of the sixties it went without saying that Heinilä was one of the first to join the new faculty of physical education. His first position was a professorship in the pedagogics of physical education in 1965. But as the new chair - the first and only one of its kind in Finland - was founded for the sociology of sport in 1972, Heinilä's merits were considered so self-evident and so high above other possible candidates that he was invited to the position - an honour which is rather seldom shown to any scholar in Finland.

Heinilä's Jyväskylä-years have been characterized by intense study and writing on the one hand and an exceptionally lively participation in other academic activities, especially in university administration on the other. His two major works, the empirical study in Finnish sport ideology, *Suomalainen urheiluideologia*, and *Urheilu, ihminen ja yhteiskunta*, a collection of critical essays were primarily written in the first part of the 1970's. A number of other articles and essays on the role of sport in society also appeared in those years since the middle of the sixties. Inter-group conflicts in international sport, policy and planning in sports and physical education, sport for all, sport and politics, values and value orientations in sport, the future of international sport, the role of mass media of sport in mutual understanding, the vanishing spirit of fair play, sport and ethics, the role of women in sport are topics showing his wide interest in and his concern with the present and future of sports and physical education.

In his scientific work Heinilä greatly emphasizes that sport is not only what it superficially seems to be but that it has its roots in societal conditions and ought to be understood as a social phenomenon like any other social phenomena. In fact, he is primarily a sociologist who tries to penetrate behind concrete observations and find more or less general laws in the phenomena studied according to the best Durkheimian tradition. It is not easy to show how successful he has been in his efforts to theorize about his findings, but it is easy to maintain that his contribution to the Finnish sociology of sport has been not only pioneering but also prominent. In addition, there is great evidence for the claim that he is one of the leading personalities of modern sociology of sport in general. He has been quite an active contributor in various kinds of international forums and his participation both in organizational and editorial activity has been conspicuous. Besides, he served for about 15 years as a member of the board and executive committee of the ICSS, and was the vice-president of the committee for several years in the late seventies. Similarly, he has served as a member of the editorial board of International Series of Sport Sciences.

There is no doubt that Heinilä belongs to those sociologists who do not sit in their ivory towers but try to get their findings and arguments legitimate in the discussion and decision making. As his comments and criticism is pretty sharp and characterized by a kind of caustic satire, he often becomes criticized by those whose vested interests are at stake. Although he speaks and writes about various ills and abuses in his field, the characteristics of his criticism is not criticism for its own sake but a deep concern with what is going on in sport and what the fate of sport looks like. When he refers to the fads and foibles of sport, the commercialization and politicization of it, the unfair practices or the irresponsibility of sport leaders and coaches, the target of his message is a more healthy future of sport rather than superficial criticism as such. In fact, what is really characteristic of him is his frankness and honesty in the affairs he pursues and fights for. He is a fighter who follows the rule of fair play in the deepest sense of the term. Quite often it also appears that he has been ahead of his time. Several of his ideas which were opposed 10 - 20 years ago have been accepted later even by his strictest opponents.

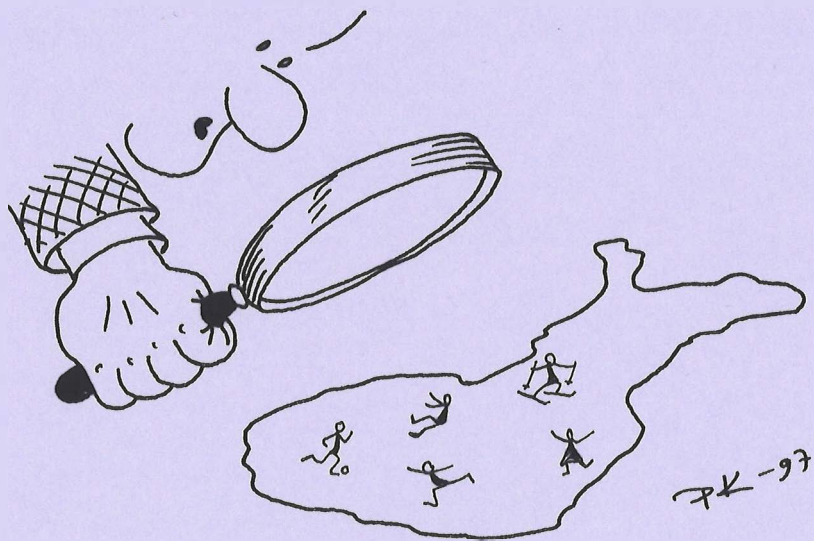
Heinilä's career in the administration of the University of Jyväskylä is also full of merits: The Vice-Dean of the faculty and the Second Vice-President in 1968 - 71, the First Vice-President and the Chairman of the permanent committee of planning in 1971 - 74, the Dean of the Faculty in 1974 - 77, and finally the President of the University in 1977 - 82. Many of those years were years of accentuated criticism of universities not only in Finland but also in the whole Western world. They were also the years of relatively profound renovation of universities. The examinations were renewed and the governing bodies reorganized. As the revisions were often considered to be political necessities rather than useful reforms of the university, it is obvious that those years also required defending the university and persistently fighting for her rights. A fighter is hardly an incorrect term to characterize what Heinilä was as a man of university administration. His collection of speeches *Yhteishyvän asialla yliopistossa*, or For Common Good at the University, as well the book *Yliopiston puolustaminen*, Defending the University, do not explain only what he did as the President of the University of Jyväskylä but also show what he worked for: the autonomy of the university, the freedom of science, truth, humanism and, of course, what he considers to be right.

On the whole, Kalevi Heinilä is rather a rare bird in the world of sport. He is an intellectual whose activities exhibit a pronounced concern with the core values of science and society. He is a man who is not satisfied with things as they are, with appeals to custom and usage. He questions the truth of the moment in terms of a higher and wider truth. He belongs to those custodians of reason, justice and truth, who stand for higher moral standards and are too often ignored in the market place and the houses of power. He may enunciate the most inconvenient truths without fear of reprisal and he may question what a majority of people accept as fact. He is more or less a descendant of the biblical prophets, of those inspired men who preached in the wilderness far removed from the paved roads of daily traffic, criticizing the men of power for the wickedness of their ways. And when criticizing he does so under the guise of amusement - there - by minimizing the seriousness of his attack. Yet, while he amuses, he also upsets the men of

power. Although tolerated and rewarded, he always faces an ambivalent response from those who take their business too seriously, for his wit and playfulness barely mask his critical thrust.

To his friends and colleagues Kalevi Heinilä is a man who is appreciated not only for his merits as a scholar, an intellectual, and an university administrator but also as a personality with whom it is a great pleasure to be in touch. His sincerity, his frankness, his friendliness, his playfulness are qualities which everybody connected with him highly respects. As a matter of fact, professor Kalevi Heinilä is a playing intellectual, or Huizinga's *homo ludens* in its best possible meaning.

CHAPTER 2
SOCIOLOGY OF SPORT



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2.1 SOCIAL RESEARCH ON SPORTS IN FINLAND (1988)*

The key of concepts of "social research" and "sport" in the title of this review are related to each other in a rather unique way, that is, in Finnish way. Neither science nor sports exist in a vacuum; they are influenced by the society of which they are a part. For understanding of the scientific enterprises with their particular paradigms and problem orientations even on the field of sport some frame of reference of the sociohistorical development of a country in question is necessary.

2.1.1 Sports and Patriotism

Sport has played a significant role in the current history of Finland, in her pursuit for a national identity and independence but also for her welfare. Though play, games and sports do have their intrinsic values and endogenous continuities in one hand, they have also always been harnessed for extraneous purposes of the society. Hence e.g. play, games, gymnastics and sport have been recognized as a valuable means of physical education in schools everywhere.

This happened already in the 19th century when Finland was linked, after the separation from Sweden, with the Russian Czar as the autonomous Grand Duchy of Finland (1809-1917). During this period the country enjoyed, however, a wide self-government and preserved her character as a Western and Nordic society with institutions and fundamental laws from the Swedish era. And the societal development of the country followed essentially the same path as in the Scandinavian countries; the gradual transition from the agrarian society into the industrial society started in the 1860's. The liberalism and the strengthening nationalism inspired by Hegel's philosophy found their expressions in various social movements, among them sport movement. The first gymnastic and sports clubs were founded in the 1860s, and the first national bond for the clubs, The Finnish Women's Physical Education Association (SNLL), in 1896 by women(!) - still very active, even flourishing. This forerun of women was not so accidental, taken into account that the women movement for equality, especially in education, work and political participation, was rather active already in the 19th century. It is worth noticing that women were already given the full equality in politics in 1906, earlier than in any other European country.

With the progress of liberalism and modernization of society the national self-consciousness and patriotism were waking up also people into sport and gymnastic movement. Already at the end of the 19th century the modern sport movement knew that the first Finnish athletes took part in the Olympic Games in Athens in 1896 and not merely "for the sake of participation, but for the sake of success," achieving two gold medals. The first sweet drops of success and international recognition were tasted, and that taste was not bad at all - hence more was it sought for.

Since the network of clubs covered, though sparsely, already the most

* Sportwissenschaft. 18. Jrg. (1) 1988, 9-28.

advanced part of the country, the foundation of the common umbrella organization became actual and was realized in 1900 - first illegally and covertly, but after the oppression of the Czar's regime in 1906, legally and openly. The liberation movement and patriotism found the most appropriate channel. The Olympic Games in Stockholm in 1912 were the most significant event in that respect. In the opening ceremony, the Finnish athletes refused to appear under the Russian flag and instead marched under the tag "Finlandie." The great success of the Finnish athletes in the Games, glorified at home, inspired the youth into sport and fostered the national interests in and through sports.

2.1.2 Political Cleavage

The national interests were, however, tragically polarized when the country was declared independent on the 6th of December 1917: the sovereignty was achieved at high costs of a Civil War broken out in 1918. In sport the substantial part of the costs was the expiration of those sport clubs from the Finnish Gymnastic and Sport Federation (SVUL), which were affiliated with the lost Reds in the Civil War. As a consequence, the Reds founded their own Workers' Sport Federation (TUL) in 1919 with a close affiliation with the political left and with the international socialistic sport movement (*Wuolio 1982; Laine 1984*).

Unlike other European countries, in which the separate workers' sport movement has been dissolved with the mainstream, this cleavage is still very much relevant in Finland, shaping the sport policy of the country from the very top down to the grass roots. The master organization of sport SVUL is labelled by TUL as bourgeois even though the rank and file of SVUL is composed of people from all political parties. According to the studies of Seppänen, there are e.g. more socialdemocratic members in SVUL than in TUL (*Seppänen 1983; 1984a, 119-130*). While SVUL claims to be politically neutral TUL is as an undistinguished part of the workers' political movement "promoting physical activities and education according to the ideology of the workers' movement among the Finnish people, but particularly among the working class people" (Rules of TUL:§2)

The relationship between these two sport Federations reflects the fluctuations of the political climate in the country like the political barometer well documented in HENTILÄ'S studies on the history of TUL (*Hentilä 1982/84*). The relationship between the two federations is as a main rule arranged and specified in the treaty concerning primarily the issues of joint sport events and the representation of the country in international sport. Once in a while, the possibility for the unification of both parties have been explored but so far without any success. The last serious attempt in 1971 was initiated by the Ministry of Education and professor Paavo *Seppänen* as an invited conciliator. This so far unsurmountable nonsportive cleavage is the most singular feature of Finnish sport and the most notorious evidence of the society from that sport is bound to and preconditioned by the sociopolitical context of the society of which it is just a part. Also the existence of Finland's Swedish Sports Federation (CIF, founded in 1913) as a separate body for the Swedish speaking people, again proves also the significance of the sociopolitical forces in Finnish sports.

2.1.3 Pursuit for Recognition

Apart from the women's gymnastic movement the interest in competitive sport prevailed at the turn of the 20th century. The country under modernization process was in favour of "modern sport" pertinent to the pursuits of national independence and world recognition as its prerequisite. As for Finland, as well as later other new countries, sports has had quite a significant role in the pursuits of fostering national identity and world recognition. Everyone in Finland knows the slogan: "Finland has been run into the world map". The sports federations still use that slogan in marketing top-level sport today, but are being counterasked: "Why should we still need it and when Finland is already drawn on the map?" Anyhow, the "Flying Finns", particularly Hannes Kolehmainen in the Olympic Games in Stockholm and later Paavo Nurmi have become myths in Finland standing as the cornerstones of the monolithic conception on sports until the 1960s. After all the myth of Paavo Nurmi is not after all very mystic; he simply was among the first athletes who took sport seriously as worklike while most athletes abroad were still playing in sport!

Success in the external system of international sport has its repercussions in the internal system of society by facilitating the national integration and identity but also by feeding expectations of the public for further success and consequently moulding the traditional sport culture of a country toward a uniform international culture with the common rules and common standards. Due to this social pressure, the monolithic competitive sport tends to displace the traditional folk sport. So has also happened in Finland and ancient folk games and plays are hardly known any more. Out of curiosity *Stejskal*, teacher of physical education, registered and typed in 1950s those traditional folk sports known at least by the hearsay in the region where he used to spend his summer vacation and earned his doctor's in ethnology (*Stejskal* 1954).

2.1.4 Sports for All

Along with the success-orientated sport movement, however, gymnastics and sport for fitness survived. In their organized movement, from the very beginning women were primarily interested in promoting health, fitness and aesthetic values and found gymnastics the most appropriate means for that purpose. Later women gymnastics, developed into the particular Finnish system by Elli Björkstén and her student Hilma Jalkanen, has gained wide international recognition- not for beating others in contests but as a manifestation of the intrinsic beauty of natural rhythm and movement.

Sport for fitness has traditionally been the mainstream of worker's sport movement, too. But in "the achievement society" the public recognition can mainly be earned through "achievements"; accordingly also TUL is investing more and more in competitive sport. Also the Civil Guard, the voluntary military organisation (1917-1944), has had quite a significant role in promoting sport for fitness particularly among the male population. The Grand Old Man of Finnish sports, Lauri Pihkala (1888-1981), as a devoted patriot devoted much of his effort for the independence and defence of his country. In that purpose he e.g. organized

sport of the Civil Guard in a unique but attractive way. His grand idea was to fit the sport culture in Finland well to the unique nature of the country and to serve to all people not only a younger generations well. In that pursuit he founded the Finnish Ski Track Association in 1938 for promoting everyman's outdoor recreational sport in the nation-wide network of tracks and paths. Furthermore, it was also his idea to organize the so-called people's matches in sport between the Nordic countries each on the home ground. In the famous folk march race between Sweden and Finland in 1941 there were 1,5 million Finnish participants against 900 000 Swedish. The past fateful Winter War with heightened national solidarity contributed in all likelihood to the Finns' great success.

Lauri Pihkala was particularly worried about the consequences of The Olympic Games in Helsinki 1952. He calculated that if the Finnish athletes will succeed in the Games, people get toxicated with the championship sport, and the primary interest of sport for all will be neglected. As a preventive measure he wrote the famous pamphlet "On the urgency for organizing sports for all before the Olympic games" in 1951.

Finns had success in the Games but not so much in terms of medals as in terms of the fair sportive spirit of the Games. The Olympic Games gave also impetus to the reconstructions of the country in and beyond sports; it gave an impetus even to the sports science. The group of scientists affiliated with the Institute of the Occupational Health in Helsinki (one of them E. JOKL from USA) explored how the participation and the performance in the Games were correlated to a number of geographical, racial, social, cultural, nutritional and health data. Apart from many interesting observations the conclusions were shaped by the coubertinian idealism:

"The results of our survey lend firm support to the view that the contemporary sports movement is a cultural force moving in the direction...for the emotional enrichment and the moral benefit of mankind"(JOKL/KARVONEN 1956).

2.1.5 New Conceptions

The great expansion of the sports movement is related to the industrialization of a society in many ways. The differentiation of leisure from work is one of those necessary if not sufficient conditions for the expansion of the sports movement. This was evident in Kalevi *Heinilä's* doctoral dissertation on "Leisure and Sport" in 1959 with the following concluding remarks:

"The lightening of physical labour due to mechanization, and the extension of leisure hours have proved to be related closely to an increase of active participation in sports"(HEINILÄ 1959).

HEINILÄ found also that the participation in sports was related to competitive success at an early age. This close tie between the participation and the competitive sport was challenged in the 1960s, and the demand for a differentiation of sport culture according to the diverse interests of people were acknowledged. Even the traditional concepts were challenged as inappropriate ones and the most comprehensive term "urheilun" (=sport) implicating competition as the basic characteristic

was displaced by the term "liikunta" (=movement). Significantly even the academic degrees in the field, besides the titles of professor's chair in Departments of the Faculty, are named with the prefix of "movement" instead of "sport". The last strongholds of the traditional concepts of sports are the sport federations and the State Sports Council, but e.g. the Council for Research is called in Finnish like the State Council for Research in Movement Sciences. The implicit contents of concepts conveying various meanings on physical activities have very likely their significance even from the point of view of participation in sport.

As a frame of reference the pluralistic conception of sport guided the work of the State Committee appointed in 1966 by the Ministry of Education for planning the future development of sport for all. In the final report the Committee made the statement on the citizens' equal right for participation in sports as follows:

"Every citizen shall be given the opportunity to participate in physical activities in accordance with his/her individual abilities and inclinations. The organisation of everybody's sports shall guarantee citizens the freedom of choice in sporting activity and the opportunity to participate in the decision-making which affects everybody's sports!" (Committee Report 1970:B59).

The everyman's sports was defined by the Committee in a unique way "as a physically active way of life". As requested by the Committee, professor *Seppänen* made the ingenious prognose on the social conditions of physical activities in the future with the special reference to the changing ratio of working hours to leisure (*Seppänen* 1974). In the research policy of the Ministry of Education the physical activities of people have represented the so called key areas of research since the 1970s. During the 1970s various research projects surveying the pattern of people's behavior some based on the national sample, were carried out. Additionally, since 1973, The Research Institute of Physical Culture and Health (LIKES) conducted the most extensive but confusing interdisciplinary project on health and physical activities of employees in three machine industry plants in Jyväskylä. It was found that the worker's position in the production line was related to participation in sports: the higher the position, the more active in participation except for spectator sport! In the studies of participation the facilitating factors are usually of primary concern whereas in this project even the constraints of participation were given due attention (*Kiviaho/Telama* 1975).

In the national project on the pattern of people's behaviour, besides the rates of and the motives for participation, also the popularity of various events was mapped out. The national sample included 4 000 people over 16 years old and the data was collected by mail in 1977. As far as constraints of participation were concerned the most common ones were as follows:

	For women	For men
Fatigue after work	55 %	39 %
Personal obligations and duties at home	50 %	36 %
Other hobbies in leisure	31 %	43 %
Lack of suitable partners	32 %	20 %

The observations of this national project were cross-validated through the extensive time budget study conducted in 1979 by the Central Statistical Office. Covering over 6 000 people and 12 057 days it portrayed in a reliable way the available time for physical activity in different social groups and distinguished the deprived groups, in this respect women in agriculture and mothers with children under six years (*Juppi et al. 1984; Vuolle 1984, 149-195*).

2.1.6 Socialization into Sports

The role of physical activities in peoples' way of life is causally related to the socialization process at earlier age through which people get involved with play-games-sports and other physical activities or - if deficient - people learn also to avoid these activities. Many studies á la "Hollingshead" have proved that peer groups have a significant role in the socialization process of teenagers. The scout leader Rafael *Helanko* noticed in the early 1950s, while observing the activities of spontaneous youth groups that sport was the dominant interest of youth and sport clubs recruited their junior members mostly from these gangs. In his follow-up studies *Helanko* noticed later in the 1960s, that in the affluent society new appeals and interests have emerged competing with sport in attraction. As a result sport has been losing its dominance as teenagers' interests (*Helanko 1953; 1957, 229-240; 1959, 38-55*). In the 1950s. the Research Institute of Social Science conducted also the national survey on youth's interests with particular focus on the social participation problems traced in the social structure of a society in transition. The significant role of sport in general and sport clubs as the main channel for social participation was evident in this well recognized and elaborate inquiry by enthusiastic sociologists (*Allardt / Jartti 1958 a; 1958 b, 165-172*).

The focus of socialization studies has been, however, on the role of school physical education. In his earlier survey *Heinilä* explored among other things the highschool pupils' preferences and varying interests in sports and their correlates e.g. to the "democratic vs. autocratic" teaching styles (*Heinilä 1964 a, 123-151; 1964 b*).

Worth to notice among these earlier studies is *Toukomaa's* unconventional inquiry on the process of value socialization of the youth. The value preferences and their changes were evaluated in terms of four categories of "hero ideals": the heroes of youth culture, adventure fiction heroes, human ideals and national champions like Paavo Nurmi. It was noticed that "national champions" were losing their appeal as hero ideals while aging and were superseded mainly by "human ideals" (*Toukomaa 1967*).

More recently, the Department of Physical Education in the University of Jyväskylä in collaboration with the Research Institute of Physical Culture and Health have prepared an extensive long-term research program for school physical education (*Nupponen 1976*). *Pitkänen* and *Telama* - both occupying in succession the professor's chair in physical education in the University of Jyväskylä - were pioneers in that research program with their doctor's dissertations (*Pitkänen 1964; Telama 1972*).

Out of the research projects belonging to the program particularly those dealing with the motivation in physical activities are the most relevant here. The motives typical of recreational sports like health, relaxation, pleasure etc. are consistently given high priorities whereas achievement and competitive interests

are clearly less important particularly after the puberty (*Silvennoinen* 1981; *Telama / Silvennoinen* 1979, 31-55).

It is well recognized that the family has a significant role in sport socialization. This was also obvious in *Vanhalakkka-Ruoho's* study, but maybe of more informative value were her observations on the impact of sons' intensive participation in sport upon the whole family life (*Vanhalakkka-Ruoho* 1981, 68-83).

Laakso's doctor's dissertation on "the socialization environment in childhood and youth as determinant of adult-age sport involvement" is, however, the most comprehensive study in Finland in this field. This retrospective study belonged to the cross-cultural project conducted by *Kenyon* and *McPherson* from the University of Waterloo, Canada (*Laakso* 1981, 97-109).

The role of mass media in sport socialization is also obviously significant. However, for lack of elaborate studies our knowledge on this particular area is so far rather vague. Sport heroes and the whole phenomenon of hero-worship in sport are mainly created by mass media. Also the well known coubertinian truism: "...for 50 people to do sports, 20 must specialize. For 20 athletes to specialize, 5 must be able to achieve exceptional records" is based on the assumption of the transfer of athletes' model behavior through mass media. This truism, still commonly fostered in sport organizations was challenged in *Vuolle's* study on the influence of the Olympic Games in Montreal on people's sport behavior. In comparing people's sport activities before and after the Games the decline of activity was noticed sooner than the increase. This tendency was particularly noteworthy since the Games were keenly followed via mass media and the success of Finns was better than expected by respondents in the survey. "Not even Lasse Viren's gold medals seemed to have increased interest in running and jogging" (*Vuolle* 1977 a, 81-90).

2.1.7 Other-directed

Until the 1970s the Finnish sport culture was dominated by competitive sport of international origin. The most impetuses and even the standards for development came from abroad. Like all competitive systems also the competitive sports is by the very nature an other-directed system bound to the externally imposed common values, norms and standards of performance. The penetration of this other-directedness e.g. in school physical education means such a sport-centricity, in which the primary purpose is to adjust children to the demands of certain sports instead of adjusting sport to the various needs of children and to the educational purpose proper (*Heinilä* 1979 a, 13-22).

The other-directedness in sport culture cause to external pressures for success in the expanding common market of international sport. By using the statistical data on the participation and success in the Olympic Games *Seppänen* has tested the intricate relationship between the ideational superstructure of a country á la Max Weber and the success in Games. He proved that in the achieving innerworldly societies also the level of sport achievements is as well high (*Seppänen* 1976, 87-100; *Kiviaho/Mäkelä* 1978, 5-22). In this attempt to trace the trends in international sports *Heinilä* in turn has introduced the term "totalization process":

"As a consequence of continuous upgrading of demands in international sport, competition totalized into a competition between "Systems" and a success depends more and more on the performance capacity of the Systems responsible for the representative sport of a country".

Those countries with the most relevant resources and most advanced technology available are the most successful in international sports today and even more so to morrow. Other efforts of being equal the countries with a centralized power structure will be most successful because they are most efficient in mobilizing resources for elite sports - if international success is given high priority (*Heinilä* 1982, 235-254; 1973, 351-356).

2.1.8 Transformation of Sports

The basic idea and purpose in competitive sports is success; a competition itself is a test of supremacy. Since competition in sport is a continuous process, the level of demands of performance tends to become ever heightening. This trend, according to HEINILÄ's proposition, is the main cause in transforming sports from amateurism proper towards a work-like occupation. In amateur sport, sportive interests are adjusted to more central interests of life, while in the latter type life interests are more adjusted to the heightening demands of sports. This was well evidenced in *Vuolle's* dissertation on "Top Sports as Content of Life" and manifested e.g. in the sacrifices athletes felt they have made on account of sport and in their dissatisfaction in life due to sport (*Vuolle* 1977, b).

The upgrading demands of performance have their impact also upon the very ethos and ethics of sports: the Wertrationalität is superseded by the Zweckrationalität and the primary concern suppressing any other tends to be effectiveness; even conceptions on fair-play are often interpreted in respective way as noted in *Heinilä's* cross-national survey (*Heinilä* 1974 b).

This transformation of top level sport, due to the upgrading level of demands resulting to the need of ever increasing investments from the part of athletes and society alike, tends also to make it more vulnerable to disturbances, abuses and conflicts of various kinds. The problems of pattern maintenance and regulation are thus accentuated in sports. The increasing use of dubious means, among them the doping, is a very actual problem and the expensive doping control with laboratories for lie-detection represents those notorious countermeasures necessary for maintaining some meaning proper in sports. And yet there is somebody argueing that sport has something to do with play!

It is quite significant that sport scientists in Finland have been the most ardent group, well supported by mass media in fighting against these misconducts and abuses in contemporary sport. In the University of Jyväskylä the state of affairs in doping business was surveyed in 1981-82 the athletes, sports leaders, sports physicians, coaches and public as the target groups. These groups differed significantly in their permissiveness when top level and competitive sport but they all are almost unanimously against doping when the youth is concerned (*Vuolle* 1982, 69-100):

Not permitted in any circumstances			
Target groups		Top level sports and in general	Sports for youth
Public at large	(N962)	82 %	97 %
Sport leaders	(N 94)	62 %	98 %
Sports physicians	(N364)	81 %	100 %
Athletes	(N246)	60 %	100 %
Sport journalists	(N 98)	54 %	97 %
Coaches	(N 55)	53 %	98 %

Concomitantly with these regulation problems, the ethics of sports has been exposed to critical analysis. In his analysis *Seppänen* has pointed out that the very legitimacy of sport is concerned in this issue (*Seppänen* 1985).

2.1.9 Sport as a Peace Movement

In conventional thinking it is taken for granted that sports is by the very nature a peace movement *par excellence*. No doubt it has the potentiality for peace but as a human affair it also has the inherent potency for "war without weapons" and for conflicts (*Heinilä* 1966, 31-40).

So far, however, our knowledge on and understanding of the contextual conditions conducive to integration vs. disintegration, harmony vs. tension, in and through sport in regard to international relationships are sporadic and far from sufficient. For promoting interests in research on this vital issue The Ministry of Education in Finland financed the international congress on Sports and International Understanding organized in 1982 under the auspices of ICSSPE with the pointed reference to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe held also in Helsinki (in 1975) and in the same Finlandia Hall!

Instead of paying a mere lip-service to sport, so common in international conventions, the Helsinki-congress was rather unbiased and critical in portraying the role of international sport as a peace movement. It is perhaps not a mere coincidence that particularly scholars from small or/and non-aligned countries seemed to be most critical and even sceptical as to the role of contemporary international sport in promoting the mutual understanding and friendship under present conditions. For the Congress, the Tampere Peace Research Institute had conducted a crossnational survey on "the Structure and Trends of International Sports Cooperation" but even the observations from of this authorized inquiry remained rather sporadic since only 32% out of the 1,364 recipients returned the questionnaire "with an uneven level of accuracy and geographical representation". Significantly the percentage of Olympic committees (N 135) *co-operating* in this research on *co-operation in sport* was not higher than 34%-perhaps due to the reluctance for co-operation (*Ilmarinen* 1984; *Hietanen / Varis* 1982, 75-112).

The idealistic and the factual conceptions on international sport seem to diverge more and more from each other. In his keynote address in the Olympic Congress - Eugene (USA) in 1984 - *Seppänen* specified the following three fundamental external forces conducive to the development of Olympic Games as a

social institution: nationalism, commercialism and politics. This frame of reference shaped also his cynical conclusion:

"The Olympics can still function as an outlet of the world's steam. If this cannot happen otherwise, even through boycotts and withdrawals. In fact, it is less dangerous to be akin to war than in war itself...Despite the fact that the Olympics have been misused, they still have least the potential to offer more pleasure than pain" (SEPPÄNEN 1984 b, 113-127).

Neither of those three forces moulding the Olympics, according to *Seppänen's* theses are particularly conducive to the common good cause of mutual understanding and friendship was demonstrated in *Heinilä's* pilot study on the semantic meanings of the key concepts of international sport. The common good of international sports as the value set seems to be in contradiction with sport implemented in its primary and often sole pursuit for national interests and success (*Heinilä* 1985, 240-248).

2.1.10 Sports for Mass Entertainment

Today, any large sport event is exposed to huge publicity via powerful mass media. With the increasing publicity, international sports tend to become more vulnerable not only to a political intervention of any kind from a militant movement to big power politics but also to commercial exploitation. In addition to the upgraded demands of performance as an intrinsic force also this vicarious interest of the public at large as an extrinsic force is transforming sport enhancing its vulnerability to the political and commercial imposition but also moulding it according to the public taste and expectations. Primarily intended for the participants, a competitive sport is more and more intended for the public entertainment. Consequently, there exists the sacred trinity and mutual interests between championship sport, public and mass media:

This circular system is the most significant for the development of a competitive sport. It was well recognized in the Jyväskylä national conference in 1973 but so far the empirical research on spectators sport and on the role of mass media remain scarce or they lack theoretical elaborations. The success and the exceptional performances sell best sport to the public at last. For producing successful teams sport clubs have their common markets of buying and selling athletes. Particularly the basketball clubs have extended their recruiting markets abroad and American black players are the most wanted "quest workers" in basketball. This new immigration phenomenon has been in the focus of *Olin's* studies (*Heinilä/Wuolio* 1973; *Olin* 1984, 273-281; 1982 a).

2.1.11 Sports as an Organized Movement

It can be said that the Finnish sport culture is by and large a voluntary sport movement with sport clubs as its basic unit. Although the first public administrative bodies in municipalities and The State Commission for Sports in the Ministry of Education were founded in the 1920s, they had a minor auxiliary role in sport policy for a long time. Besides, they were faithfully committed to the interests and to the concepts of sports of sport federations in the private sector. It

is worth noting that until the 1970s the State Commission for Sports was faithfully composed solely of the nominees of sport federations.

According to *Seppänen's* careful estimate in 1980, approximately 19% of the adult population (over 15 years old) and 44% of boys and 28% of girls at the age group of 7 to 14 years belonged to sport clubs. For a good reason scholars of sport have been interested in studying this major voluntary citizen movement. Inclined to the paradigms and preferring the ideological to the materialistic orientation *Heinilä* has surveyed the belief and value systems of sport leaders (*Heinilä* 1974 a, 1979 b, 59-74). The various alternatives of value orientations were defined according to Peter M. Blau's and W. Richard Scott's criteria of *cui bono*, for whom or for what sport is supposed primarily to serve. The main distribution of sport leaders according to their primary value orientation was as follows:

The primary beneficiary (<i>cui bono</i>)	(N 1 115) %	Type of leadership
Membership at large	66	Democratic leader
Public at large	15	Market man
Organization	13	Bureaucrat
Amateurism proper	6	Idealist
	100	

Out of the 24 possible combinations the following two patterns of value preferences were by far the two most common (47% of sport leaders).

1. membership > public > organization > amateurism
2. membership > organization > public > amateurism

The preliminary results of the survey were presented in the international congress in Varna in 1970. Due to a technical error the distribution was, alas, reversed in the author's presentation and Finnish sport earned an unjustified reputation a "last" stronghold of amateur ideals delivered not only in the congress report but also in the book "Die Soziologie des Sports", edited by *Lüschen* and *Weiss* (1976:240-245).

While *Heinilä* has been the advocate of the differentiation of sport culture and in that sense provoked the conflict between the different concepts of sport, late *Kiviaho* (1938-1977), inspired by the "Frankfurter School" and the new left movement, was the advocate of politicized sports and the class conflict proposed to be manifested in the organizational cleavage of Finnish sport. In this light, he studied the leadership structure and the co-operative ties of the two leading sports federations SVUL and TUL (*Kiviaho* 1972, 172-190; 1974, 267-274). By far his most interesting studies concerned the regional differentiation of the Finnish sports movement as a function of the political tradition, the industrialization and the social structure of community. In these studies *Kiviaho* acknowledged, however, the limits of the class conflict and the political model as an explanation for the differentiation of the Finnish sports movement (*Kiviaho* 1973 a; 1973 b; 1973 c; 3-21). Despite his political restraints and commitments - or maybe because of these (!) - *Kiviaho's* contribution to Finnish sociological studies in sports was the most significant.

Maybe *Kiviaho's* studies and theses also inspired *Seppänen* to study the organized sport movement to clarify the common controversies on the membership structure of federations, for testing the reliability of the official number of memberships and to evaluate the relative contributions of competing federations to the Finnish sport life in terms of output criteria and with reference to the state subsidies (*Seppänen* 1980; 1981, 87-94; *Olin* 1981 b, 87-94).

2.1.12 Political Intervention

Due to the expansion of sport movement not only the private but also the public section of administration has enlarged and the services accentuated recently. Consequently, all municipalities have the sport commission with the main task of providing facilities for sport and supporting private section, that is, sport clubs in their role as the main organizers of sport and gymnastics. Since the 1950s every eleven province of the country has had a special commission for sport, usually headed by the Governor, for coordinating and supervising the planning in the municipalities and for linking the grass-root level of the administration with the decision-making level of the central government.

Due to expansion of the sports movement, the need for public support is accentuated. As a result, the political role and intervention in sport life has increased gradually but steadily. This politicization of public administration is clearly noticed in the compositions of all commissions and councils in sport - even in the composition of the State Research Council for Physical Education and Sports.

Taking into account the heightening significance of the role of municipalities in sports, *Olin* has explored the decision-making process in municipal sport policy first in the cities and recently also in the countryside with the particular interest in various frames of social references used as a source of information for the decision behavior. Out of a number of guides in decision-making the local ones - and not for e.g. sport policies of political parties or sport federations - tend to be of primary importance. Various conceptions of sport have also their impact on the decision-making in municipalities, which are supposed to serve all people within their boundaries. It was noted, however, that the competitive sport got higher priority than popular sport for all as the frame of reference, and likely so because by far the most clubs represent competitive sport as major reference groups get their interests to be recognized (*Olin* 1982 b; 1983, 115-122; 1981 a).

The regional differentiation of the sport movement with a particular reference to sport policy and the unequal allocation of resources of municipalities has also been surveyed. As a policy science project, this sophisticated analysis aimed to provide the basic information for the regional planning and for follow up studies in sport, hence, it also aimed at facilitating the work of the Sports Act Committee preparing the Sports Act. The public interest (and intervention into) in sport was accentuated in 1979 when the Parliament passed the Sports Act. To facilitate people's participation, the Act purports to allocate more public resources to the local level. Particular follow up studies initiated by the Ministry of Education on various outcomes of the Act are designed and the first preliminary reports have already been published (*Sänkiaho / Saukkonen / Kiviaho* 1982).

Through the Sports Act, the Finnish society officially recognizes the social significance of the sport movement and aims to ensure that the best interests of the people and the country are implemented in the sports movement. The sports movement needs the legitimacy of society as pointed out by President U. Kekkonen in his famous speech at the opening of the new building of the Faculty of Sport Sciences in Jyväskylä in 1971:

"I see the main importance of sport (however) in its capacity for serving man. It has a great role in providing daily training, relaxation, and a source of health and vitality. Seen from this angle, sport is too important and its opportunities too significant to remain the business of only those sport leaders who believe only in the self-sufficiency of sport. Sport always has influences that reach across its boundaries whether by desire or not. It is fact natural that when these effects are recognized and the tasks of athletic culture grows increasingly important the community itself and its administrative organs will participate increasingly in guiding the development of also this special branch of social policy. The point at issue in physical exercise and sport is and must be the best for man and his community. This indeed is also the aim and responsibility of politics".

The sport movement, if properly understood as a sub-system of society and not just as a "self-sufficient, autonomous state within the state", can warrant its legitimacy in society just by serving the best interests of man and society and by fostering the human rights and the human good in and through sport.

2.1.13 Other Social Issues

Following this guideline also the health, fitness and rehabilitation issues related to sports and physical activities have been the focus of research. The majority of these studies have been conducted in Jyväskylä. As interdisciplinary in their approach many have also the relevance for the social sciences. Also the extensive gerontologic studies in aging problems are closely related to the health projects conducted likewise in Jyväskylä (*Julkunen 1975; Heikkinen / Vuori 1980; Heikkinen et al. 1984; Rimpelä et al. 1983.*) In this connection it is appropriate to notice that in the honour of President Kekkonen's life-work for the welfare of the country the U.K.Kekkonen Foundation and the UKK Institute were established in 1980 in Tampere for promoting also research in health and rehabilitation related physical activities. For the recognition of the United Nation's special "Women year" in 1977, the Department of Sociology and Planning for Physical Culture conducted a comprehensive survey on women's role and status in the Finnish sport life covering all avenues of participation from the grass-root as participants up to the power elite as decision- and policy-makers. The main data used in this survey were collected from documents, archives and files so often neglected in social studies. The portray of inequalities of women in Finnish sport culture is quite striking particularly if taken into account that Finland is one of the most advanced egalitarian countries in the World (*Heinilä 1977; Laitinen 1984, 167-191*). For the elaboration of this portray the longterm program for studies on "Women and sports" has been designed and carried out.

2.1.14 Policy of Science

In the light of the reviewed social studies in sport it is evident that sport sciences in Finland are in close touch with the actual problems, dilemmas and challenges of sport in society. In that sense Finnish social studies in sports can be characterized as policy-oriented. In a small country like Finland it is appropriate that the limited resources of science and scientific training in universities are used with a frame of reference of their applicability in problem-solving and in the development of a society. Hence, the policy-orientation in research means also that in its focus are also those issues which might have been ignored in sport policy at present but are, however, significant from the view point of future development. "Sport and peace", "sport and women", "sport and disabled people", "sport and mass media" etc. are examples of such ignored issues.

This described research has been accentuated since the Faculty of Sport and Health Sciences was established in the University of Jyväskylä in 1963. Though the academic training of teachers in physical education started already in 1882 in the University of Helsinki no large-scale and long-term scientific work has been possible and studies for higher academic degrees in physical education and sport until the new Faculty in Jyväskylä was founded. At the Inauguration Meeting in 1971 the new Faculty defined its main policy as follows:

"The Faculty has regarded certain considerations as basic to its development. The first of these is the need to emphasize the importance of knowledge in the development of physical culture. The Faculty considers that one important condition for the favourable development of physical culture is a high level of knowledge and an atmosphere open to criticism and the free exchange of ideals. Therefore, it has made a special effort to improve research and the dissemination of information".

But while being sensitive to the contemporary social issues there is a risk already manifested during "the mad years" of the Universities in the 1970s, that the political interests are easily mixed with the scientific interests not in the least to the latter's harm. As far as social sciences are concerned, the professor's chair in sociology of sport was established in the Faculty in 1971. At the same time the new Department of Sociology and Planning for Physical Culture (Department of Social Sciences of Sport since 1986) was established. The chair of assistant professor in planning in sport was established in 1974.

The voice of the new Faculty has been and will likely be the voice of "The Critical University". Consequently, "the voice of Jyväskylä", particularly in the field of social sciences of sport, is perhaps not very cherished but still acknowledged by sport federations. Since 1967 the Ministry of Education and The Finnish Society for Research in Sports and Physical Education have jointly organized national conventions in sport for the critical evaluation of the state of affairs and for the exchange of science and practice. The theme of the last convention held in 1983 was "Sports culture today and tomorrow" (Warsell 1984).

The above mentioned Finnish Society for Research in Sport and Physical Education was established already in 1933 but its role in fostering interests in scientific studies of sports and paying attention to the neglected problem-areas in the field by organizing seminars, symposia and conferences was not recognized until the 1950's. In cultivating scientific thinking and disseminating scientific

knowledge as the national clearing and publishing house, the Society has contributed greatly to the promotion of sports sciences in Finland. The Society has published an annual booklet "Research in Physical Culture in Finland" since 1972 with bibliographical notes and abstracts of research completed.

The national centre of science in the field of sport and physical education is in Jyväskylä. In close collaboration with the Faculty of Sport and Health Sciences also the above mentioned Research Institute of Physical Culture and Health affiliated with the private Foundation in Jyväskylä (founded in 1970) promotes research and disseminates scientific information in the field.

2.1.15 Final Criterion

The studies in social sciences have made their contributions to the evaluation and conceptualization of the role of sports and physical culture in Finland. Due to these contributions, Finnish physical culture stands perhaps steadier than before and its own footing: its mainstream tends to be more inner- than outer-directed with the primary concern of what is good for man in and through sports adjusted to the singular but most challenging conditions of the Finnish nature. It is of vital importance that the mainstream of physical culture in a small country is not bound too tight to the common market and to fluctuations of success of international sport with the upgrading demands favouring more and more big countries with big resources. Sport and physical activities are, after all, primarily meant to everyone: for all according to people's needs.

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2.2 TRENDS AND PROSPECT IN SOCIOLOGY OF SPORT (1990)*

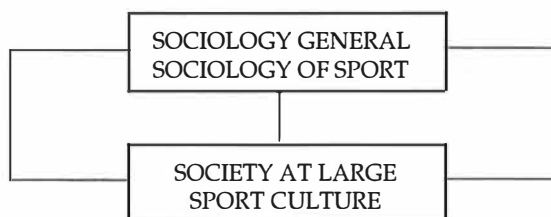
Abstract

In this essay the author, one of the founders of ICSS⁶, explores the heterogeneous substance of the sociology of sport as has been well reflected in this International Review since its very beginning. The roots of the heterogeneity are traced into the three basic constituents of the sociology of sport: sociology as a mother science, sport culture in societies and societies to themselves with their different political-cultural patterns. The mainstream of research tends to conform with the mainstream of practical sport, while various critical schools, which may be expected to gain strength in the near future, often challenge the conventional belief system and late development of mainstream sport with emerging political, commercial and other external interests.

2.2.1 Heterogeneity of the sociology of sport

The common denominator for the sociology of sport, as has been reflected e.g. in the International Review for the Sociology of Sport since its beginning in 1965, is the heterogeneity well-embodied in issues concerning studies, paradigms of approaches and methodologies applied. It looks as if the international exchange in the field has contributed more to scholarly diversity than to convergence.

This confusing pluralism is not only due to the youth of the field but also to the very essence of the sociology of sport as a scientific discipline. The substance of the sociology of sport is the outcome of the interplay between the following constitutive entities:



The outcomes of any sport-sociological inquiries reflect all those entities - sociology general, society at large and sport culture in society - more or less explicitly. Since there are great intravariations in these entities, it is no wonder that there are also cross-national variations in the sociology of sport.

Each society has its peculiar cultural-political structures with their impacts upon sport as subculture but also upon sciences as social institutions. Sociology as a science of society is itself a socio-cultural enterprise and more or less determined by the cultural-political entity of society, irrespective of those common identities and constitutive rules of the science known as "sociology".

* International Review for the Sociology of Sport. Vol. 25 (1) 1990, 33-37.

The cultural-political habitus of society is well reflected in the choice of subject for studies in sociology as well as in the sociology of sport. For that reason, American sociologists might be more interested in racial discrimination and professional sport in their studies, whereas Scandinavian sociologists might prefer to explore sexual equality in sport or sport as a life-long interest. Within a given cultural setting the choice of subject in open societies is often a matter of personal preference. Recently, however, even in some Western countries political authorities have, in consultation with scientific experts, established some priorities of research programs and, if one wishes to secure financial support for his or her project, it is advisable to take account of those official lists of priorities.

In centralized societies political authorities may rather dictate those subjects of studies considered to be proper. The political order might also prescribe the appropriate theoretical frames, conceptions and methods of studies, while in open societies and in their sovereign universities these are, as a rule, entirely matters of rational consideration and choice. The degree of freedom prevailing in society in these matters is well reflected in the bibliographical references of research reports. In open societies the freedom of thought is considered imperative to the advancement of science, while contributing also to diversity, controversy and even oddity in theories, methods and outcomes!

2.2.2 Diverse orientations in sociology of sport

Any real progress in the sociology of sport is closely tied to the progress of sociology general, since in the sociology of sport we mostly apply what we have learned from sociology as a mother science. By ignoring the theoretical and methodological achievements and innovations in sociology general, the sociology of sport is doomed to stagnate. At an early stage pure empirical descriptions and surveys on basic facts about sporting life are needed as an impetus for further scientific elaborations, but any advancement in the sociology of sport as a science can happen only within the frame of sociology proper. In this respect our field is not well advanced, as is manifested in the weakness of the theoretical frames of most research. It is not a mere coincidence that scholars whose prime interest lies in sociology with "only" a secondary interest in the sociology of sport have also made the most meritorious contributions to the field (e.g. N. Elias, C. Page, E. Dunning, P. Bourdieu, G. Luschen, K. Heinemann, P. Seppänen).

Most members of the ICSS are, however, occupationally connected to sport in such a way that it is often sport instead of sociology which is their prime interest in research. This priority is particularly obvious in those research reports with hardly any references to sociological literature. The mainstream of such works can be categorized into value-conforming research with its main focus on sport practice. The first international seminar on "Small Group Research and Its Application to Sport", organized in 1966 in Cologne under the auspices of the ICSS, introduced mostly research contributing to sport practice without any noteworthy challenge to the very constituent of that practice. If the main aim of research is to provide knowledge for the improvement of practice, this type of value-conforming research is nothing but "social engineering" in sport. Most of these studies serve competitive sport and efforts to maximize the performance of

athletes or teams in pursuit of success. The social engineering type of research well in accordance with goals and the value-setting of mainstream sport also gains most public recognition. Accordingly, sport medicine and other biological sciences contributing to high performance are the most highly-recognized subdisciplines amongst sport sciences, well evident e.g. in the work of IOC with the Medical Commission and in the scientific priorities of the First IOC Congress in Colorado Springs 1989.

Critical thinking and the challenging of conventional belief systems are, however, very much prerequisites of any significant achievements in science. Hence science calls for dissident thinking, continuous challenges of paradigms, and inspiring scientific confrontations. Obviously those dissident endeavours and critical schools in the sociology of sport have emerged mainly in open societies. The New Left movement and the Frankfurt school have inspired major dissident thinking and critical research in the field with their Marxist or neo-Marxist conceptions of sport as a market product in capitalistic societies (e.g. B. Rigauer, R. Beamish, R.S. Gruneaus, A. Ingham, S. Morikawa, P. Kiviahho).

Another school of divergent thinking in the sociology of sport is marked by humanistic values (e.g. H. Eichberg, Z. Krawczyk, K. Kageyama, V. J. Stolyarov, K. Heinilä). The critical confrontation of the humanistic frame of reference with the mainstream practice was well-articulated in the First Japanese workshop on "Sport and Humanism" in Gotemba in 1988. Closely related to the humanistic frame is also the feminists' school challenging the traditional male hegemony and inequalities in sport culture. The research of the school was well reviewed recently in the Jyväskylä Congress on "Sport and Movement in Womens' Life" in 1987 (e.g. G. Pfister, K. Fasting, F. Szabo Gy., M. A. Hall, A. Laitinen). Some traces of the rise of the counter-cultural green movement with soft non-competitive values and outdoor interest are also observed in advanced industrialized countries generating dissident thinking and new research (e.g. H. Eichberg, K. Kageyama, W. E. Schafer).

A common value orientation of scholars of different critical schools is found in their keen interest in body culture and physical activities as a potential for human good but which has so far been inadequately exploited in mainstream sport in contemporary society. Their studies are often focused on the structural-cultural constraints in sport and society which hamper a large strata of the populace from participation but also on those transformation processes in mainstream sport which seem to obscure the educational-humanistic values of sport.

2.2.3 Interplay of sport and society

The traditional notion of sport as an autonomous reality on its own still has its proponents in some sport organizations, with claims of full sovereignty in the matters and the jurisdiction of sport and rejections of outside intrusions into sport. This notion is analogical to the conception of pure science or art as an aesthetic expression proper. No doubt sport still has some sovereignty, especially in the Western countries, and the British athletes could at least participate in the Olympic Games in Moscow despite the official boycott of the Government! But

this autonomy is always relative and bound to marginal conditions provided by societies.

With the expansion of the sport movement, outsiders' interests in sport have been awoken and the potential of e.g. sport for political and commercial exploitation and also for welfare purposes have been recognized. As a result, sport has become more and more contaminated by these external interests.

But the increase in participation and the upgrading of demands in training, management, facilities etc. call for an increasing demand for resources. These resources are mostly available only from "outside" society which has already shown itself to be prompt to interfere with sport for such extrinsic interests. Consequently, the sports movement in most Western countries becomes influenced by commercialism, politization and mass entertainment. Not long ago a business sponsorship was almost non-existent, today, it is penetrating all sports. In the most popular sports such as ice-hockey in Finland, voluntary sport clubs are run in the national league like business, with full-time management staff and with most players as full-time employees. The mutual interests of sport and business both at national and international level are likely to have drastic impacts upon sport. Prominent businessmen, with their professional expertise, are evidently also needed for leadership posts in sport organizations, bringing with them not only business conceptions on management but also business values and ethical norms into sport. It is no wonder that elite sport looks more and more like "making business" through show and mass entertainment! The interplay between society at large and sport is the most up-to-date focus of study in sociology of sport. The implications of the external impacts of society upon sport also affect the very essence and meaning-content of sport. This metamorphosis of sport is badly in need of scientific scrutiny.

Science as a societal enterprise is also becoming more and more affiliated with the development of sport, especially in countries which pursue success in international sport. According to conventional wisdom, science is supposed inevitably to contribute to the progress of life. This popular conception is unfortunately hardly valid. It is evident that the increasing interference of science, e.g. in competitive sport, has the most significant impacts not only upon the practice but also upon the very essence of sport competition as a fair test of athletic performance. Sport as an open endeavour tends to be transformed by science into some hidden enterprise with business-like secrets, espionage and lie detectors ("doping-tests"). Paradoxically, the impacts of science upon sport are really worth critical scientific scrutiny.

On the whole, it can be expected that in the future the enhancing impacts of society on sport will in the future generate more critical research in the field of the sociology of sport, particularly in advanced industrialized societies. It is also probable that critical research will also gain more ground in socialist countries with the extension of the glasnost-perestroika movement.

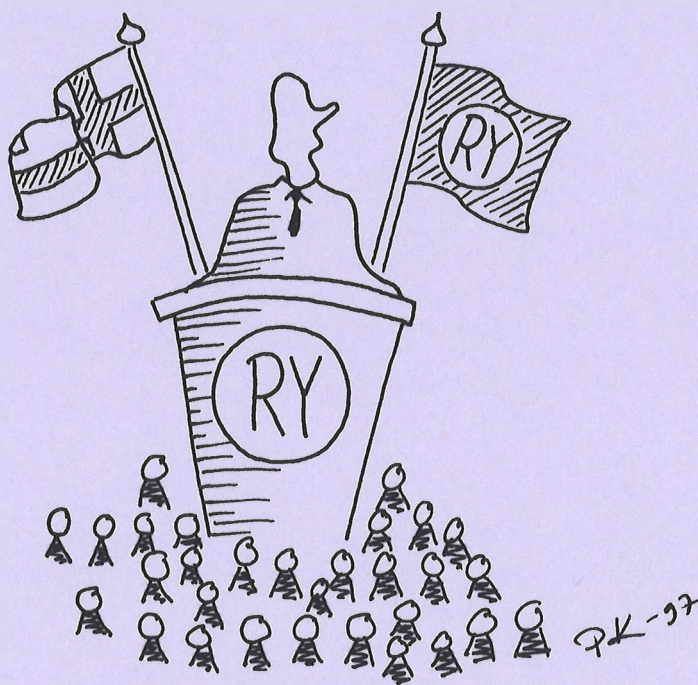
2.2.4 Expanding field

Due to external interventions sports culture tends to be diversified in industrialized societies, and the prevailing monolithic conception of sport as

primarily a youth movement is superseded by the more pluralistic conceptions of body culture, physical activity, or movement culture etc. with appeal for everyone. Conventionally in sport sciences in general and in the sociology of sport in particular, research has been focused mostly upon sporting activities in the social institution of sport - e.g. on elite sport, Olympic Games, competitive sport, recreational sport etc., - with their distinctive identities and relative autonomies in society. In modern society however, the sports movement is surpassing those traditional boundaries and entering other social institutions. Human movement as a constituent element of all physical activity is so elastic that it can be molded in a number of ways to match the most varied needs and tasks and most diverse conditions and capabilities. With the extension and differentiation of sport in modern society, it is likely that also the objects of research in the sociology of sport will become more differentiated in the future and that physical activities in social institutions other than sport proper will come more into the limelight of research.

CHAPTER 3

SPORT IN SOCIETY



3.1 SOCIAL FACTORS AFFECTING SPORTS AND RECREATION (1977)*

Sports and recreation are social forms of activity although they are conditioned by man's biological faculties. The impact of the social environment is clearly visible already in children's play and the play environment.

The measure to which society extends its impact and regulatory power varies in the different sub-systems of sports culture. Competitive sports at the highest level are possible today only because of the strong support from society. International competitive sports are in fact no longer mere contests between individual competitors or teams, but rather manifestations of competition between different sports systems, which even tend to develop into a competition between entire social systems. Success in ever more expanding competition is increasingly a function of the performance of the entire sports system and this performance is dependent on how much a nation is willing to invest to the development of elite sports and how meaningful and important such an investment is thought to be. Of all types of national sports activities competitive sports are the ones where society's impact is the greatest. This regulation extends into the daily life of the sportsman, even to what he may and may not eat.

Society does not become so much involved in the realm of recreational sports, in particular sports where outdoor exercise is concerned. Here participation depends rather more on the individual's own inclinations and the natural environment than on the regulation by society. Top-level competitive and recreational sport systems also have very different objectives. Competitive sports are to a very high degree *society-centered*. In this type of system various social objectives and values such as "for the victory of Finland" or the "work and defend"- slogan of the socialist countries are central determinants.

Another type of system may be very *sports-centered*. In this system the objectives derive from the needs of institutionalized sports, such as gymnastics or dance. The individual or the team are then adapted to these needs; the objective is to develop good basketball players, gymnasts, boxers, etc.

A third possibility is to have an *individual-centered* sports system, in which the objective is to adapt sports and recreation to the needs and abilities of different individuals and groups. Individual-centered systems are at least in theory represented by recreational sports including outdoor exercise.

Quite obviously society's regulation is different in form as well as in strength in these different sport systems. Regulation is by definition at its strongest in the society-centered systems and least visible in the individual-centered systems, whose objectives make them self-regulatory since they adapt to the varying qualifications and needs of people. Often enough man himself rather than any outsider is the best authority to decide what kind of sports and recreation is good for him.

But man is a part of his society and its culture, and he makes his choices concerning recreation under the influence of what this culture has taught him. The following chart shows in a schematic way how participation in sports and recreation

* Report for Sport and Leisure Seminar at Aulanko. August 1977, 23-26.

depends on the cultural framework of society in general and on its sports culture in particular:

CHART: SOCIAL INTERDEPENDENCE OF PARTICIPATION IN SPORTS AND RECREATION

SOCIETY' S CULTURAL FRAMEWORK	> <	SOCIETY'S SPORTS CULTURE	> <	INDIVIDUAL SOCIAL READINESS	> <	PARTICIPATION ACTIVITY
Cultural framework		Sports culture				
international		international				
national		national				
- values, norms		- sport values		valuations		
- technoculture		- sport technology		equipment		
Institution		Sports institution				
administration		sports administration		time		interest in sport
economy/work		exercise in work		energy		spectator sports
politics		sports policy				sports administration
family		family sports				physical education
				skills		sports research
education/schools		physical education		knowledge		
science		sport sciences				
arts		movement-arts				
information		sports information				sports information
health care		sports for health etc.				
defence		military sports				etc.
transportation		light transportation (e.g. cycling)				
		sports		programme		
leisure						
Living environment		Sports environment				
place of living		sports facilities		space		
nature		nature for recreation				

The sports culture is one of society's sub-cultures, and the overall cultural framework impacts all its component parts. The cultural framework of a country is naturally the combined result of the national cultural heritage and international cultural exchange. Lively international cultural exchange will add international traits to the culture of a single country. This is evident particularly in the case of sports culture and in those countries which have participated actively and for a long time in international competitive sports such as the Olympic Games. When the national sports of a country are very dependent on the objectives of international sports and its institutions, then its own sports culture tends to conform more and more with those of other countries, and national traits disappear. The upgrading demands of competitive sports are most likely to accelerate the rate at which national sports cultures become international. Thus competitive sports are all the time becoming more and more imperative and this leads to a growing allocation of national resources for the needs of international competitive sports. From the view point of the aims of the Olympic movement a unique national sports culture is a misallocation and a waste of resources. Our Finnish variant of baseball has sometimes been blamed for and used as a scapegoat to explain some defeat in international competitions. Dependence on the international common market of sports also means that national sports cultures, systems for recreation and

sports and their standards, the planning of sports facilities and even people's ideas of what sport is and what it is not are to a great extent determined by international sports federations.

Various institutions in society take care of the central needs of life and their social conditions. Each institution has its own special task in promoting the well-being of the citizens and of society as a whole. In order to fulfill their tasks, these social institutions promote cooperation between individuals in the desired direction. The economic possibilities to develop other institutions for the promotion of the quality of life and its many needs are very dependent on the production capacity of society. This capacity sets the material limits to which sports culture can be developed, but sports is basically controlled also by the cultural framework of society and by the various other social institutions.

Up till the 1960's the sport culture in Finland was typically dominated by the impact of international competitive sports and their indirect influences; recreational sports were thus very much influenced by the competitive spirit, and were practiced in the typical forms of competitive sports. There were international mass contests; competition and performance requirements were very dominant in physical education in schools, and almost all organizations were exclusively interested in competitive sports. The past decade has seen a remarkable development in this respect: the monolithic sports culture is changing into a pluralistic one and differentiating according to the needs of different groups and different institutions. The central aim is here no longer to promote top-level competitive sports and to win as many international victories as possible, but to promote the welfare and well-being of the whole population, by and with sports and recreation. Our school reform also reflects this individual-centered aim, and physical education is designed to serve overall educational goals. A committee appointed by the Ministry of Education thus states that each citizen has a basic right to sports and recreation:

"Each citizen should have an opportunity to practice and participate in sports in accordance with his personal wishes and inclinations. The institutional organization of recreational sports should be such that he is free to choose the type of activity he prefers, and he should also be given an opportunity to participate in the decisionmaking concerning recreational sports." (State Committee 1970)

The same committee also defined recreational sports as a "physically active way of life". This indicates a wish to integrate sports and recreation into people's everyday lives, for it is seen as a source of well-being. Sports and recreation are intended to enrich the life of everybody and not only of the sports elite.

In the 1970's recreational sports have finally become an important part of the sports culture alongside competitive sports. The sports culture, including recreational sports, has also continued to differentiate further. Sports and recreation have been given new social tasks related to health care, tourism, education and even transportation. When sports culture in this way is integrated into the institutions of society and their various tasks, it becomes capable of serving broader groups of people in a more variable way than ever before. But it is not enough to integrate sports and recreation into the lives of individuals and families and various functions of society. It must also be integrated into the framework and conditions of the physical environment and nature. This is a new challenge, especially for those

planning recreation areas and sports facilities. These planning problems cannot be solved by relying on the lessons learned from institutionalized competitive sports with their international standards and rules.

In addition to ever more varied recreational services, a developing sports culture also gives each individual the social skills needed to enable him to take advantage of the services offered. Many of the elementary skills needed for participation, such as skills, knowledge, attitudes and valuations, equipment etc. are of social origin, they have been learned from social environment or they are its products. To a great extent each individual's participation in sports and recreation is dependent on whether these social skills are adequate or not. It appears that scientists have been more interested in explaining the factors that have caused observable recreational activities rather than in explaining what kind of factors cause this natural activeness to disappear. Man is by nature active and inclined to exercise. What factors could lead to the breaking down of this regularity and to the disappearance of man's natural inclinations? The social environment may make man inclined to exercise, but it can also erect barriers, for instance by forcing children to do work unnaturally in a seated position in school at too early an age and for too long time or by forcing them to go to school sitting in a bus, by preventing natural play in too crowded living quarters or yards or by making them fancy spending evenings in front of the TV, or even by trying to make them conform to the rules of some particular game and its performance requirements during the PE lessons in school, or just by making them think of sport as competitive instead of allowing it to be a means for self-expression or a hobby as such. From a scientific and theoretical point of view it might be more fruitful to try to find out what kind of deprivations, environmental factors and even sports organizations tend to alienate people from physical exercise and from a physically active way of life.

The participation in sports of the population does not depend on plans and decisions made by a State Committee or on what the Head of State has said about the benefits of sports. The most important thing is what it means to *me* to play, to exercise, to take part in sports and to spend time outdoors. An egg may be a symbol of fertility, a beautiful shape, cruelty, nourishing food or of a stinking "rotten egg". Sports and recreation may also mean different things to different people, and in a relatively free society a relatively free human being makes his own choices. But even this kind of choice is basically socially conditioned, for the environment has taught the individual these meanings, or they have been shaped by expectations and views regarding the environment. If we want to find out why people do or do not participate in sports and recreation, we should study the very meaning that different people and groups of people attach to sports and recreation. If we want to influence the participation rate, we must also try to change the content of these concepts. Sports culture is now becoming more differentiated, and this will probably also promote the understanding of the importance of sports and recreation. These changing views are also reflected in the answers given by Finnish sports leaders (n=1666) to questions about what is meant by sports, proper:¹

1 Kalevi Heinilä. 1974 Suomalainen urheiluideologia. Jyväskylä. p. 54.

"Sports should be practiced..."

- playfully	57 %		
- seriously		43 %	100 %
- by inclination	16 %		
- intentionally		84 %	100 %
- spontaneously and freely	37 %		
- in an organized and guided way		63 %	100 %
- in a variety of ways	71 %		
- in a definite way		29 %	100 %
- with other interests	89 %		
- concentrating on sports		11 %	100 %
- disregarding other's performance	40 %		
- in comparing with others		60 %	100 %
- as a hobby	29 %		
- aiming at results		71 %	100 %
- for good of the sportsman himself	53 %		
- for the benefit of the country		47 %	100 %

Sports leaders have very different opinions about the "right" way to practice sports. A consensus is generally regarded as a proof of power and solidarity. But a consensus regarding sports may also seriously impair the development of sports culture. It makes more sense to regard disagreement among sports leaders as a source of positive trend for it shows that sports culture is liberating itself from the strait-jacket of competitive sports and its very one-sided objectives. As the importance of sports and recreation grows in the lives of ordinary people and in the various areas of responsibility of different institutions, the planning of the sports culture of the entire society becomes an ever more challenging and rewarding task. Sports and recreation are for life.

3.2 THE SPORT CLUB AS A SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN FINLAND (1989)*

Abstract

The voluntary sports movement began in Finland in the late 1800s concomitantly with the industrialization of the country. Due to the political, ethnic and emancipatory interests the sports movement has particular configurations still valid at present and embodied in the separate national organizations for workers, Finnish-Swedish people and women. A national survey on sports clubs as social organizations was carried out in 1987. The data were collected by mail from a sample of clubs (n 835). The survey focused on the prime components of the internal system of sports clubs - ideology, membership, programme, resources and administration - but also on the interaction between this internal system and external environment of clubs.

3.2.1 Primary agents of sport

The primary agents of sport and other physical activities¹ are common in the Nordic countries: in the private section they are families and sport clubs and in the public section schools and municipalities respectively.

The primary agents at the local level have their mutual interest in promoting physical activities and are often in collaboration with each other.

	<i>Private section</i>	<i>Public section</i>	<i>Primary function</i>
	FAMILIES	SCHOOLS	Socialization into sport
<i>Local level</i>	SPORT CLUBS n 6000	MUNICIPALITIES n 461	Organizing sport Providing facilities
<i>District & national level</i>	District sport org. National sport org.	Counties Governmental organizations	Policy making Subsidizing and coordinating sport

FIGURE 1 The primary agents of sport

Public interest in physical activities as a school subject was already documented in Finland in 1843 and the university training of physical education teachers began in 1882. The State Council of Sport was established in 1920, the first municipal boards of sport in the 1920s and the county boards in the 1950s (Juppi 1987). With the

* International Review for the Sociology of Sport. Vol. 24 (3) 1989, 225- 248.

1 In Finnish the most comprehensive term is "movement", "liikunta", while "sport", "urheilu", refers mainly to "the competitive sport" excluding "the non-competitive" physical activities.

expansion of sport participation, the role of the public section in providing material necessities and policy-making for sport has come to be of ever greater importance. This was recognized also in the first Sports Act and Statute in 1980. It is still highly significant that all major political parties have their specific programs for the development of sport.

3.2.2 Historical background

Every social phenomenon has its past which impinges on the present. It is well known that the industrialization process with impacts on people's way of life and habitation has greatly contributed to the growth of the modern sports movement everywhere. But this modernization, beginning in Finland in the 1850s, cannot explain those peculiarities of social organizations in sport. Here we have to take into account certain powerful extrinsic interests affiliated with the sports movement in Finland.

When recognized by people some common mutual interests constitute necessary if not sufficient conditions for any human association. Especially if a common interest has such properties that it can be realized only through cooperation with others, such as an interest in competitive sport, it calls for concerted action and bringing people together.

Patriotic interests

Patriotic, nationalist interests have been strongly interwoven with the sports movement in Finland. In 1808 Finland was separated from Sweden and linked with Russia as an autonomous Grand Duchy. Under these circumstances, patriotism found expression in various social movements, among them also sport. The first gymnastics and sports clubs were founded in the 1870s (Laine 1984 I,20-23). The liberation movement and patriotism also found a most appropriate channel for their manifestation in the revived Olympic Games. The great success of Finnish athletes in these early Games inspired youth to sport and fostered national interests in general.

Political interests

Concomitantly with the industrialization process, the workers' political movement was organized and the first associations were established in the 1880s. Gymnastics and sports soon found the side-part in their programme but it was not until the turn of the 1900's that gymnastics and sports were recognized as a self-sufficient activity of the workers' movement, while "few workers challenge the prevailing concepts on the frivolity of gymnastic and sport as an idle pastime of gentry" (Kolehmainen 1972, 21). However, the workers' sports movement was affiliated with the comprehensive national sports federation SVUL, established in 1900, until 1918, when all of the 49 workers' sports clubs, which had joined the Reds in the tragic Civil War, were expelled from SVUL (Kolehmainen 1972, 8889). This discriminating act then resulted in 1919 in the foundation of The Workers' Sport Federation, (TUL), affiliated closely with the political left and the international socialistic sports movement.

Emancipatory interests

With the industrialization new reformatory ideas and interests spread out. One of them was the women's movement for equality, at first in education, work and politics. Soon emancipatory interests found their outlet also in gymnastics and the first women's club was founded in 1876. The first national umbrella organization, The Finnish Women's Gymnastic Federation, SNLL, was established by women in 1896 (Laine 1984 I, 128-135, 189-196). Today, more than 90 years later, this organization is stronger and is flourishing more than ever!

Ethnic interests

Finland is a bi-lingual country and, as the ethnic-cultural minority of 300,000, Finnish-Swedish people are well-organized. The Finnish-Swedish people have had their own political party since 1905, to cultivate their ethnic heritage and vested cultural interests.

The Finnish-Swedish minority has played a very significant role in contributing to the promotion of modern gymnastics and sports movement in Finland. Since 1912, the Swedish sport clubs have had their own umbrella organization, The Finnish-Swedish Gymnastics and Sports Union (CIF), at first affiliated with SVUL but since 1945 existing as an independent body (Laine 1984 II, 423-440; Wuolio 1982, 119-120).

Outdoor interests

Sparse population and the peculiarities of the Finnish countryside, with its vast regions of wilderness and thousands of lakes, have moulded the Finnish way of life to maintain close contact to nature. Most families have some sort of a summer plot or place outside the city. The ancient public right of access to the forests and lakes is still valid. This innate interest in outdoor life, but particularly the promotion of skiing as sport for all, resulted in 1938 in the foundation of the Finnish Track Association (Valleala 1987, 24-26). In outdoor activities, the Association was the forerunner of sport for all movements. The mainstream of Finnish sports culture remained, however, oriented towards youth and competitive sport that further organizational differentiation in sport for all did not take place until 1961, when the Finnish Recreational Sports Association, affiliated with SVUL, was founded. But once again it was noticed that ethnic and political interests were more powerful than the very idea of sport for all, and so the association for Swedish speaking people was established in 1965, and for workers, The Workers' Fitness League in 1973!

3.2.3 Network of sport clubs

Evidently those extrinsic interests rooted in particular historical circumstances have been of great significance for the development of the social organization of sports in Finland. Curiously enough, not even "sport for all" as a social movement has been able to overcome the barriers of these extrinsic interests. Instead it has been organized along these barriers into separate national associations! There is only one major

exception - soccer. Perhaps due to the priority of sport-intrinsic interests, all clubs, regardless of their ethnic or political affiliations, belong to the Finnish Football Association founded in 1907. The main cleavage in this association concerns some vested interests of the most successful old clubs against the interests of the new clubs of TUL.

Table 1 below gives the outline for the national network of sport clubs with their major sport-extrinsic interests and umbrella associations (Koski 1987, 13-26).

TABLE 1 Major sport organizations in Finland

<i>Major extrinsic interests</i>	<i>No. of clubs</i>	<i>No. of members</i>
Priority of national interests and competitive sport		
Finnish Central Sports Fed. (SVUL)	3 800	900 000
Finnish Football Association (SPL) ¹	1 100	350 000
Political interests		
Workers' Sports Federation (TUL)	1 600	500 000
Workers' Fitness League ²		
Ethnic interests		
Central Fed. of Swedish Sport Organizations in Finland (CIF)	500	110 000
Fitness Promotion/CIF	80	100 000
Emancipatory interests		
Finnish Women's P.E. Ass. (SNLL) ³	400	100 000
Outdoor sports interests		
Finnish Track Association (LATU)	140	37 000

¹ Some overlapping membership with SVUL and TUL

² Close cooperation with TUL and The Trade Union

³ Affiliated with SVUL

3.2.4 Membership of sport clubs

The total number of sport clubs affiliated with the major national sport federations is about 6,500. The most reliable data on the individual members of sport clubs are based on the Gallup-surveys conducted in 1980 and 1985 (Seppänen 1980; Olin - Ranto 1985). According to these observations, some 20% of the adult population are affiliated with sport clubs. There is quite a difference in the rate of membership between boys and girls at age 7-14 years (45% vs. 30%), but the gap tends to even out with the increasing membership of girls.

While sport clubs used to be the centre of all sporting activities in the past, today they mainly dominate in competitive sport: 94% of participants in competitive sports but only some 40% of participants in sport for all are members of sport clubs (Olin - Ranto 1985, 22). The size of the sample in these surveys permits only the comparison of membership between the two major sport federations.

While females are in generally under-represented in organized sports movement, in the Workers' Federation, TUL, they are almost equal in number to men as far as

membership is concerned. While "white collar people" form the majority in the National Federation, SVUL, "blue collar people" predominate as a matter of course in the Workers' Federation. The structural changes in society are,

TABLE 2 The structure of membership in SVUL and TUL

	SVUL "National Fed." n 232 %		TUL "Workers' Fed." n 84	
Sex				
Female	33		46	
Male	67	100	54	100
Age (adult members)				
15 - 24 yrs	27		25	
25 - 34	23		18	
35 - 49	27		18	
50-	23	100	39	100
Social stratification				
White collar	55		31	
Blue collar	34		68	
Farmers	11	100	1	100
Political preference				
Right	26		7	
Center	26		7	
Left	18		57	
Other or no answer	30	100	29	100

however, reflected here and the number of "white collar people" in the Workers' Federation has increased significantly in the last five years (Olin - Ranto 1985, 35). The National Federation officially claims to be neutral with regard to party politics; the figures in table 2 on the political preferences of members are in accordance with this claim. The political preferences of the majority of the members in the Workers' Federation are also in accordance with the socialist orientation of the Federation!

3.2.5 Research on sport clubs

In the Magglingen-Symposium in 1969, Eric Hoyle was already able to point out the lack of research on sports organizations (Hoyle 1969, 82). Since then the most systematic research in the field has been done in the FRG (Schlagenhauf 1976; Timm 1979; Winkler et al. 1985 etc.). In Sweden in the early 1950s, Roland von Euler made a pioneer survey on sport as a social movement, and recently Olle Hallden has explored the structure of The Swedish Central Sport Federation (von Euler 1953; Hallden 1983). The major earlier studies in Finland have concerned the value-orientations of sports leaders. (Heinilä 1979) and the regional differentiation of organized sport (Kiviaho 1973a/b). Starting in 1977, The Research Institute of Physical Culture and Health, Jyväskylä, has carried out the most comprehensive

project on the sports behavior of Finns, also including activities in sport clubs (Vuolle et al. 1986). Recently, the major sports federations have also promoted Gallup-type surveys on people's opinions on sport and the work of sport clubs (Seppänen 1980, Olin-Ranto 1985).

These surveys provide basic facts about the role of sport clubs and their membership structure, and some evaluations of their objectives and outcomes. But the public opinion approach used is not adequate if we want to know what kind of social organizations they are, how they function, or what the basic conditions and constraints of their effectiveness are, in promoting sport in society. In order to find answers to such questions on "the sport club as a social organization" the national survey, in cooperation with the major sports federations, was carried out in 1986-87².

3.2.6 Frame of reference

A sport club is conceived here as a mutual-benefit type of social organization, with the prime purpose being to implement the common sporting interests of the members³. As a social organization, a sport club is an interaction system of its internal and external environments, with traditions of the past and orientations to the future. Figure 2 illustrates the schematic conceptual frame of a sport club as a social organization.

2 The project is part of the research programme of the Department of Social Sciences of Sport, University of Jyväskylä. It is worth mentioning that at a very early stage of planning a workshop of experts appointed by the sports federations was arranged concerning the recent functional problems and future challenges of sport clubs.

3 The mutual benefit type of organization refers to Peter C. Blau's and W. Richard Scott's category based on the criterion of *cui bono*, who are the main beneficiaries of organization outcomes; Blau-Scott 1962

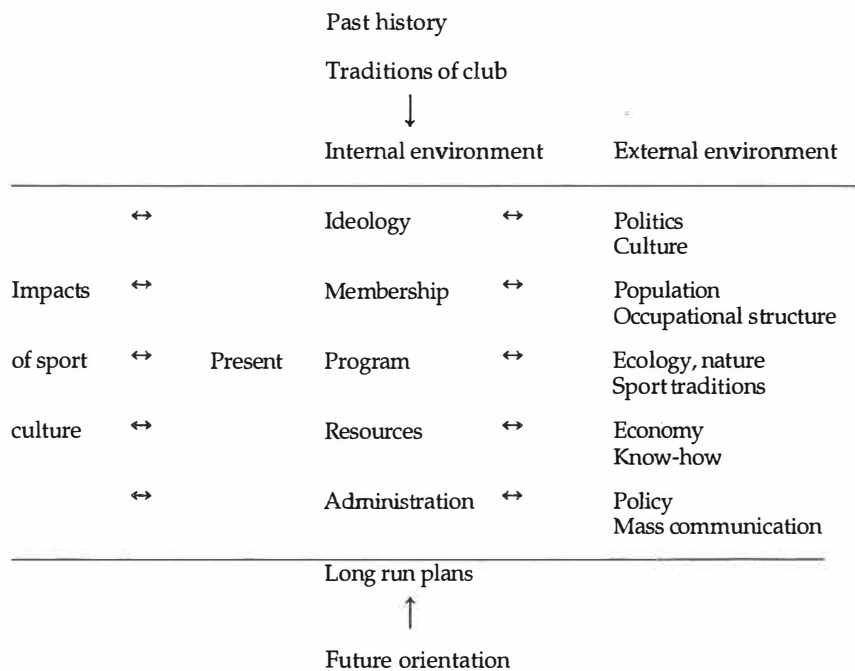


FIGURE 2 Sport club as a social organization. The conceptual frame of reference of the survey

All the major sports federations and The Finnish Track Association (as a special body of outdoor sport) were involved in the survey. The random sample which was drawn separately for each federation and the final sample of those clubs responding to the questionnaire sent in 1987 consist of the following numbers of clubs:

Federation	Sample of clubs No	Returned %	Final sample of clubs No
National Federation (SVUL)	959	49	489
Workers' Federation (TUL)	397	55	220
Swedish Federation (CIF)	100	67	67
Soccer Federation (SPL)	136	32	99
Track Association (LATU)	50	80	42
Total	1642	51	835

It was proved that the inactivity of a sports club also contributed to the low rate of response. Due to the low return, the observations of the survey remain provisional.

3.2.7 Main observations

It is possible to present here only some fragmentary observations on Finnish sport clubs.

Ideology

The ideology refers here to the main purpose, ideals and value orientations of the organization.

The scientific-technological development tends to contribute to the secularization of society and its institutions as a whole. Sport hardly presents any exception in this respect, which is well evident, e.g. in the Olympic movement. In the historical review it was noticed that the sports movement in Finland has been interwoven with powerful extrinsic interests since the very beginning. But are these interests and ideals still vital in sport clubs in "imprinting and guiding their affairs"?

The factor analysis of responses extracted the four main values or interest factors: "educational-health values", "green values", "middle class values" and "leftism". Clubs belonging to different sports federations also tend to have some distinctive value orientations, as seen in table 3. Each value factor is represented only by items with the highest loadings in the respective factor.

The "educational-health" value stands for the prime value orientations of all sport clubs except the outdoor clubs of the Finnish Track Association, LATU, which are primarily adhered to the "green values" and, (being mainly associations of adults) to "a healthy and sober lifestyle" but not as much to the "educational values" as other clubs.

The "green values" - interest in nature, aesthetic values and devotion to home - site - are second in order but distinctive only for outdoor clubs of LATU whereas the middle class values" and "leftism" are the most distinctive value orientations - as expected - of the two major federations SVUL and TUL respectively. It is interesting to note that the ethnocentric middle class values are often maintained in women's clubs but to a lesser degree in the Swedish clubs maybe due to their ethnic roots. While these values and extrinsic interests legitimate and feed the work of sport clubs, their very operative purpose is usually defined in some sporting terms. Likewise, the operative purpose of the Olympic Games is defined in terms of sports, but the legitimacy is based on the extrinsic aims or interest of promoting peace, friendship and international understanding as stated in the Olympic Charter (Heinilä 1986, 4)

The sporting purpose of sport clubs might vary greatly. The multi-purpose orientation of other sport clubs makes their categorization even more complicated.

"Achieving", "achievement", is obviously the basic idea of competitive sport, although the constitutive rules of various sports define it in different terms. On the other hand the basic idea of sport for all is not "achievement" but rather "participation" as such. This distinction comes close to the dichotomy of "instrumental" vs. "expressive behavior".

In sporting activities, some evaluative criteria are often applied in assessing the performance of participants. The criteria of evaluation can be common or universal, which is typical in competitive sport, or they can be particular participants evaluating their performances according to some particular criteria, without reference to any common standards or to the accomplishments of others.

TABLE 3 Main value orientations of sport clubs

Values vital insport clubs SVUL	National TUL CIF n 489 %	Workers' SPL n 220 %	Swedish LATU n 67 %	Soccer ¹ n 99 %	Outdoors n 42 %	Women's ² n 42 %	TOTAL n 835 %
I Educational-health							
good behavior	76	69	84	75	38	88	73
healthy and sober lifestyle	83	84	73	78	91	90	83
youth education	82	80	86	78	38	86	79
II Green values							
interest in nature	43	51	44	33	100	51	47
aesthetic values	33	30	36	14	43	80	32
devotion to home-site	46	51	39	46	62	54	47
III Middle class values							
patriotism	44	33	20	29	30	67	38
defence of nation	18	6	2	6	8	13	13
Finnism	48	51	22	35	32	61	45
IV Leftism							
workers' movement	1	77	3	20	-	6	21
leftism	1	71	-	18	-	5	20
class consciousness	10	62	2	15	8	3	33

1 The overlapping membership with SVUL and TUL is reflected in the value orientations of SPL.

2 Affiliated with SVUL 83%, with TUL 10% and with CIF 7% of clubs.

Combining these two sporting criteria we get the following four basic types of the sporting purposes of sport clubs:

Evaluation of performance	ACHIEVEMENT	PARTICIPATION
Universal criterion	Competitive sport I	Mass participation competition ("how many participants"-type) III
Particular criterion	e.g. High performance in expressive gymnastics, Long distance mass competition etc. II	Sport for all (according to one's needs and capabilities") IV

FIGURE 3 Different types of sporting purposes of sport clubs

The boxes I and IV in figure 3 represent two main coherent orientations in sport. The question in the questionnaire on the prime sporting purpose of the club with given alternatives was not fully appropriate for the scope of all four types of orientations but good enough to distinguish clubs according to their goal orientation .

TABLE 4 Sport clubs according to their main sporting purposes.

	Achievement -oriented		Participation - oriented	Multi-purpose	Youth educ.	All clubs
	Partic. %	Univers. %				
National (SVUL)	5	29	24	40	2	100/478
Workers' (TUL)	4	19	24	49	4	100/212
Swedish (CIF)	5	24	24	42	5	100/ 42
Soccer (SPL)	5	40	27	25	3	100/ 40
Track (LATU)	-	-	100	-	-	100/ 40
Total n	4	25	28	40	3	100/812

First of all sport used to be a social movement of youth. As a relic from that traditional orientation, some clubs (3%) still regard "education of youth in and through sport" as their main purpose.

On the whole, the multipurpose clubs with both achievements and participation as equally important "main purposes" are the most common type of sport clubs. Clubs affiliated with the National Federation (SVUL) and Soccer Association (SPL) are more often achievement-oriented than clubs affiliated with Workers' Federation (TUL), while the outdoor clubs of LATU are typically participation-oriented.

3.2.8 Programme

The prime programme of sport clubs is composed of various sports disciplines and sporting events like competitions, training hours, instructions etc. organized by clubs. As a criterion of classification, the sport discipline is the most conventional, hence we speak about "soccer clubs", "gymnastic clubs" etc. But as a scientific tool and with a sport club as a social organization in focus, sports discipline is not a relevant criterion; sport clubs with different disciplines in their programme might have and often have a similar type of social organization.

Traditionally sport clubs have had a multidisciplinary programme composed usually of both winter and summer sports, which enables all-year-round functioning of clubs. But with the general differentiation common in modern society, special clubs with only one or two disciplines in their programme also tend to prevail.

TABLE 5 Number of sport disciplines in the programme of sport clubs

Number of disciplines	Achievement-oriented n 246 %	Participation-oriented n 227 %	Multipurpose n 327 %	All clubs n 825 %
One (1)	62	44	39	47
2-3	23	39	34	33
4 or more	15	17	17	20
Mean	100 2.0	100 2.2	100 2.6	100 2.3

The specialization-differentiation process seems to be well ahead in achievement-oriented clubs and least in multipurpose clubs. It is worth noting here that in the Workers' Sport Federation (prone to political traditionalism) the percentage of special clubs with one sport discipline is as low as 29%, but in the National Federation it is 56%.

In the early history of modern sport the geographical and natural circumstances were of great importance in shaping the sports culture of the country by imposing constraints upon the practice of some sports, but on the other hand favouring the practice of others. The prevailing popularity of sports in the programme of sport clubs still reflects the traditions bound to the particular natural circumstances.

TABLE 6 The popularity of various sports as primary and secondary sports in clubs

	Achievement -oriented clubs n 246		Participation -oriented clubs n 227		Multipurpose clubs n 327		All clubs n 835	
	Prim	Second	Prim	Second	Prim	Second	Prim	Second
Cross country ski	19	5	30	4	35	8	29	6
Track and field	20	2	13	4	34	4	24	4
Volleyball	19	7	19	12	24	12	21	11
Soccer	17	5	14	4	18	4	17	4
Recreational sport	8	22	24	19	17	31	16	25
Women's gymnastic	5	1	19	4	12	5	11	4
Orienteering	12	2	6	5	13	5	10	4
Ice hockey	10	2	6	2	8	2	8	2
...								
Hiking	-	-	15	4	-	2	4	2

Sports mostly practiced outdoors tend to be the most popular insport clubs. Besides their primary sports programme it is common that sport clubs also have some complementary programme composed of those disciplines appealing to numbers of members, like volleyball and recreational sports (see table 6). Of recreational sport it is worth noting that it is not very popular as a programme item, which might reflect the fact that people prefer to go for recreational sport mostly spontaneously and not in an organized way in sport clubs.

3.2.9 Membership

Sport clubs as a mutual-benefit organization are primarily supposed to serve the sporting interests of their members. The sport clubs were asked to assess the amount of members taking "active and regular" or "less active and irregular" or "not at all" part in club sporting activities. The assessment figures in table 7 are far from accurate and indicate only some tendencies of the sporting activity of the members.

It is obvious that some 30-50% of members of the clubs are rather inactive as far as their participation in sport is concerned! This is a reflection of the relatively low commitment of members to the main cause of sport clubs.

TABLE 7 Assessed percentage of members engaged in sporting activities in clubs (mean of percents)¹

Participating in	Achievement - oriented n 246	Participation - oriented n 227	Multi-purpose n 327	All clubs n 835
competitive sport				
- actively and regularly	33	12	21	23
- less actively and less regularly	14	7	12	12
sport for all				
- actively and regularly	14	33	20	22
- less regularly	11	24	17	17
- not at all	26	32	29	
	101 %	102 %	102 %	103 %

¹ Clubs were asked to assess with 5 percent accuracy how their adult members (15 yrs old or more) are divided into the activity categories stated in table 7. Figures are means of percentages and their sums are not supposed to exceed 100% significantly.

The factual threshold of membership is low and primarily defined in terms of a rather insignificant annual fee (average fee for adults is only 30 FMK (6 USD)). On the other hand, there are some advantages in sport clubs claiming a large membership e.g. when applying for public subsidies or attracting business sponsors etc.

Although simply the satisfaction of belonging to a club might be a sufficient reason for some people to obtain membership, a stronger commitment is likely to be based on some calculation between the assumed costs and benefits. In their calculation potential members also take into account - as far as they are known or predictable - not only duties or obligations, but also any special rights of membership which may be evaluated as costs and benefits. The most common benefits offered and the duties demanded by sport clubs are listed in table 8.

TABLE 8 Duties and benefits on the membership in sport clubs (n 835)

Duties demanded	%	Benefits offered	%
Sportsmanship in behavior	67	Training, instruction service	80
Membership fee	61	Social evenings, leisure activities	67
Respect of values and ideals of club	20	Club badge and logos	57
Participation in affairs of club	11	Trips with reduced price	57
Participation in fund-raising	10	Leadership training	56
Participation in joint venture of club	9	Sportswear and equipment with reduced prices	55
Participation in assembly meetings	9	Special offers to some shops	46
Participation in sporting activities	7	Leaflet of sport club	44
...		Bodybuilding service	44
...		Special insurances	41
Mean number of different duties demanded	2.1	Mean numbers of different benefits offered	7.0

The majority of sport clubs demand that their members pay an annual fee and behave according to the code of sportsmanship. It is characteristic of the easygoing atmosphere of sport clubs that only about 10 % expect their members to be engaged in sport and in other club activities. It is plausible that commitment of members to sport clubs is based mainly on the rights and benefits offered, rather than on the sanctions of duties and obligations. Benefits suit the voluntary nature of sport clubs better than duties and obligations.

3.2.10 Resources

Resources consist of all the human and material resources and also the facilities and installations necessary for the operation of a sport club and for the implementation of its purposes.

Manpower. In mutual-benefit organizations like sport clubs, members play a peculiar double role: they stand for both the subject and the object of affairs. The purpose proper of clubs is realized in and through the participation of members in sporting activities, but members are also the very masters of clubs; hence the effectiveness of clubs depends on the wants and intakes of members in the mutual undertakings of clubs.

It is obvious that not all members and not even all trustees elected or appointed contribute equally to the running of sport clubs, as can be noted in table 9.

TABLE 9 Number of active members in administration of sport clubs.

	Achievement -oriented n 246	Participation -oriented n 227	Multipurpose n 327	All clubs n 835
"Very active"				
0-5 persons	30 %	41 %	30 %	34 %
0-10 persons	59 %	77 %	56 %	76 %
Average number	16.3	9.2	15.8	14.0
Median number	10.0	8.0	10.0	10.0
"Other active"¹				
0-5 persons	20 %	42 %	25 %	29 %
0-15 persons	57 %	80 %	55 %	63 %
Average number	26.2	12.3	27.3	22.7
Median number	15.0	8.0	15.0	10.0

¹ less active than the group "very active" but at least once a month involved in the business of a sport club

The figures in table 9 indicate that the majority of clubs operate with the help of less than 10 "very active trustees" and less than 15 "other active members". It is also evident that clubs of achievement orientation have managed to recruit more members for running their business than those clubs of participation orientation. Since the number of activists in multipurpose and achievement-oriented clubs are rather similar, this might be due to the administrative complexity of competitive sport vs. relative simplicity of recreational sport.

Manpower as a prime resource of any social organization is not only a matter of quantity but also a matter of qualitative competence. According to the evaluations of clubs, know-how-competence is mostly "insufficient" in tasks of referees (32 % of clubs), "communication and marketing" (41%), "youth work and education" (38%) and in "entertainment and festive affairs" (38%), but not so bad e.g. in "training and instruction" (26%) and in economy (9%).

Sport clubs as voluntary leisure organizations have faced the dilemma of searching for those members who are competent and willing to contribute to the common good of their club. Few sport clubs have tried to solve this problem of manpower by hiring personnel to run the business under the control of trustees: 7% clubs have full-time and 15% part-time personnel on their staff.

Finances. Competent financing is of great importance for the proper running of clubs. Capital as a resource is most versatile: capital can be used not only to hire experts or to produce better success in competitive sport by, e.g. hiring greater talent from abroad or transferring athletes or coaches from the domestic market, but also to provide proper facilities and technological devices for clubs.

With regard to finances, sport clubs are expected to look after the balance between their incomes and expenditures. Most clubs have managed this, as seen in table 10.

TABLE 10 Financial balance of sport clubs.

Financial balance	Achievement -oriented n 246	Participation -oriented n 227	Multipurpose n 327	All clubs n 835
Clear surplus of income	4	2	3	3
Income exceeds expenditure	25	30	24	26
Balance between income and expenditure	55	61	63	60
Expenditure exceeds income	12	7	9	9
Clear deficit	4	-	1	2
	100	100	100	100

Keeping up with the financial balance is obviously more problematic for the achievement-oriented clubs than the participation-oriented ones. With a heightening level of performance expenditure in competitive sport tends to increase. In closer analysis of expenditure, it was noted that approximately 50% of all club costs are due to competitive sport. When the sport clubs were asked for the balance sheet of their extramural competitive sport, the financial burden of competitive sport was articulated (table 11).

A budget showing a deficit is typical for the majority of clubs (60-70%) with competitive sport in their programme in all sports federations.

Allocation of resources. The basic dilemma of sport clubs voluntary leisure organizations is the limited number of available resources. James S. Thompson writes

TABLE 11 Financial balance of extramural competitive sport in clubs¹.

Financial balance	SVUL National n 330 %	TUL Workers' n 162 %	CIF Swedish n 46 %	SPL Soccer n 83 %	All clubs n 553 %
Clear surplus of income	1	-	-	-	1
Income exceeds expenditure	6	1	4	3	4
Balance between income and expenditure	32	25	28	25	29
Expenditure exceeds income	29	41	33	42	34
Clear deficit	32	33	35	30	32
	100	100	100	100	100

¹ consist of clubs with competitive sport in their programme

TABLE 12 Allocation of resources for different tasks and purposes in clubs¹.

Tasks/purposes	Achievement -oriented n 246 %	Participation -oriented n 227 %	Multipurpose n 327 %	All clubs n 835 %
Human relations and value maintenance	3	5	3	3
Services to members	9	16	8	10
Programme issues:	49	44	53	49
Sport management	24	25	23	23
Training and instruction	18	12	19	17
Youth work	7	7	9	8
Economy	27	20	26	24
External relations	3	5	3	4
Facility issues	9	10	7	9
	100	100	100	100

¹Clubs were asked to name and rank three tasks in a given list of tasks which most heavily taxed the resources of the clubs. The first choice was multiplied by three, the second by two and the third by one and the sum of frequencies was transformed into percent.

about the organizational energy as the total capacity of organization (Thompson 1967). In the survey, sport clubs were asked to assess how their capacity is allocated to different tasks and purposes.

Mostsport clubs tend to allocate their capacities into programme matters but a great deal is spent on economy, too. Obviously these two tasks are functionally related to each other: the more extensive the programme the more extensive the economy and vice versa. The very purpose of clubs is realized in and through the sport programme; hence more of the operative capacity of clubs is allocated to programme matters - and not to some auxiliary tasks - their effectiveness is likely to be better in their sporting pursuits.

3.2.11 Administration

Administration refers to mobilization and allocation of resources for the effectiveness of a sport club as an organization and for the implementation of its purpose.

The prime task of administration is to organize and coordinate actions of members or subunits as an organizing agent for the benefit of clubs, but also for the implementation of their sporting purpose. The main devices in this task are the execution of power, the division of labor and communication.

Execution of power. The democratic structure of all voluntary associations presupposes that the individual members in an assembly make all the important decisions like electing the chairperson and the board of trustees to execute the policy-programme and the budget accepted by the assembly. The real primus motor of the administration is usually the chairperson, who has the personal responsibility for the effectiveness of the board and the execution of decisions of the assembly.

TABLE 13 An overview of chairpersons in sport clubs.

	Achievement -oriented n 246	Participation -oriented n 227	Multipurpose n 327	All clubs n 835
Age in yrs. (mean)	42.8	42.6	42.2	42.5
Sex (male%)	93.9	72.9	92.9	87.5
Tenure in yrs. (median)				
as chairperson	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
as member of board	5.0	6.0	6.0	6.0
Occupation (%)				
business	35	29	31	32
teaching and social services	15	20	20	18
technical sector	26	24	26	26
farming	6	7	5	6
other	18	20	18	18
	100	100	100	100

The mean age of a chairperson is about the same in clubs of different type. Most chairpersons are middleaged: 50% of them are 36-49 years old. Since most womens clubs are participation-oriented, women act as chairpersons more often than in other types of clubs. Being elected as a chairperson usually represents part of a leadership career and most chairpersons have already earned their merits and experience as members of the board.

With regard to the occupation, it was assumed that in contrast to the participation-oriented clubs, the achievement-oriented clubs recruit their leaders more often from business and less often from "soft" occupations with human interests, such as teaching and social services. The figures in table13 give slight support to this assumption.

Division of labor. The basic rationale for the organizational differentiation by means of division of tasks and delegation of executive power is the utilization of diverse expertise and labor resources of members for the common interest. The organizational differentiation imprinted in the blueprint of clubs tends to be conducive to the size of membership, the diversity of programme and to the productivity of sport clubs.

TABLE 14 The mean number of the administrative bodies of clubs according to size of membership, programme type and productivity.

	Mean number of bodies	Number of clubs
Size		
Small clubs (less than 192 members)	3.1	398
Big clubs (more than 192 members)	7.1	410
Diversity of programme		
Achievement-oriented clubs		
One sport discipline	4.0	151
Two or more disciplines	7.6	94
Participation-oriented clubs		
One sport discipline	2.3	100
Two or more disciplines	3.7	126
Multipurpose clubs		
One sport discipline	4.6	129
Two or more disciplines	7.5	197
Productivity¹		
No achievement orientation	2.8	135
Low achievement clubs	4.6	367
High achievement clubs	6.8	301

¹ Clubs were asked to evaluate their achievements in 1986 and all clubs with achievements in sport above the average level in their districts are here called "high achievement clubs" and clubs with achievements below the average are called "low".

The large membership, the diversity of programme but also the outcome productivity tend to enhance the complexity of the bureaucratic structure of clubs. Hence with the organizational differentiation, more members are involved with the running of clubs as is also reflected in a greater number of "very active" and "other active persons" in clubs of higher structural complexity. The correlation between the number of organizational bodies and, on the other hand, the numbers of "very active" members ($r_p = .26$) and the number of "other active members" ($r_p = .29$) taking part in running club business support this proposition.

3.2.12 Exchange with external environment

Supplying resources is the main task of the administration. Due to the expansion of sport interest and the heightening level of demands, more resources are needed in the clubs. Since the supply of resources from the internal environment of clubs has certain limits which cannot be exceeded without jeopardizing some vital interests of the members, this surplus should be acquired from the external environment.⁴ This

4 Herbert S. Simon speaks about "the zone of acceptance" which defines the limits of the authority in organization. Since the commitments of a number of members to their clubs as a voluntary leisure organization is not so strong, the zone of acceptance of the members is also low, hence any extraordinary demands on members - e. g. more involvement with business matters, raising of the fee etc. - might have some disturbing feedback to the action system of a club (Simon 1959, 12).

recent orientation of sport clubs towards the external environment for the supply of resources tends to transform them from the relatively self-sufficient type to a less independent type of organization. In terms of system theory this means the transformation from a relatively closed system towards a more open system. Table 15 indicates that clubs really have rather extensive cooperation and exchange with their external environment today.

TABLE 15 External agents with which clubs have "regular co-operation".

	Achievement -oriented n 246 %	Participation -oriented n 22 %	Multipurpose n 327 %	All clubs n 835 %
Families	87	81	93	88
Municipalities	84	80	87	84
Business & industry	87	67	88	82
Schools	76	71	82	77
Mass media	83	61	81	76
Clubs of National Fed.	70	61	73	69
Clubs of Workers' Fed.	48	40	58	50
Soccer clubs	37	32	40	38
Lions & Rotary clubs	34	23	33	30
Political associations	26	25	33	30
Trade unions	27	23	34	30
Church	24	21	26	25
Swedish clubs	20	19	26	24
Defence forces	24	19	23	23
Mean number of co-parties	7.8	7.0	8.8	8.0

The most common parties of cooperation are the local primary agents - families, municipalities and schools - but also businesses and industry for obvious reasons. On average, the multipurpose clubs have the most and the participation-oriented clubs the least regular cooperation with different parties in their environment. The choice of external parties is often based on some ideological, educational, economic or informative type of mutual interest which is most obvious when the cooperative parties of clubs affiliated with two major federations are compared.

TABLE 16 The co-operative partners of clubs affiliated with the National and Workers' Federations .

	Clubs of National Fed. n 482 %	Clubs of Workers' Fed. n 216 %
Common Partners		
Families	82	81
Municipalities	77	77
Schools	72	75
Neighbourhood societies	24	25
Distinctive partners of National Federation SVUL		
Business and industry	79	69
Mass media	70	59
NF-clubs	73	44
Lions Rotary	30	10
Church, parish	19	5
Defence forces	17	5
Assoc. of army reserves	13	1
Distinctive partners of Workers' Federation TUL		
Workers' sport clubs	25	82
Trade Unions	5	63
Political associations	7	57
Pensioners' associations	8	20

The level of cooperation with the total number of institutions of families, municipalities, schools and neighbourhoods is similar in both federations, but the choice of other cooperative parties is evidently a matter of ideological preference: the clubs of the National Federation (SVUL) favor partners with middle-class value-orientations and the clubs of the Workers' Federation favor partners with left-wing orientations. Sport clubs were also asked to specify the particular field or interest of cooperation. The most common interests concerned material resources - economic support and facilities - but also programme matters.

In a changing society, sport clubs too are supposed to change if they want to respond to new demands and challenges in their field. The exchange with the external environment provides new stimuli, new inventions and new resources for clubs, thus contributing to their renewal. But due to these cooperative ties clubs tend to lose their identity and become more dependent on and influenced by these external partners. Is it a mere coincidence that management techniques and business ethics are being more and more applied in sport clubs with a businessman as the most typical chairperson?

3.2.13 Concluding remarks

Heterogeneity is the most conspicuous characteristic feature of the of Finnish sport clubs as a social organization. In fact, every sport club has some unique features, conduced by their unique memberships and the impact of their unique local

environments. But it is not only the local environment with its various sections and social institutions which shapes sport clubs into a social organization but also society and sporting culture as a whole, as illustrated in Figure 4 below.

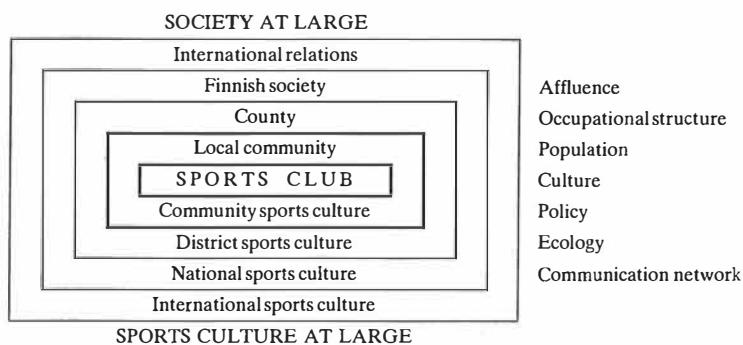


Figure 4. Sports clubs in contact with their external environment.

FIGURE 4 Sport clubs in contact with their external environment.

Postulating the sport club as a closed system makes research in this field methodologically more manageable, but the totality of a sport club as a social organization in contact with its external environment cannot be covered nor understood. In this survey, it was evident that various external interests of society at large have shaped not only the total configurations of the sports movement in Finland but also their value orientations and ideals when in turn they have had their impact on the internal systems of clubs, including their very sporting purposes.

It was assumed that the fundamental distinction with regard to the sporting purposes of clubs is defined in terms of achievement vs. participation orientation, corresponding to the two major sport interests: competitive sport vs. sport for all. At present, however, the combination of these two orientations, "the multipurpose", is the most common among clubs. It is plausible that in the future multipurpose clubs will also specialize in two major purposes. It has been argued that "competitive sport" and "sport for all" are conceptually and innately such different phenomena that they are in contradiction, and as such presuppose coherent social organizations of their own (Heinilä 1971, 28-30). In this light, the recent interest of the IOC in promoting sport for all contradicts its prime interest in elite and even in professional sport!

In the sport club as a mutual-benefit organization, a member stands for both the subject and the object of action. As the subject of action he or she takes care of running the business of a sport club as an organization and as the object of action she or he realizes the very sporting purpose of the club in participating in sport. As a voluntary leisure organization the total operative capacity of a club is, as a rule, relatively limited. With the heightening level of demands in performance sport and with the expansion and diversification of the sporting interests of people, this capacity (composed mainly of voluntary inputs of members) often proves

inadequate. The main dilemma of sport clubs today is how to enlarge their operative capacity to meet the enhancing demands of the sports market properly. As a solution, financial resources are given high priority, hence creating business is becoming a more significant task in clubs. Creating business means, in turn, that sport clubs make use of the common market of their external environment and concomitantly are themselves exposed to business impacts on their identity. It is plausible that with the articulation of materialistic issues and problems, ideological values will lose their significance as guiding norms in sport clubs. This transformation of values particularly concerns clubs oriented towards sporting achievements, since their budget problems are accentuated. If and when materialistic considerations take priority in running sport clubs, this is likely to have an impact also on the compliance structure of clubs. In Etzioni's terms this change means that the power applied is transformed from the ideological or normative kind to the remunerative kind and the involvement of members is based more on calculative considerations of cost and benefits than on mere interest in sport as such (Etzioni 1961, 12). If this is true this means that sport clubs in competitive sport are losing their basic character as mutual benefit organizations, and are being transformed into a service type of organization, with the public in general and spectators in particular as their major customers, who are then to be served for the gate-receipts.

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3.3 THE VALUE ORIENTATIONS OF FINNISH SPORT LEADERS (1979)*

Abstract

This paper reports findings from a survey based on the national sample of 1666 Finnish sport leaders with particular reference to the preferences of values defined in terms of *cui bono* - for whom and for what - according to the modified Blau-Scott formulation. These preferences of value orientations, considered as source of norms for the leadership behavior in sport organizations, are also related to other ideological conceptions of sport leaders, e.g. to the normative conceptions of "the right way" to practise sport, to the national priorities of sport events, to the concepts of democracy and the role of sport audience. In the correlational analysis two fundamental ideological orientations to sport were induced: the human-centered vs. society-centered type of orientations.

3.3.1 Operative and Label Ideologies

The multitude of sport ideologies becomes much simpler if we study only those ideologies which actually direct activities, as distinct from the ideologies which remain with us as historical relics or which are expressed only in speeches or resolutions. It is well-known that even if the aims of organizations change, their aims and values may stay with the organization as an ideological legacy. The international Olympic movement and the activities of national Olympic committees offer a good example of this. The ideals of amateur sport are invoked to sanction activities which in practice are directed by quite different goals. Such goals, quite alienated from the reality may, however, according to Amitai Etzioni, legitimate the activities of an organization and in the end justify its very existence.¹

Ideas and purposes expressed in the charter of the organization which have lost their operative, activity-guiding meaning and possess only a prestige-enhancing or activity-legitimizing meaning can be called label ideas. Nigel Harris calls them non-operative and passive beliefs, to distinguish them from activity-generating and guiding operative beliefs.² The study on present-day sports ideas to be reported in this talk attempted to examine mainly such operative guiding principles.

* International Review of Sport Sociology, Vol. 14 (3-4) 1979, 59-74.

1 Etzioni Amitai, 1964. Modern organizations. Englewood Cliffs. pp. 12-15.

2 Harris Nigel, 1968. Belief in Society, The problem of Ideology. pp.232-233. London.

3.3.2 Cui Bono

It is characteristic of sport ideology to exaggerate the positive effects of physical exercise and sport and to belittle their negative effects. It is hard to find any human good or virtue which has not been attributed to sport in some declaration of sport principles. The promotion of some such good or set of goods defines also the operative idea of sport. But the wealth of these sport goods still remains unsolved. To crystallize this wealth the classification system was sought which would incorporate the great mass of sport purposes and goods. This crystallization had to be done before the data collection because an extensive survey of values would not otherwise be feasible. Such a solution always involves a risk that we combine units and variables which do not belong together, and vice versa. The classification basis of operative sport ideas was obtained from Peter M. Blau's and Richard Scott's classifications of organizations. They base their well-known typology of organizations on the notion that different groups have different utility quotients in different organizations. Accordingly they distinguish the following groups: 1) rank and file member - participants, 2) the owners or managers, 3) client group - a group which technically remains outside the organizations, but is still in direct contact with it, e.g. prisoners, patients, students - and 4) the public at large. Organizations are now classified according to which of the above-mentioned groups is the main beneficiary of the organization's activities: Cui bono, for whom the organization mainly functions.³ Applying the Blau and Scott classification criterion cui bono, I arrived at the following schema for defining the basic purpose of sport organizations (Table 1).

The classification is thus based on the group for whom the sport organization mainly acts, and whose interests are looked after. Alternatives are membership, general public, amateur-ideology and ideas or the organization itself. The two first-mentioned alternatives: membership and general public, represent quite relevant reference groups in organizational activities; other alternatives differ from the Blau and Scott model and at the same time from the definition of group beneficiary.

TABLE 1 The Values Orientations of Finnish Sport Leaders

Cui bono	Main source of norms	Type of organization	Type of sport leader
1. For membership	Expectations of membership	Organization of mutual benefit	Democratic leader
2. For sport audience	Expectations of audience and organization public at large	Marketing	Marketing executive
3. For organization	Benefit and well-being of organization	Large scale organization	Bureaucrat
4. For amateurism	Amateur ideology	Ideological organization	Charismatic leader

3 Blau Peter M., W. Richard Scott. 1962. *Formal Organizations*. pp. 42-58. San Francisco.

The basic starting point of the study may be defective also because the conception of the operative ideas of sport, of the nature of norm sources, is erroneous or unrealistic. The operational definition of norm sources and beneficiaries in the study is based on the view that all four possibilities: membership, audience, organization and ideas, are relevant and significant factors in all central operative and situations of organizational activity but that their mutual order of importance varies, e.g. some norm sources are more important than others and similarly somebody benefits from the activity more than somebody else. Thus, for instance, an organization for elite sport cannot function only in accordance with the expectations of the audience and neglect the athletes' (=membership), organizational performance capacity (=organization), or the purpose of sport (=idea). These all are indispensable elements whose significance may, however, be secondary to the primary demands of audience expectations in elite sport.

3.3.3 Research Task

In line with the exploratory nature of the study the following was sought:

1. The sport valuations of Finnish sport leaders.
2. The variations of these valuations in different organizations (competitive and recreational sport), and organization levels (national, regional and local club levels).
3. To what extent these valuations are structured and what is their pervasiveness in the normative conceptions of sport leaders/organizations concerning the use of power, programmes of activities and athletics.
4. How well sport leaders are aware of the valuations in their organization, i.e. how well they know what values are held by other board members.

3.3.4 Selection of Sport Leaders

On account of the exploratory nature of the study, the sampling of sport leaders was not done according to strict principles of statistical representation. Instead it was sought to make sure that certain sport organizations, levels of organizational network and basic types of sport activities (competitive, recreational and women's sport), would be adequately represented in the sample. The sport leader group included, in addition to elected sport leaders, also with a higher salary officials and coaches of the sport organization. There were 2356 persons in the sample, and the rate of response was 71%.

On the basis of the data yielded by the questionnaire it is possible to obtain a portrait of a Finnish sport leader. In this context let it suffice to say that sport leaders are recruited from quite different social groups and walks of life. An average sport leader has received an education which is higher than the level of compulsory education and has the income and social prestige given by a modern urban occupation. He follows closely what goes on in politics and business and takes an active part in the activities of an organized society. He does not avoid leading tasks, and is evidently prepared to take care of them up to the retiring age, as long as he can hold the gavel in his hand - 48 per cent of all sport leaders have been active in different leading tasks in sport over 15 years - and it seems that the gavel stays in his

hand longer than usual, as today's Finnish sport leader keeps fit and is active in physical exercise at least twice a week. From the background most sport leaders have a firm basic fitness provided by earlier competitive sport career as well as a stimulus provided by the memories of success. A woman sustains her unique character even as a sport leader: she is less interested in competitive sport, politics, and business but more in culture, arts, and education. She has no reason to recall past victories, but nevertheless is active in regular physical exercise - 65 per cent of them at least twice a week.

3.3.5 Measuring Problems of Norm Sources

The beneficiaries of sport activity - *cui bono* - are understood in a hierarchy rather than as alternatives excluding each other and, because of this hierarchical nature of norm sources, an attempt was made to find their order in significance by using a model of questioning similar to that used by F.R. Kluckhohn and F.L. Strodtbeck when they studied value orientations.⁴ To ensure the operative relevance of these norm sources or valuations an attempt was made to write the questions using a selection of practical situations in sport and organization activity. Sport beneficiaries: membership, audience, organization, and ideology, order of preference and at the same time the valuation type of a sport leader were finally defined with the help of nine questions. Each question consisted of four alternatives which represented the four earlier-mentioned norm sources. Sport leaders' answers were highly consistent; to estimate the reliability of defining the valuation type, the means of Spearman correlation coefficients between questions were computed for each person in the population. The means of these in the total population was .43. It should be mentioned that Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck received significantly lower rho-coefficients. Because there are four alternatives or valuation classes in the questions, these may produce 24 different combinations, valuation types in all (Table 2).

TABLE 2

VALUATION TYPE OF SPORT LEADERS				Sport leaders (N1115) %
Membership	>Audience	>Organization	>Ideology	24
Membership	>Organization	>Audience	>Ideology	23
Audience	>Membership	>Organization	>Ideology	7
Organization	>Membership	>Audience	>Ideology	7
Membership	>Organization	>Ideology	>Audience	7
Audience	>Organization	>Membership	>Ideology	6
Membership	>Ideology	>Organization	>Audience	6
Other valuation types (17)				20
				100

4 Kluckhohn, F.R./Strodtbeck F.L. 1961. Variations in Value Orientations. Evanston. III. pp. 80-90.

Examples of question types:

1. *The order of significance of development aspirations in sport activity (1...4):*
 - (1) *general promotion of sport activity among people;*
 - (2) *advancement of the level of our representational sport;*
 - (3) *improvement of the working conditions of sport organizations;*
 - (4) *clarification of the ideology and values of amateur sport.*

2. *The order of significance of the tasks of the press (1...4):*
 - (1) *making clubs and organizations known;*
 - (2) *promoting sport activity;*
 - (3) *promoting the values and ideals of amateur sport;*
 - (4) *reporting and commenting competitions.*

About half of the sport leaders belong to the two first distinctly related valuation types where the most important object of activity is membership and the least significant, the ideology of amateurism. The table also shows that Finnish sport leaders are generally membership-oriented: The benefit to membership is clearly the most important and most common purpose of activity. This picture is crystallized if we classify sport leaders only according to the most important beneficiary (Table 3).

TABLE 3

THE MAIN BENEFICIARY/LEADER TYPE	Sport leaders (N 1115) %
Membership / democratic leader	66
Audience / marketing director	15
Organization / bureaucrat	13
Ideology / charismatic leader	6
	<hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/> 100

It can be seen that 66 per cent of the sport leaders consider the membership the most important norm source. A typical Finnish sport leader is thus a "democratic leader", to whom the benefit and profit to membership is the most important guideline for activity. Audience- and organization-centricity are distinctly minority valuations, not to speak of the torch bearers of amateurism: idealists are exceptions in today's sport world⁵.

As another parallel method of measuring sport leaders' valuations and norm sources I used statements which dealt with the aims of sport activity, conditions for positive development, the task of sport organization and the duties of an athlete.

5 In the international congress in Varna in 1970 on the basis of unchecked results I gave a wrong picture of a Finnish sport leader when I claimed that majority of our sport leaders emphasize the ideologies of amateurism. Because of a technical error in the automatic data processing Finnish sport leaders were thus falsely branded as flagbearers of amateurism, when in fact only a small minority, 6 per cent, considers these ideals as their most important norm sources. However, I have not noticed that Finnish sport leaders have greatly disapproved of the error.

From each of the four areas, four postulates corresponding to the norm source were constructed and thus the test consisted of 4X4 i.e. 16 postulates. Factor analysis produced a clear factor structure, where the familiar alternatives could be traced: ideology of amateurism, organization, membership and audience. (These valuation factors explained 39.4 per cent of the total variance). When the factor scores computed according to sport leaders' valuation types (Lederman method) were compared, a definite correlation was found and for example democratic leaders obtained higher scores on the membership factor than other leader types.

3.3.6 The Leading Ideas of Organizations

If the leading ideas of sport organizations are characterized according to the valuations of sport leaders, we find that the most characteristic feature of all organizations is the predominance of membership-centricity: at least half of the sport leaders in all sport organizations studied feel that membership is the most important norm source of their activity.

The most important valuation of sport leaders, i.e. norm source in different organizations (Table 4).

TABLE 4

associations (N 130)	THE MOST IMPORTANT NORM SOURCE OF ACTIVITY				
	Membership %	Ideology of amateurism %	Organization %	Audience %	Total %
SNLL (N 95) ⁶ Physical fitness associations (N 130)	89	1	6	4	100
SVUL (N 520)	64	5	11	20	100
TUL (N 200)	53	10	25	12	100
SPL (N 97)	53	3	20	24	100
All sport leaders (N 1165)	66	6	13	15	100

It is evident that different organizations interpreted differently which particular good of membership should be fulfilled in sport. Organizations of competitive sport feel that the best for the membership is accomplished through competitions whereas organizations of recreational sport consider physical fitness the most important from the point of view of the good of membership. Generally membership-centeredness has been best realized in physical fitness organizations and in women's organizations, whereas in competitive sport organizations the importance of the audience is emphasized more as a condition for existence and the source of rationality.

6 SNLL = The Finnish Women's Physical Education Association, SVUL = Finnish Central Sports Federation, TUL = The Workers' Sports Federation, SPL = The Finnish Football Association

3.3.7 Conceptions of Sport and Organizations

According to the research setting, the aim of the study was also to explain the pervasiveness of sport leaders' valuations in questions concerning sport and organization activity. If this considerable pervasiveness can be traced, we can with justification speak of a sport ideology. The existence of such ideologies was primarily traced by questions dealing with sport programmes, sport conceptions and the use of power in an organization. Parsonsian type of frame of reference on the essential conditions for organization activity guided more or less the choice of questions (Table 5).

TABLE 5

The basic conditions for organization activity	Corresponding research variables
1. Goal Attainment	Basic valuations or the preference of norm sources (cui bono)
2. Adjustment to the environment	Criteria for evaluating sport program
3. Maintenance of value pattern	Conception of sport
4. Integration	Conception of power

3.3.7.1 Criteria for Evaluating a Sport Programme

In the sport programmes of organizations international sport events have had a significant role and this role characterizes sport culture. These sport events have become institutionalized and valued per se. When the range of tasks of sport organizations has become wider and more differentiated in promoting physical activities it has been found that the programmes have got more instrumental value. According to the hypotheses the different valuations and norm sources of sport leaders are reflected in the evaluation of sport events and programmes. That is why the sport leaders were asked what weight they would give to some criteria presented in the questionnaire when estimating the national importance of sport activities. (See Table 6).

Membership-orientation can also be seen in the weight of sport leaders' choices: 83 per cent of the sport leaders emphasize the extent of national interest. On the other hand it should be noticed that all valuation principles of sport activities are quite generally recognized. The least emphasis is placed on "national traditions" and "popularity with the general public". Consistent correlations were found between the criteria of evaluation, and on the basis of these correlations the criterion variables of the programme were combined as a simple sum-scale: the scale of human vs. community-centeredness. (Reliability according to Spearman - Brown correlation coefficient, .51. Of these correlations it should also be said that community and human centredness as programme criteria seem to be somewhat opposite by nature (negative correlations are typical).

TABLE 6

Criteria for evaluation	Valuations of sport leaders Weight of the criterion				
	Small	Average	Great		
	1-2 %	3 %	4-5 %	%	X
Included in the Olympic or other international programme	17	22	61	100	3.7
Extent of national interest	7	22	71	100	4.0
Educational and social values	13	27	60	100	3.7
Suitability to Finnish conditions	7	27	66	100	3.9
Suited as everybody's sport activity	11	21	68	100	4.0
Promotes health and fitness	3	14	83	100	4.4
Popularity among the general public	20	31	49	100	3.4
National traditions	35	30	35	100	3.0

Sport leaders who emphasize the "values of health and fitness" and "suitability as everybody's sport activity" are inclined to belittle internationality and the importance of popularity among the public - and vice versa.

3.3.7.2 Sport Conception

Whatever the purpose of sport is, it is accomplished or remains unrealized in the behaviour of the athlete. As the interest in physical fitness becomes more popular, discussions on "the right forms" of physical exercise and the differences and similarities between competitive sport and recreational sport have arisen. Physical activity and sport can be exercised and pursued in many different ways. Interest in sport may be to some a central contents of life, and to others a leisure activity or a past-time. Others aim in sport at long-range goals, others at immediate experiences. Some feel that "sport without competition is dead" and some fear they will die without sport: "run for your life". The basic meaning of sport may vary and this is reflected by different conceptions on what is 'right' in athletics. So it is the case with sport leaders as well.

The problem the researcher faces here is how to define, a priori, the different alternatives of sport conceptions. As a frame of reference in the classification of different basic conceptions, I used ideal types from competitive sport and recreational sport. But (the question remains): in what respect do competitive sport and physical fitness differ from each other as systems and ideal types? To define these traits, I applied the dichotomies defined by Talcott Parsons' pattern variables. If sports interest and its conception are defined by pattern variables, they can vary along five dimensions: affectivity vs. neutrality, diffuseness vs. specificity, universalism vs. particularism, quality vs. performance and ego vs. community-centeredness. These opposite conception traits produce, in theory, 32 different combinations of sport conceptions, but according to observation these conceptions are inclined to link with each other in distinctly fewer ways.

TABLE 7

SPORT CONCEPTION OF SPORT LEADERS

Pattern variable	"Sport should be exercised..."	Sport leaders	
		%	
Affectivity/Neutrality	Playfully	57	
	Seriously	43	
	According to inclination		16
Diffuseness/Specificity	Purposefully		84
	In many ways	17	
	Only in some	29	
	Along with other interests		89
Particularism/Universalism	Concentrating only in sport		11
	Without paying attention to the performance of others	40	
	By competing	60	
Quality/Performance	In an amateur fashion		29
	Aiming at results		71
Man-/Community-centeredness	On behalf of the athlete himself	71	
	On behalf of a club/association	29	
	On behalf of the athlete himself		53
	On behalf of one's country		47

The alternatives in Table 7 have been reversed so that the first mentioned alternative represents the ideal type of characteristic features of recreational sport and the last refers to competitive sport. There is a lot of variation in the sport leaders' conceptions of "right athletics" and side by side with the goal-oriented conceptions of competitive sport there exists a lot of conceptions which emphasize the expressiveness of recreational sport. On the basis of these observations no general and uniform sport conception can be spoken of: sport conceptions are only beginning to differentiate.

There is consistency in the sport leaders' dualistic conceptions of right athletics, which seems to go back to the two basic conceptions of the essence of sport. This consistency can also be traced in the following correlation matrix of the corresponding variables (Table 8).

TABLE 8

INTERCORRELATION OF SPORT CONCEPTIONS

Sport should be exercised	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
1. Playfully/seriously	-							
2. According to inclination/purposefully	27							
3. In many ways/only in some	35	19						
4. As a side-interest/concentratedly	29	12	29					
5. Individually/by competing	25	21	23	15				
6. Amateurishly/aiming at results	38	36	33	21	42			
7. On behalf of the athlete/on behalf of the organization	22	13	14	16	16	21		
8. For the benefit of the athlete/for the benefit of the country	22	19	22	15	18	26	40	
Scale: conception of recreational sport / competitive sport	61	51	52	31	55	68	44	54

The applications of Parsons' pattern variables reveal the different aims of recreational sport and competitive sport. The ideology of recreational sport is highly man-oriented: to the benefit of the one exercising sport because of sport itself etc. The basic idea of competitive sport is competition, comparison of performances and demonstrating competence, and these traits emphasize the demand for effectiveness: purposefulness of training, being organized, specialization and concentration. These differences in the system traits of recreational sport and competitive sport carry even more general validity and on very good grounds they could also be called the accomplishments of the human- and community-centered purpose in sport. The differences can be illustrated by the following: (see Table 9) comparison.

TABLE 9

Conception of recreational sport	Conception of competitive sport
Play	Seriousness
Inclination	Purposefulness
All-roundedness	Specialization
Expressiveness	Competitiveness
Interest-centeredness	Aiming at results
Human-centeredness	Community-centeredness

The conception of recreational sport can also be characterized by expressiveness because it emphasizes the intrinsic meaning of physical exercise and the direct experiences and impressions it provides. The conception of competitive sport is characterized by purposefulness and persistence dictated by result and success targets as well as specialization called for by demands of efficiency. Thus sport has a strong instrumental meaning. In competitive sport satisfaction given by participation is not as direct as in exercising recreational sport but it depends largely on achieving the objective, success in competition. This perseverance demanded by competitive sport strengthens its instrumentality and so does the collective orientation of competitive sport: competitive sport, particularly on the representational level, is carried out for the club, central association or the country.

The dichotomized variables describing the different sport conceptions were combined into one scale indicating the expressive/instrumental purpose of sport: the conception of sport as recreation vs. competitive sport. (Spearman - Brown coefficient of reliability was .73).

3.3.7.3 Conception of Power in Sport

This part of the study aims at describing the sport leaders' conceptions of power in sport: the pervasiveness of the use of power, the acceptability of different sanctions and the extent of democracy of decisionmaking. Here I shall pay attention to only the last-mentioned i.e. the conceptions of sport leaders of the degree of democracy vs. autocracy in decision-making. The conceptions of democracy were measured by nine statements. In most statements the great majority (70-80 per cent) of the sport leaders were in favour of democratic use of power in the decision-making of sport

organizations, but there was a considerable variation in answers to the statement:

"It is appropriate to have an active opposition in an organization"

- agree	44 %
- do not know	24 %
- disagree	32 %
	100 %

In spite of technical weaknesses in the statements (skewed distributions and low intercorrelations) they were compiled into a scale of democracy/autocracy (S-B reliability a low .21).

3.3.8 Individual and Community-Centered Ideologies

One of the research tasks was thus to clarify the pervasiveness of the value orientations of sport leaders and sport organizations in the normative views on athletic programme, sporting and use of power. When sport leaders differing in valuation type (membership-, ideology-, organization- and audience-oriented leaders) were compared, it was found that they differed consistently also in these views on organization and sport. Such differences in views are the greatest between membership-oriented and audience-oriented sport leaders. Idealists i.e. sport leaders who adhere to the principles of amateurism approach in their views membership-oriented leaders and organization-oriented leaders in turn come close to audience-oriented sport leaders. Behind the regularities would seem to exist a bi-polar ideological basic dimension: individual vs. community orientation on which sport leaders are placed in the following order:

Individual-oriented ideology		Community-oriented ideology	
Membership-oriented	Ideology-oriented	Organization-oriented	Audience-oriented

Also the following correlations (factor scores) of valuation factors with sport leaders' views on athletic programme, sporting and use of power point to the fact that individual vs. community-orientation are the ideological basic dimension and watershed of the Finnish sport movement (Table 10).

TABLE 10

	Intercorrelations of valuation factors and views on sport			
	Valuation factors			
	Membership	Amateurism	Organization	Audience
Views on athletic programme: individual-/community focussed	.23	.12	-.17	-.21
Views on sport: recreational/ competitive sport (expressive/instrumental)	.21	.05	-.26	-.40
Use of power: democratic/autocratic	.09	.10	-.13	-.17

Membership and ideology-focus are positively, but audience and organization negatively correlated with individual-centered views on sport and use of power.

3.3.9 Pluralistic Ignorance

The sense of studying the valuations of sport leaders and organizations is based on the fact that values are assumed to guide activity and behaviour. Research results show that Finnish sport leaders are conscious of the value foundation of their actions, and they conceptualized for whom they act. These values are generally also quite crystallized in the sense that their connections with sport leaders' views on sport and with the central conditions of functioning of organizations are consistent. Thus these value-sets have the nature of ideology. Typical of Finnish sport leaders, particularly in recreational sport organizations, is individual-centered ideology, whereas community-centered ideology finds its supporters mainly with audience-oriented organizations for competitive sport.

Although sport leaders are aware of their values it does not follow that they would know the values held by other or by their organizations. Such ignorance of others' valuations may be due to insufficient discussion about "ultimate questions", tradition-directiveness of activity or excessive pressure for unanimity and sociability which in advance ward off disputed questions. Value questions are notoriously difficult, and for this reason an effort is often made to avoid them in social situations. Pluralistic ignorance may easily arise in a social situation like this i.e. false views on others' valuations and positions. The existence of pluralistic ignorance may lead to the situation where for example the factual will of the majority of board members is not realized in resolutions and activity, but resolutions are made according to an erroneous majority opinion i.e. we think that the majority supports the cause A, while it in fact supports the cause B. American social-psychologists David Krech and Richard S. Crutchfield define this kind of pluralistic ignorance briefly: "no one believes, but everyone believes that everybody else believes"⁷. A misconception of this kind may in a group situation become a norm according to which one behaves, while in fact nobody supports the norm.

An attempt was made in this study to explore whether pluralistic ignorance exists in sport organizations, and for this purpose sport leaders were asked besides their own opinion what "they think that the majority of board members think of the same things". When these majority views are compared with the board members' true views we find whether and to what extent there exists pluralistic ignorance of valuations. Many observations consistently show that pluralistic ignorance of this kind exists in sport organizations. A rough picture of the generality of erroneous valuations is presented in the table below which indicates the percentage of sport leaders who have predicted erroneously the most important majority aspiration in different Finnish sport organization (Table 11).

Research findings, e.g. high correlations between me-valuations and estimated majority valuations, suggest that me-views are projected as those of the majority. In all organizations sport leaders think that the majority thinks in the same way as they

7 Krech David/Crutchfield Richard S. 1948. *Theory and Problems of Social Psychology*. New York. p. 389.

do, which leads to the observed erroneous valuations. A projection of this kind decreases the probability of conflicts and crosspressures. Furthermore it was evident that the probability of pluralistic ignorance increased if the value structure of an organization was complex and poorly structured; by the same token the probability decreased if the activity code in the organization was crystallized and well-structured as in the case in recreational sport organizations and women's associations.

TABLE 11

	Erroneous valuation %
TUL - central leadership (49)	75
SPL - central leadership (42)	67
TUL - district leadership (105)	65
KK - leadership (36) ^b	61
SVUL - special unions (134)	60
SVUL - central unions (58)	48
SVUL - district leadership (241)	45
SNLL - district leadership (62)	34
Finnish Ski Track-leadership (41)	24

In the light of this study today's organized athletic movement proved pluralistic but at the same time the good of the participants, membership, is regarded as the most important objective. A typical Finnish sport leader is, in the first place, the elected representative of his organization, who wants to listen to his electors and use his mandate in their favour. Perhaps because of insufficient discussion of goals, sport leaders seem, however, to have an erroneous conception of each other's valuations which in practice may lead to solutions which in fact neither represent the will of the membership nor of the majority of leadership: many believe that the others believe when in fact only a few believe.

CHAPTER 4
ETHICS OF SPORT



4.1 ETHICS OF SPORT (1980)*

The traditional concept of sport as a world of its own is being superseded and it becomes more and more widely recognized that sport is part of society and consequently dependent on it. This social conditioning of sport seems to be gaining further ground. Changes in living conditions have strengthened the significance of physical exercise and sport for larger circles of population and the society is expected to provide better facilities for sport and recreation to satisfy this need even in the countries where the interference of the state and community authorities in sport is not highly welcomed; a communique issued by the West European Ministers of Sport at a meeting in Brussels in March 1975 emphasizes that every person should have a right to participate in sport and that society with public funds should support the development of sport as an important factor contributing to human development.

Several trends in sport itself tend to strengthen its dependence on society. The screw of the expanding competitive sport has upgraded the level of performance of international sport even at present so high that national championship sport can achieve a sufficient level of performance and success only with joint effort and increasing state support. International competition has become totalized and as a result of totalization it has become even more dependent on state support everywhere.

Although I believe that sport, as well as all social subsystems, has some independency of its own, sport reflects its environment and in this sense the sport culture of a given country is simultaneously a reflection of the overall culture and social system of that particular society. Thus sport facilities, equipment, coaching systems, etc. are clearly dependent on the general level of the development and technology attained in society. The fact that sauna in Finland is a natural facility in all major sport centres and institutes is not an original idea of sport but part of a Finnish way of life.

Professor A. Wohl considers it perfectly natural that in the capitalist world sport is used for commercial purposes and that sport can there be also a business and an occupation¹. Although I cannot agree with Wohl's deterministic view of the relationship between sport and society, it is obvious that society as a larger framework in many ways regulates all of its subsystems and therefore also sport. This is also true of general rules of activities and moral norms.

The philosopher William K. Frankena claims that community life would hardly be possible without moral norms². All societies need rules, which regulate the relations between individuals and groups and define what is acceptable or unacceptable, what is right or wrong. Common moral norms of society consist of such rules: some of them are official norms defining the basic civil rights and obligations while others are unofficial behaviour models exemplifying civic virtues and ideals. Such virtues are, among other things, truthfulness, fairness, justice, respect

* World Scientific Congress at Tbilisi. July 10-16, 1980.

1 Andrzej Wohl.1973. Die gesellschaftlich-historischen Grundlagen des bürgerlichen Sports,-Köln, 166-172.

2 William K. Frankena.1963. Ethics, Englewood Cliffs, 97.

for other persons' self and their physical inviolability, and loyalty to rules and commitments. A mere attempt to imagine a society in which there were no such moral rules to regulate human relations suffices to show that community life without moral norms is impossible.

With regard to these common rules it can be said that sport is part of its social context and that the moral norms of a given society are reflected also in sport ethics and sport behaviour.

The English scholar Eric Dunning has studied the historical development of football and arrived at the conclusion that changes in the rules of the game can be traced back to changes in the general tolerance of violence in society and that football, which was originally rather violent, has gradually become more human with the overall civilization of society³. At the international congress in 1971 at Waterloo a young Canadian sociologist asked how it was possible that society can legalize and allow such a violent kind of sport which makes hundreds of young players invalids. "Is football not training for violence?" was his pointed assessment and as a former successful professional he obviously knew what he was talking about. Peace researchers and politologists are specially interested in tracing the course and effect of violence. It would, of course, be important to study if violence in sport has any connections with structural violence in society and if it is possible to establish a relationship between the variation in sport violence in different countries and the phenomena and indicators of violence in society at large. Boxing may be very popular in some countries but in Scandinavia, even in the Nordic Council, it is asked whether boxing is really a sport at all? On the other hand the rough ice-hockey has superseded the peaceful bandy in Scandinavia and it has acquired more and more violent traits. This is probably not so much due to increased violence in society as to the spectatorism and the commercialization of sport: the public seeks vicarious violent experiences and enjoys rough game.

We are living in an era of transition: great changes shake the foundations of the prevailing social order, traditional views and values are superseded, there is tension between old and new, and conflicts become aggravated. These pressures of social reorganization are also directed towards the basic control mechanisms of society, its basic norms. In a conflict situation the moral rules which regulate life and interaction in society lose some of their significance and there is a clash between different values. In lack of clear and congruent rules of activity the social situation approaches normlessness, anomie.

Social disruption and uncertainty about basic social norms also affect the present condition of sport: sport cannot be much better or worse than the society of which it is a part. It is hardly any coincidence that even law schools have started to take an interest in the breaches of law that increasingly take place in sport⁴.

The secularization of life and the increasing permissiveness have also contributed to the decline of moral conduct in sport. This has been noted by ICSPE, which in its Declaration of Sport in 1969 stresses the vital importance of the unwritten

3 Erik Dunning.1971. The Development of Modern Football, E.D. (ed.) The Sociology of Sport, London, 133-141.

4 Esko Linnakangas. 1971. Urheilussa aiheutetun vamman rikosoikeudellista arviointia, Criminological considerations of injuries inflicted in sport. lic.thesis, University of Helsinki

norms of competitive sport:

"If, for some unfortunate reason, fair play disappeared from the world of sport, competitions would become occasions to cheat, lie and be brutal; they would no longer create but destroy human relationships and sport would lose its main justifications."

Fair play as a concept covers the ethical norms of sport. This vague code of proper vs improper and acceptable vs unacceptable behaviour has transferred from sport to everyday language and universal use. It is possible that fair play applied in sport and learned in sport as a model of behaviour regulates individual and group relations in several spheres of life. - In the interaction between sport and society sport is not only the receiving party but it can in many ways influence society!

On the other hand it has become obvious that in stiffening competition, breaches against rules, conflicts, protests and unfair behaviour tend to increase and, in fact, fair play is losing its meaning in regulating, the behaviour of sportsmen and sportleaders and becoming a form of idealism divorced from reality and ripe to be dumped in the waste basket of sport history? The weakening of fair play norms in the regulation of behaviour may be due to the norms themselves, for instance, their ambiguity and lack of clear meaning. In spite of the fact that fair play is often mentioned in sport there have been no serious attempts to give it a more precise definition. There have been some separate proposals about fair play norms and one of the most specified proposals is the code drawn up by Otto Szymiczek, secretary general of the International Olympic Academy⁵. The need for the codification of the fair play norms was pointed out also in the Unesco conference in Helsinki in 1959⁶.

I became interested in the problems of regulation in competitive sports and particularly in the significance of the fair play norms in this respect and made preliminary enquiries in the 1960's in sport institutes in order to find out the degree of consensus of these views. Observations cannot be generalized but they were sufficient to show that conceptions vary considerably and that there was a rather general acceptance of even such conduct which is clearly dysfunctional to the integration of competition.⁷ Some examples of answers are cited in the following:

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- 5 Otto Szymiczek.1962. The Four Decalogues, Report of the Second Summer Session of the International Olympic Academy, 121-124.
 - 6 Paul Martin.1960. Introduction to the Charter of Sportsmanship, Sport-Work-Culture, Unesco-Conference 1959, Helsinki, 122-124.
 - 7 Kalevi Heinilä.1974. Urheilu - Ihminen - Yhteiskunta /Sport - Man -Society/, Jyväskylä, 117-130.

Approve	Men (n 426)
	%
Let others set the pace in 5000 meters and spurt past in the end	77
False start in a dash	76
Play for time in team sport	73
Box in a strong opponent in 800 meters	67
Boxer intentionally knocks out an opponent knowing that he is going to win anyway	34
Take advantage of a weak reference (umpire)	31
The audience supports only the home team	26
Hang on to a superior competitor in orienteering	13

If there prevail very divergent concepts about proper vs improper and acceptable vs unacceptable conduct in competition in sport, this will of course increase the probability of conflict and make control more difficult.

In 1974 I completed an elaboration of the pilot study, in which a more systematic attempt was made to examine the prevailing fair play conceptions in football and to extract some basic dimensions of ethical conduct in sport. The subjects were top junior football players in England, Sweden and Finland⁸.

The main findings can be summarized as follows:

1. Views about fair play vary nationally and internationally.
2. The appr. 50 multiple-choice type of questions yielded the following basic dimensions for conduct:

- Toughness
- Cheating vs honesty
- Priority of team-interest
- Equality vs. inequality of terms
- Approval vs. disapproval of emotional outbursts
- Eye for eye
- Spirit of play
- Commercialism

3. The basic dimensions of so crystallized conceptions were found to be interrelated:

The intercorrelations of the scaled moral categories (N 925)

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1. Team-interest	-						
2. Honesty -.57		-					
3. Toughness	.54	-.50	-				
4. Eye for eye	.23	-.24	.28	-			
5. Emotional outburst	.24	-.24	.17	.28	-		
6. Commercialism	.29	-.22	.24	.12	.17	-	
7. Inequality on terms	.08	-.08	.17	-.03	.06	.04	-
8. Spirit of play	-.03	.11	-.06	-.02	.00	.01	.09

8 Kalevi Heinilä.1974. Ethics of Sport - Junior football players as cross national interpreters of the moral concepts of sport, Research Reports no 4, Department of Sociology and Planning for Physical Culture, University of Jyväskylä.

These basic concepts were found to be interrelated in such a way that it was possible to combine them into a cumulative scale, whose extremes can be characterized by efficiency as a moral concept and idealism respectively. Characteristics of *efficiency* were:

- the priority of team-interest
- cheating
- eye for eye
- approval of emotional outbursts
- commercialism

Idealism, which upholds humanistic ideals, represents conceptions of acceptable behaviour which are the reverse of efficiency ethics.

These research findings about the polarizations of competition ethics are in a surprisingly good agreement with the American philosopher James Keating's proposition about the differentiation of sport ethics along the various orientations of competitive sport. According⁹ to Keating *athletics* is essential competitive activity which has for its end victory in contest and which is characterized by a spirit of dedication, sacrifice and intensity whereas the primary pursuit in *sport* is the derivation of immediate pleasure for oneself and all participants and joy to be found in the activity itself⁹.

Keating claims that also fair play norms and ethical considerations must be different in the two systems of competition:

"After an athlete has trained and sacrificed for weeks (for years! K.H.), after he has dreamed of victory and its fruits and literally exhausted himself physically and emotionally in its pursuits - after all This - to ask him to act with fairness in the contest, with modesty in victory, and admirable composure in defeat is to demand a great deal" (p. 32).

It was noticed also in my analysis that those players who had a more professional attitude to sport - sport being the central interest in life - tended to support efficiency ethics, while those who had an amateur's attitude to sport - sport being only a hobby beside more important pursuits in life - were more in favour of humanistic ideals in their concept about fair play.

From the point of view of regulation it is obvious that the efficiency ethics of tough game is prone to conflicts, in other words, behaviour in accordance with this particular set of norms easily leads to conflict and tensions between players and teams and makes the regulation of competition more difficult.

As a matter of transference it would be important to clarify to what extent these different ethical concepts in sport are congruent with the basic norms and promote social conduct in society. I will not take up the matter here. Earlier I maintained that the shortcomings of the prevailing basic norms in society are also reflected in the deteriorations of the fair play conceptions in sport: it has become even necessary in sport to introduce special lie-detectors - doping tests! It is hardly the case that the shortcomings of basic norms alone account for the decay of fair play norms. The internal pressures and trends in sport have also contributed to it. Sport can, to a

⁹ James Keating.1964. Sportmanship as a Moral Category, *Ethics*, vol.LXXV, no., 25-35.

certain degree, choose its own path, influence its own development and determine what it is and what kind of ethical code it upholds. In the above I noted, citing my own research findings and Keating's theory, that the differentiation of sport orientation tends to contribute also to the differentiation of ethics in sport respectively and it is evident without further examination that e.g. the ethics of professional sport is different from that of amateur sport. On the other hand it is obvious that the upgrading of the performance level of competitive sport and the growing stakes that make victory more important victory only compensates for investments and stakes - contributes to the transformation of norms toward the professional sport and tough play:

"While the sacred ideology of amateurism is superseding, the new secular morality, effectiveness, is emerging advocating the compatible justification of the efforts imposed by the upgrading demands for success. According to this new technocratic kind of morality, the issues in sport which really count are the very success and the complete devotion to the pursuits for this goal and records, no matter what the means and costs.¹⁰"

In different domains of life norms of conduct tend to promote the particular purpose of the domain; for instance the ethical codes of science and research are probably different from those of politics. Through the activities of sport leaders and sportsmen the moral codes of various domains of life are transferred to sport. A survey of the occupational structure of Finnish sport leadership showed that there is a considerable overrepresentation of business and industry in athletic organizations compared to organizations of recreational sport¹¹. Is the extension of tough game conduct and the increasing commercialism of sport related to changes in the leadership structure and the respective intervention of codes of business into sport?

As a matter of common observation people tend to be more moral in their conception than in their actual behaviour. Although I tried in my study to survey particularly the relevant norms in the reality of contest situation from the point of view of the participant, it is obvious that in "real situation" the behaviour of athletes is regulated by several other determinants: opponents, judges, the public and above all the management and the coaches of the team. The pressure of these determinants may be so excessive that athletes are compelled to act against their own concepts of fair play. The public and mass media also exert an influence on sport ethics; sport is increasingly for the spectators, entertainment for the masses, and not only for the participants. The public are more in favour of tough game than idealism.

All human interaction presupposes a number of rules, which promote human conduct and make it possible. Such rules also include ethical norms, which define what is right or wrong, acceptable or unacceptable behaviour. This also applies to sport. An especially important role of regulation is ascribed to fair play norms in contest, particularly in team sport and international matches because the probability

10 Kalevi Heinilä, op.cit. 1974, p. 134.

11 Kalevi Heinilä. 1974. Suomalainen urheiluideologia, Finnish sport ideology, Jyväskylä, 23, 154.

of conflicts and clashes is higher in a man-to-man contest and/or under the pressure of representative sport. It is maintained that fair play conceptions are feudalistic and aristocratic in origin and are derived from the English concept of a gentleman and as such are no longer adequate. Some ethical rules are needed anyhow as well in workers' as in bourgeois sport, as well in capitalistic as in socialist sport, as well in amateur as in professional sport.

The regulation of sport is on the one hand based on the self-control of athletes - each athlete of his own accord behaves in agreement with the common rules and norms of the game - and on the other hand on the control and sanctioning of an external authority - judges, jury and authorities. With the totalization of sport and the growing importance of winning the role of self-regulation tends to be weakened and fair play norms outdated. By the same token the regulation of competition is increasingly built on external control and the power of sanctions. It has been necessary also in Finland to strengthen the position and sanctioning powers of referees for instance in ice-hockey but also in football; it has occasionally been necessary to resort to police support - at least to protect referees. In the "more advanced" countries steel fences and trenches are needed to buttress the police forces. And yet there are those who claim that sport has something to do with play!

It is my personal opinion that the future of competitive sport will become more uncertain if it is not capable of managing its control problems on its own, and if the regulation of competition is increasingly based on laboratory tests, external control and physical force instead of the self-regulation of athletes, sport leaders and the public.

The self-regulation of behaviour is based on the strict obedience of the written and unwritten rules of sport. These rules and particularly the fair play norms have various important functions to the continuity of competitive sport:

1. They aspire to ensure the meaningfulness of competition and the fairness of the result. (What sense is there in a contest in which some participant has gained special advantage over his opponents by special arrangements or cheating (e.g. dopes);
2. They humanize competition and prevent it from becoming a jungle fight, in which all means are allowed; Chataway: "War without weapons";
3. Based on the generally approved basic norms in society they promote civic education and contribute to the role of sport in society and international understanding through sport.

Self-regulation presupposes the acceptance of common and shared norms and their voluntary application. The self-regulation of contest may be disrupted because these norms have not been codified, officially adopted or sanctioned. My own studies leave no doubt about the differing interpretation of fair play conceptions.

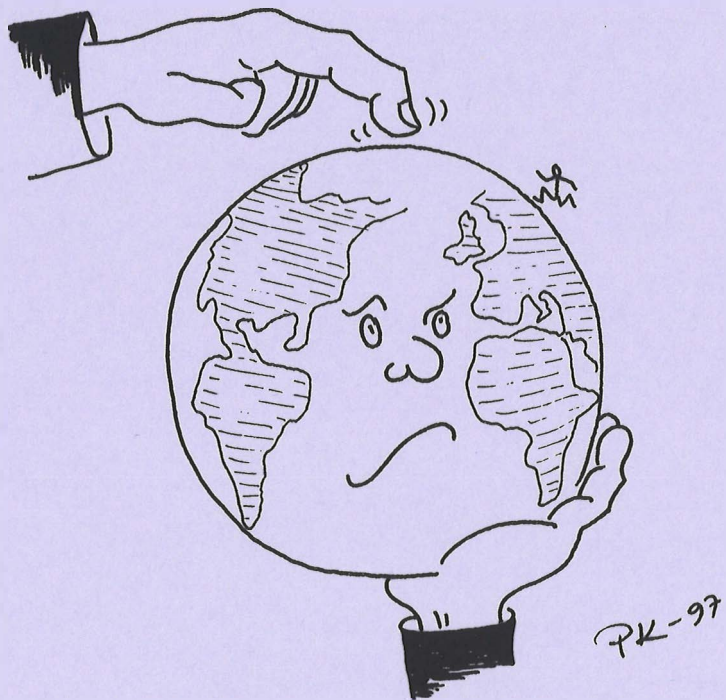
International sport, athletics in general and all forms of competitive sport need their own, partly distinct fair play codes to guide not only the conduct of athletes but also that of sport leaders, coaches and the public to the best interest of sport. The proposal of the French committee and that of the ICSPE from 1974 deserve support. The proposal is, unfortunately, too diffuse and idealistic. Perhaps it has been forgotten that even in sport ethics is for people, not people for ethics. It is also clear that such proposals are of no consequence unless they are backed by sport organizations. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe held in Helsinki in July 1975

defined the 'fair play' codes of international relations for states. Perhaps a similar conference of security and co-operation would be needed in sport as well in order to guarantee the positive development in the field of competitive sport. The former Director General of UNESCO M. René Maheu has said:

"...just as no sport contest can be without desire for victory, so none can be without rules and ethics. It is these rules by which it is governed, these ethics by which it is informed that distinguishes sport from the savage struggle for life whose name is war".

CHAPTER 5

SPORT AND INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING



5.1 NOTES ON THE INTER-GROUP CONFLICTS IN INTERNATIONAL SPORT (1966)*

According to sport and especially Olympic ideology, one of the fundamental functions of international sport is to promote international understanding and goodwill among world youth. Sport has been referred to as one of the most influential peace movements. No doubt, the history of international sport and that of the Olympic Games give numerous evidences of the functions of sport for building friendship ties between different countries. However, evidence to the contrary is perhaps equally true although this might not be as numerous. International communication in sport has also been an apparent reason for controversies and conflicts – even for interrupted relations. Even in the peace-loving and cool-tempered North the history of track and field contests between Sweden and Finland is characterized by a "cold war" atmosphere culminating in the 1930's in an open conflict and resulting in an interruption of athletic competition between the two countries lasting for several years. Even recently this ultimate kind of resolution of competitive sports has again been discussed (in newspapers, at least) but this time in connection with another branch of sport. The potential threat of conflict and disharmony in international sport needs hardly any more indications.

It is important for the development of international sport and for the realization of the goodwill function present in sport ideology that we secure more knowledge about those situational factors which 1) contribute to the promotion of international understanding and about those which 2) appear to lead to an arousal of inter-group conflict. The study of these opposite situations surely is advisable because the policy in practice for promoting international understanding appears to optimize favorable conditions and to minimize conditions of potential conflict. As far as it is known there is a lag in any systematic exploration in this area. Nevertheless, the inter-group conflict as a problem in international sport has been in focus for many individuals and for international authorities (Jones; Sondhi, 1963).

It may be important to document the literature on this subject for the possible stimulus it may have on needed research. Further, fruitful theoretical approaches and working hypotheses may be found in the area of small group studies, especially in the school of group dynamics and by some social psychologists. The theories and studies on collective behavior as well as recently sponsored studies on international peace are also worth mentioning as a source of reference (Sherif, 1953, 1962; Smelser, 1962).

Competition as a social process is by its inherent nature susceptible to controversies and to an arousal of conflicts. Competition tends to reward exclusively but tends to frustrate inclusively, or putting it in other way: in competition there is only one winner but many losers. In well-known small group experiments Deutsch(1960) observed that unfriendly and aggressive interindividual relations were more typical of competitive than of cooperative groups. Competition, by its very nature, may sometimes be a sufficient cause for conflict but not invariably so. We

* International Review of Sport Sociology. Vol. 1. 31-40, 1966.

must look also for other factors.

In the view of this writer one of the more favourable conditions for potential conflict in international sport is the strong group-identification of the two adverse parties. In sociology this process is referred to as the in-group and the out-group formation. According to Sherif, "when groups engage in reciprocally competitive and frustrating activities . . . unfavorable stereotypes come into use in relation to the out-group and its members. In time, these unfavorable stereotypes are standardized in a group, placing the out-group at the prejudicial distance.... Concomitant with the rise of mutually prejudicial attitudes between groups, self-glorifying or self-justifying attitudes toward the in-group are strengthened. The performance of the out-group is deprecated and the moves of the out-group and its members are perceived in a suspicious light." (1953).

By definition the in-group attitudes are based on strong feelings of belonging and on a strong identification with the group. In certain situations, however, this we-feeling gets exaggerated into ethnocentrism (i. e. chauvinism, in more familiar terms). Open conflicts are more or less probable in situations of in-group and out-group cleavages; especially in their very distinct phases. According to Catton's theory, the ethnocentrism is conditioned by group solidarity, the conformity of members and by the group effectiveness. In this connection it is more relevant to notice that in line with his theory the ethnocentrism increases the probability of conflict with the out-group or results in the withdrawal of the in-group from interaction with out-groups. This hypothesis is supported by many instances in the history of international sport (Catton, 1960-61).

Jones gives a striking description of in-group and out-group formation in international sport: ". . . the thousands of spectators, and sometime the players as well, seem to behold a mightily contest between their 'country' and the 'enemy'. The national prestige is at stake; a victory is no longer the success of the team that could play better but becomes a national victory and is an occasion for national rejoicings, out of all proportion with reality. Such an attitude is not favourable to international understanding." (1959)

As Sherif states the competitive system as such is vulnerable to the arousal of in- and out-group attitudes. Operating in the same direction and reinforcing ethnocentrism are certain other situational determinants, like national stereotypes which are held by the adverse parties and which may have distinctive dissimilarities regarding for example historical, cultural, political, and social conditions of life. In spite of sport ideologies players and spectators often carry with them, more or less consciously, the role of their citizenship and often comply with this role in a manner completely foreign to their ideologies of sport and frequently loaded with the national prejudices and stereotypes and often are intentionally activated by manifest symbols, like flags and anthems, or by cheer-leaders. It is probable that prejudice and antagonistic attitudes dictated by the role of citizenship give feedback to group solidarity and identification, or to state this in terms of a hypothesis the stronger the out-group attitudes, the stronger the in-group solidarity and the more probable ethnocentrism or chauvinism and - likewise inter-group conflicts. It is also reasonable to expect that in- and out-group attitudes reinforce each other in a circular way, i. e. group solidarity strengthens out-group attitudes and again out-group attitudes have a feed-back effect on reinforcing in-group attitudes.

As a matter of common observation team sports have more attraction as for spectators than do individual sports. Kleinman's study (1960) points this out and indicates further that conflicts are more probable in team sports than in individual sports. It seems to be psychologically easier for the public and spectators to identify with a team than with an individual participant as it is more conventional to say "our team won" rather than to say "our Paavo Nurmi won." It seems likely that the most favourable conditions for strong group identification and for the formation of distinct in- and out-group attitudes - and thus for inter-group conflicts as well - are offered in an international dual contest. Because the universality of participation and spectatorism in the Olympic Games does not give such a positive basis for national identification the potentiality of conflicts in these games is rather insignificant.

The great expansion of spectator sports in the more urban and industrial countries probably reflects the acute identification problems which detached "lonely crowd" people have. It probably reflects as well their urgent inclination to look for and to define their individual identity in terms of a group affiliation howsoever superficial or imaginary it may be. Spectators look in vicarious ways for success and for some positive identity and often secure this identity by identifying with team or athletes having some common similarities, at least, and by generalizing their victories into victories for all. Caillois's point of view falls in the same line when he says: "The majority fail in competition or are ineligible to compete, having no chance to enter or succeed.... The majority remain frustrated. Every one wants to be first and in law and justice has a right to be. However, each knows or suspects that he will not be, for the simple reason that by definition only one may be first. He may therefore choose to win indirectly, through identification with someone else which is the only way in which all can triumph simultaneously without effort or chance of failure." (1961)

It is not only the athletes and the teams that win or lose but also the public and the spectators at the same time, or all those with the same common identity. "Well, aren't we Finns really good," boasted an old man (long ago) when hearing about Paavo Nurmi's superiority in the Olympic Games.

The higher the expectations of teams and those of the public in respect to success, the more frustrated is the "in-group" in case of a failure - and the more probable is unfair behavior and inter-group conflicts of any kind. Newspapers and especially other mass communication media are often loaded with ethnocentrism and are inclined to awaken unrealistic expectations along their sports public. Created beliefs on national success and superiority are conducive to strengthening group identification and to furthering in- and out-group cleavages among the spectators and teams - and once again to increase the probability of inter-group conflict. The development of this kind of atmosphere is often clearly observed in a dual competition at the international level when the teams have an equal chance of victory and when each one represents the country as a reference group in all social life, including sport. For instance, Sweden is in this way related to Finland: these countries are in many fields of competitive sport roughly equal in strength and Sweden functions from Finland's viewpoint as "a reference group," this means, as a basis for comparison and evaluation in all cultural, economic and educational spheres of community life. With the contests between the teams of these two countries there has been, and surely will continue to be, a characteristic heightening of emotionalism. Involvement and strong in- and out-group formation and,

consequently, a susceptibility to controversies and conflicts of any sort. Worth mentioning is also the effect of a large number of new national records. On the other hand in the contests between the Soviet Union and Finland in various branches of sport the distinct formation of in- and out-group attitudes has been quite foreign, mainly due, perhaps, to the big differences between the countries, e. g. in social structure and in size, which make irrelevant comparisons, evaluations or any other functions as a reference group. For that reason it is not 'degrading' to lose to a team of the Soviet Union, but it is quite frustrating and almost like a "national defeat", quoting Rene Maheu's words, to be beaten by a Swedish team and contrarywise it is more satisfying and joyous to beat Sweden than it is to beat the Soviet Union - if possible at all. The hypothesis in the significance of reference group-countries as a condition for ethnocentrism might be elaborated in line with Galtung's very interesting "structural theory of aggression" based on the concept of rank-disequilibrium with reference to the various dimensions of national resources (1964).

There are, of course, other situational determinants independent of group-identification which are also usually connected with the conflict potentiality of international sport in modern times. The professionalization of sport, mainly due to the heightened level of demands to which participants of championship sport are exposed results in an upgrading and an overevaluating of victory and success. This tendency is again reinforced by the extensive publicity given to championship sport. Interpreting in Homans's terms of human exchange professionalization means increased "investments" and "costs" for participants and likewise respectively increased reward expectations proportional to the greater investments and costs. From the proposition on "distributive justice" the potentiality of a conflict situation can be deduced and Homans states this in the following words: "The more to a man's disadvantage the rule of distributive justice fails of realization, the more likely he is to display the emotional behavior we call anger." (1961)

This tendency of upgrading the victory along with the changes in the intrinsic and extrinsic nature of rewards as a result of the professionalization of championship sport contributes to the unfair behavior and disloyalty to rules. Likewise, it leads also to a development of inter-group conflicts. This is more likely now than in the past during the days of real amateurism.

The potentiality for inter-group conflicts - inherent in competition proper and especially in international sport - is worthy of serious attention by authorities of international sport. But first of all it is worthy of serious study, and this underlines the very purpose of this paper.

It has been proposed that some trends in international sport have been conducive to an increase in conflict potentiality. As a situational determinant the extensive involvement and exposure of the public to international sport events seems to be one of the main conditions for group-identification and ethnocentrism, and renders a situation vulnerable to inter-group conflict. Further, the heightening level of demands as a necessary condition for success and the concomitant "totalitarization" of each national sport system striving for the international glory tend to upgrade victories to the extent that temptations for unfair behavior and disloyalty to rules are likely; and thus, also, conflicts are likely. The totalitarization of a national sport system refers to the fact that success in international competition is no longer as it

was in the past – as in the era of Paavo Nurmi – a matter of the individual effort and resources of the participant but instead it is a matter of the effectiveness and total resources of the whole national sport system: this might include the human reserves in sport, the level of sport sciences, the efficiencies of the organizations and that of the training systems, etc. In other words, the success and effectiveness of the individual athlete or the single team depend more and more on the resources and effectiveness of the total system of the national sport and less on the individual effort independent of the system. Little attention to this trend and to its consequences has been given so far but surely these are worthy of serious consideration and study. One may become convinced of the role of the national training system on the success and the effectiveness of an individual sport unit for instance by becoming acquainted with the system existing in the Soviet Union or in other leading countries (Ozolin, 1964).

The expansion of spectator sports all over the world indicates that today even those sections of populations who have not themselves taken active part in sport and who for that reason have not had the ideology of sport and the norms of "fair play" impressed upon them are now interested and involved in sport as enthusiasts and "identifiers". This also might make the international sport vulnerable to controversies. However, the extension of the active participation in sport noticed in many countries probably mitigates the trend mentioned above: one of the effective ways to learn and internalize the very ideals and the conduct proper in sport is surely active personal participation. In participation these ideals can still be found by everybody as found by Roger Bannister who says: "Sport has an individual basis and an individual meaning, and is not a national or moral affair."

One basic and generally recognized condition for the actualization of the goodwill and the friendship function in international sport is the absolute loyalty to the written and unwritten rules of the competitive sport. The recent action of the International Council of Sport and Physical Education in creating the PIERRE DE COUBERTIN TROPHIES for promoting fair play in competitive sport exemplifies the direction of policy certainly needed from the international authorities of sport and physical education. However, some empirical data indicate that there hardly exists sufficient consensus on fair play and on the conceptions of behavior proper in various competitive situations, not even among the athletes themselves. If this is true among the athletes it can probably be expected that even greater varieties in these conceptions are held by spectators and sport leaders. In this light the action of ICSPE seems to be somehow premature. An identification and clarification of the very concept of fair play is first needed, and then this must be followed by a common recognition of and a commitment to the clarified principles and norms by international authorities. Until these steps are taken rewarding and promoting actions hardly seem appropriate. Disagreements on rules and the different interpretations of "fair behavior" inherently include the potentiality of open conflict that can be eliminated only by means of a statement of specific common rules and proper conducts.

There is some evidence that too great a deviation from the norm of "equal terms" tends to mitigate proper competition and may lead to an increase of conflicts as well. In this point the author disagrees with Jones when he says "In sport, it is quality that counts and not the quantity. This is probably the most important factor behind the great development of international sport. A small country has an even

chance when competing against large countries." (1959). The specification of fair play norms calls for international cooperation. Efforts in this direction have, of course, already been made but more are needed (Martin, 1959).

The author's proposition is that it is the total efficiency and the total resources of a national system of sport which counts most and surely this is in favor of larger countries. This trend can clearly be seen in the finals of the European Cup in track and field in 1965: six countries qualifying in the finals were the Soviet Union, England, France, Poland, East Germany and West Germany. In the near future this trend in international sport might more clearly be seen; as a deviation from equal terms it might result in an unexpected rearrangement and a reorganization of international sport - this trend can even threaten the current organization and status of the Olympic Games. Anyhow, probable changes in the social system of the international competitive sport is likely a trend toward the state in which the vital norm of "equal terms" will appropriately be realized. In a study on recent changes in competitive contacts of different countries, regarding the size of a country as an independent variable, the author's proposition on the primary importance of "equal terms" as a determinant of the very competition may be testified and probably disapproved. Such a study of trend analyses might well be carried out by some research institute with adequate resources .

This kind of prediction must only be considered as a conjecture at our present level of knowledge in the field of sport sociology with all its unknown probabilities; it may, however, be worth considering. In spite of the increasing potential for inter-group conflict in international sport Jones's statement is as valid as ever when he says "Sports may, indeed, become a tremendously positive factor for improving international understanding. All those engaged in sports may become agents of goodwill between the peoples of the world. Theirs is a great opportunity. It is the sacred responsibility of all sportsmen that this opportunity shall not be missed." (1959)

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5.2 SPORT AND INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING (1986)*

5.2.1 The Main Interests and Interested Parties in International Sport

With the expansion of international sport the number of parties and agencies associated with international sport and having some interests in its exploitation has increased. The following list of the parties is not meant to be inclusive but to comprise the most significant ones:

FIGURE 1 The main interests and interested parties associated with international sport

1. Sportive

IOC
International sport federations
National Olympic Committees (NOC's)
National sport federations
Athletes
Sport public at large
Sport mass media

2. Political

UNESCO
Council of Europe
USSR and USA
Non-aligned countries
Developing countries
National governmental organizations

3. Commercial

Business in general
Sport industry
Commercial mass media and entertainment
Professional sport

Sport can be and, in fact, has been harnessed in the service of the most diverse interests, categorized in Figure 1 as sportive, political and commercial interests. Taking into account the frame of reference of this study, further elaboration is needed. The following distinctions between sport-intrinsic vs. sport-extrinsic and mutually inclusive vs. mutually exclusive interests are relevant:

1. *Sport-intrinsic interests* are parts of the constitutive structure of competitive sport and its regulation with the following two distinctive functions:

1.1. Meaning-content

- defines the primary interest in sport competition, that is, the very purpose of competition proper

* Saeki, Toshio (ed.), *Sport and Humanism*. Proceedings of the International Workshop of Sport Sociology in Japan. 1988, 256-264. Heinilä, Kalevi, *Sport and International Understanding as Conceived by Elite Athletes*. University of Jyväskylä. Dpt. of Social Sciences of Sport. Report no 37. 1986.

1.2. Pattern maintenance

- refers to those interests vital to the validity of a competition as a proper test of supremacy

2. *Sport-extrinsic interests* are not the constitutive part of sport proper but are assigned to or inserted into sport extrinsically with the following functions:

2.1. Exploitation

- refers to those extrinsic interests which are alien to the very essence of sport but make use of sport for some alien purpose.

2.2. Legitimation

- refers to those extrinsic interests which, although alien to the constitution of sport, legitimize international sport with universal causes for the common good.

3. *Mutually inclusive interests* are meant to equally serve the common good of all parties affiliated

4. *Mutually exclusive interests* have either the zero-sum character:

-what one party wins, other parties lose or the egocentric character reflecting the supremacy or the advantage of one party over others.

By combining these categories we get the following typology of various interests with their respective parties associated with international sport today.

	Mutually inclusive interests	Mutually exclusive interests
Sport-intrinsic interests	<p>PATTERN MAINTENANCE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - respect for rules - fair play - equality of terms <i>IOC, sport federations, UNESCO etc.</i> - striving for excellence <i>athletes, coaches etc.</i> - sport as entertainment <i>sport public, mass media</i> 	<p>MEANING CONTENT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - victory, success, championship, elitism - victory ceremonies, heroworkship <i>athletes, IOC, sport federations, mass media</i>
Sport-extrinsic interests	<p>LEGITIMATION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - peace, int. understanding - mutual respect - universal human rights <i>UNESCO, CE</i> <i>developing countries</i> <i>non-aligned countries</i> <i>IOC, ICSSPE etc.</i> 	<p>EXPLOITATION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ethnocentric interests - chauvinism <i>sport public, mass media</i> <i>NOC's nat. sport federations</i> - superpower interests <i>USSR and USA with their allies</i> -national recognition

FIGURE 2 The main interests and interested parties in international sport

Sport which used to be just a pastime or hobby among other hobbies has been transformed into "the world's biggest small thing". With this expansion, "small thing" as athletes' competition for supremacy, has evoked lots of extrinsic and eccentric interests and interested parties to share the world-wide success of sport. But the traditional conception of sport as a sovereign domain and with an intrinsic value in itself is still cherished.

5.2.2 Research Project on Sport and International Understanding

In order to promote research in a field which had been greatly neglected, the Committee of "Mass Media, Sport, International Understanding" (ICSSPE) decided to initiate its own exploration of "Sport and international understanding. The discussion of the Committee was focused on the key concept of "international understanding" with its various connotations and ambiguities.

Out of the various options for a research theme the Committee gave the priority to the proposal concerning the athletes' conceptions of international sport as related to international understanding or misunderstanding. This frame of reference is very much in accordance with the following statement of the Committee in 1973:

"The tendency to internationalization and all that it means in the areas of information and propaganda, advertising, publicity and commercial exploitation, cannot fail to have some influence over the relations between individuals, groups, or nations. It sometimes tends to exacerbate nationalism, chauvinism, racism; it may also lead to fraternisation and understanding between men, so offering cultural enrichment and increasing the chances of peace. The problem is to determine the conditions that sport has to fulfil in order to contribute to the improvement of international understanding. This question has to be approached without excessive optimism or unjustified prejudice."¹

But the research needed planning. The author was persuaded and commissioned to make the research plan for the Committee and, after the approval, to conduct it in cooperation with the Committee.

5.2.3 The Frame of Reference

The inquiry was focused on the international contest with its various sport-intrinsic and sport-extrinsic elements assuming that they are related to "international understanding or misunderstanding" as conceived by participating athletes.

In order to specify those sport-intrinsic and -extrinsic factors in sport related to "international understanding" the dialectical conception of sport contest was used as a frame of approach and those sport-intrinsic and -extrinsic factors, which implicate the common values and inclusive interests of all parties involved, were assumed to have associative functions in terms of promoting international understanding whereas those sport-intrinsic and -extrinsic factors, which implicate the exploitative and exclusive interests of only some parties, were assumed to have conflicting or dissociative functions in terms of international relationships. According to Günther Lüschen sport contest stands for interdependencies between conflict and integration.

1 Mass Media, Sport, International Understanding; Publication of ICSSPE, 1973.

This "dialectical conception" comes close to Georg Simmels thinking about the unifying power of the contest: "one unites in order to fight, and one fights under the mutually recognized governance of norms and rules". From the point of view of sport policy it is significant that some of those factors stand for "associative" or "conflictual" by prescription while the majority have those functions by "consideration". Thus the contest for victory as a zerosum game stands for "conflictual" function by prescription but the function of a referee can be either "associative" or "conflictual" by his "consideration". As an extension of the dialectical conception of contest in sport the various sport-intrinsic and -extrinsic elements with associative functions are assumed to be related to the promotion of international understanding as conceived by athletes whereas the elements with the conflictual functions are assumed to jeopardize and undermine that understanding. Since to some extent these associative and conflictual elements are inherent in any international contest the overall balance in favour of international understanding and of the continuance of the system depends upon the balance of the associative factors over the conflictual factors.

5.2.4 The Target Group and The Data

The primary primus motor for any social repercussions in and through sport is the contest proper in its complex intrinsic and extrinsic context and athletes and teams as their primary actors. What happens in venues, not only overtly but also covertly in preoccupations of athletes and players in contest, often have primary significance for social repercussions extending far beyond the boundaries of the arena of sport. Their main interest in contest is focused on pursuit for success but it is shared and heightened by the increasing number of auxiliary parties like coaches, sport managers, medical personnel, sport clubs and federations but also parties with vicarious interests in sport like spectators on the spot and those consuming the stimuli of events via mass media, and finally parties with their main interest in exploiting particularly the success of athletes for some sport-extrinsic purposes.

While the primary purpose ("meaning-content") of a contest is realized by athletes and teams themselves, the sociopolitical significance of a sport event, such as promoting international understanding or misunderstanding, is also due to the conceptual frame of references of the external parties involved. Taking advantage of happenings in a contest these parties exploit sport far beyond the boundary of sport, not only for the common good but obviously more for their self-interest. In other words, the primary involvement of athletes in a contest has its spill-over in social repercussions far beyond the boundaries of the sport event in instigating the extrinsic interests of many alien parties in sport and in activating or moulding their preconceptions of sport.

As the primary actors and group of reference for any interest parties involved in international sport, the participant athletes are the most relevant target group for explorative research on sport and international understanding.²

2 Significantly enough also in policy matters of sport, athletes' opinions are taken more and more into due consideration. Thus in the Olympic Congress in BadenBaden (1981) a group of athletes were invited to give their expert opinion on some acute issues in international sport and their statement was highly recognized not only by the Congress but also by the worldwide mass media.

Following the Committee's suggestion, the sample of athletes from each country for the project was composed of appr. 50 males and/or 25 females in track and field and/or appr. 50 soccer players, all male. Only athletes and players with amateur status who had participated in international sport in 1978-1984 were qualified for the sample in order of rate of participation. Track and field and soccer (associated football) were chosen mainly because of their popularity as an individual and as a team sport respectively.

It was a mistake to qualify only soccer players with the amateur status in the sample since in most countries players at the top level are not amateurs any more but are, at least, semi-professionals.

The final sample was composed of the following groups of athletes and soccer players:

Country	Soccer (males)		Track and field		Male		Total	
	(n=91)	(n=63)	(n=115)		(n=178)			
Hungary	55%	(50)	40%	(25)	43%	(49)	41%	(74)
Finland	44%	(40)	38%	(24)	31%	(36)	34%	(60)
France	1%	(1)	14%	(9)	16%	(19)	16%	(28)
BRD	-		8%	(5)	10%	(11)	9%	(16)
	100 %		100 %		100 %		100 %	

Due to deficiencies in the sample any generalizations beyond the sample are unjustified and the conclusions need to be proved in further studies with more extensive sample. Because of the small number of respondents from France and West Germany these two groups were combined in the analysis under the heading "West".

The main determinant of the research design was the dearth of resources. For this reason the collection of data was carried out by means of mailed questionnaires though it is not the most appropriate method for the explorative inquiry in question.

Items conducive to international understanding by athletes (n=270)³

	Int. understanding			
	Pro %	± %	Opp %	Total %
Pattern maintenance				
Equality of women in int. sport	70	28	2	100
Legitimation				
1. Superordinate goals				
Respect of human rights in sport	94	5	1	100
Commitment to resolution of UN	78	18	4	100
2. Exchange programme in sport				
Joint training camps for athletes	94	6	-	100
Exchange programme for coaches	91	8	1	100
Exchange programme for "migrant" athletes	80	17	3	100
3. Cultural exchange programme				
Knowledge of foreign language	96	3	1	100
Social contact-events for athletes	92	8	-	100
Acquainting with foreign culture	91	8	1	100
Pre-acquaintance with foreign customs	73	23	4	100
Recognition of foreign customs	56	33	11	100
4. Right in decision-making				
Athletes repr. in Int. Federations	83	16	1	100
Women repr. in Int. Federations	57	40	3	100

A large majority of athletes conceive that all sportive and cultural exchange programs in context of sport, superordinate goals like "respect of human rights" and "resolutions of United Nations" but also athletes' involvement in affairs of International Federations are conducive to promoting international understanding in sport.

The next table presents the other side of the coin in international sport and elements, which as conceived by athletes, tend to jeopardize international understanding instead of promoting it.

3 These items were excluded from the factor analysis.
 Pro = promote international understanding
 ± = no significance/hard to tell
 Opp = oppose international understanding

Factor-items conducive to international understanding by athletes (n=270/%)

	<i>International understanding</i>			
	Pro	±	Opp	Total
Factor I: Inequality of terms				
Variations in training conditions	7	34	59	100
Variations in State subsidy	7	33	60	100
Suspicion about the use of doping	3	14	83	100
Great gap in development of sport science	8	31	61	100
Secrecies in training devices	3	30	67	100
Child-stars qualified in int. sport	7	39	54	100
Factor II: Ethnocentrism in Olympics				
Int. understanding in forthcoming LA Games	53	37	10	100
Int. understanding in past Moscow Games	39	15	46	100
Extraordinary hero-worship of winners	46	28	26	100
Victory ceremonies with national symbols	75	18	7	100
Intense competition with upgrading demands	47	31	22	100
Joint games for amateurs and pros	55	29	16	100
Factor III: Commercialism				
Commercial exploitation of athletes	14	42	44	100
Commercialization of international sport	18	33	49	100
Professional training of athletes	31	55	14	100
Factor IV: National self-interest				
Sport harnessed to foreign policy	22	19	59	100
Use of sport for national propaganda	37	17	46	100
Ignoring rules and fair play	5	8	87	100
Prohibition of anabolic steroids	65	18	17	100
Seriousness of international sport	17	32	51	100
Factor V: Prejudicial interference				
Reports of sport journalists	52	27	21	100
Spectators' behavior	50	23	27	100
Decisions of umpires	23	48	29	100
*International sport in TV	80	16	4	100
*Unsportman-like interference of audience	2	6	92	100
*use of violence in pursuit of success	2	6	92	100
"Blocking" tendency in international sport	3	20	77	100

The table consists also some marked (*) items which come close to the factors explicated in their meaning-content but have been excluded from factor analysis because of their skew distributions.

Inequality of terms. Particularly those sport-intrinsic elements which produce unequal conditions in training are seen by a great majority of athletes to be conducive to opposing international understanding. Also "suspicions among athletes with respect to doping and drug abuse in international sport" are highly conceived as dysfunctional (83 %) while the "absolute prohibition of the use of drugs and anabolic steroids" is conceived as functional to international understanding (65 %).

Ethnocentrism in Olympics. This factor is not well articulated and the items are conceived to be endowed with both "associative" and "conflictual" capacity for international understanding. Though "extraordinary hero-worship" and "the victory ceremonies with national symbols" are exclusive as rewarding institutions, most athletes conceive them as favourable to international understanding. Likewise the "intensifying of international competition with upgrading demands" is favourable whereas the "seriousness of international sport with vanishing play spirit" tends to be unfavourable to understanding. With the upgrading demands of performance the gap between the amateurs and professionals seems to vanish "with vanishing play spirit" at least as far as full-time "professional training" is concerned. That might be the main rationale of athletes conceiving "joint games for amateurs and professionals" as conducive to the international understanding (55 %).

Commercialism and national self-interests. To exploit sport for commercial purposes or for national self-interests is conceived by most athletes as dysfunctional to international understanding. Worthy of notice is also that "blocking tendency in international sport..." is seen by the majority (77 %) to oppose international understanding though this item turned to be so ambiguous in the factor analysis that it hardly fitted with any factors. Obviously the items of "ignoring rules and fair play" and "prohibition of anabolic steroids" concern the pattern maintenance of sport proper but are vulnerable to exploitation for national self-interests and at the cost of international understanding.

Prejudicial interference. The interference with sport by spectators, journalists or umpires has either "associative" or "conflictual" capacity for international relationship. There seems to be quite a significant difference between the different means of mass media in this respect. While 52 % of athletes believe that "the reports of sport journalists" promote international understanding and 21% believe that they oppose it, the respective figures of TV are 80 % for and only 4 % against. The reason for the difference is obvious: reporting in press of a past sport event is more prone to a prejudiced point of views than reporting on TV for an audience which is eyewitnessing the actual event. As already pointed out these items were phrased in a neutral way to encompass spectators', journalists' and umpires' behavior in the factual reality of sport. It is self-evident that biased reporting or unjust conduct of the game by umpires is dysfunctional to international understanding. This self-evidence is exemplified here by the item "unsportsmanlike interference with foreign athletes by audience of host-country": 92 % of athletes conceive this kind of prejudiced behavior - not so uncommon even in the past Olympic Games - opposed to international understanding. The consensus of athletes is equally high with regard to "the use of violence in pursuit of success": 92 % regards it as opposed to international understanding.

The item analysis has proved the relevance of the dialectical conception of international sport with its "associative" and "conflictual" impacts upon international relationships. Particularly those elements ("interests") which are constitutive to competition proper - like respect for rules and fair play and equality of terms or which legitimate sport with superordinate causes for the common good are conceived by athletes to be positively related to international understanding where as their counterparts: political or commercial exploitation of sport for mutually exclusive interests or in a prejudiced way, are conceived dysfunctional to international

understanding. These findings were more or less expected and in accordance with the main rationale of the inquiry. It was, however, unexpected that more athletes saw the interrelated issues of the upgrading demands of performance, professional training and joint participation of amateurs and professionals conducive to international understanding instead of misunderstanding. The same holds true also as far as the exclusive victory ceremonies with national symbols and extraordinary hero-worship of winners are concerned. The ultimate goal for athletes is to stand on the rostrum as a winner representing his or her country while national anthems are played after so many years' pursuit and professional training. Is this the rationale shared by athletes which explains that these kinds of items are conceived as fostering international understanding more than misunderstanding?

5.2.6 Concluding Remarks

This exploratory study was focused into the esoteric relationship between sport and international understanding. In the past it was almost taken for granted that sport *par excellence* promoted peace, friendship and international understanding. No doubt sport has that capacity but not for any obvious reason. Besides, there is an increasing amount of evidence that sport also has the capacity to distort, even destroy international understanding and goodwill. In this situation scientific research is badly needed for elaborating those conditions and social contexts conducive to international understanding but also those conducive to distort it. This inquiry was aimed as a pilot study to serve that purpose.

Relational terms like "international understanding", "friendship", "peace" or "mutual respect" etc. are reflections of the human mind and as such can be properly approached only phenomenologically by probing those conceptions which people have of sport in relation to international understanding. International understanding as a state of mind is a dynamic conception conducive to various factors and conditions, and, like "friendship", it can under certain circumstances even be transformed into its opposite, into antagonism and hatred. The primary actors in sport competition, athletes, were, for a good reason, chosen as a target group of the inquiry.

The basic dilemma of the inquiry aiming to elaborate these factors and conditions is generated by the multitude of possible factors and conditions. With its wide focus on tracing these various conditions relevant to "sport and international understanding" the inquiry inevitably remains superficial. Consequently, it was aimed first of all at clarifying the myriad of elements and reducing them to a few basic factors and conditions in sport conducive to international understanding as conceived by athletes.

For the preliminary tracing of those factors and conditions the dialectical conception of sport competitions turned out to be fruitful as a frame of reference. In this dialectical conception the sport contest is conceived as a dynamic balance between the associative and conflictual elements. The dialectical conception of the sport contest is often applied only to the internal system of contest. Here it was applied extensively so that it covered also those factors and conditions in the external system which were supposed to have an associative or conflictual impact upon the sport contest with regard to international understanding. For example, public at

large, with vicarious interests in sport, is such a significant party and element in the external system of the contest that elite sport in general and international sport in particular, with their changing facets, cannot be understood without taking account of this intervention.

Also, the internal system of the sport contest needs some extension as far as international sport is concerned. The internal system manifested in actual happenings of sport contests represents only the overt part of the system; the more extensive and more covert part of the system covers also those national organizations responsible for representative sport and the "production" of successful athletes and teams in international sport. The question to be probed here can be stated as follows: Are these diverse national systems of training and allocations of resources for high performance recognized by athletes as conducive to international understanding?

All elements, factors and conditions in sport contests get some significance only if and when they are assigned some meanings by athletes or by any parties involved with them. Through this assignment or interpretation process "doping", for instance, might get a "conflictual" meaning (from some abstinent athletes at least) and "fair play" an associative connotation. It was assumed that all factors, conditions and contexts are prone to be conceived by athletes as associative if they are reckoned to be in accordance with the common good of all parties involved but as conflictual if in contradiction of the common good. Thus any conditions and any factors in the internal or external system of international sport, which imply some mutually exclusive interest of, or some advantage for, just one or a few parties involved but not all, are supposed to be reckoned by athletes as conflictual and opposed to international understanding as a superordinate common good for all parties. On the other hand, any conditions and factors implying mutually inclusive interests of all parties are supposed to be reckoned as associative and conducive to international understanding. The main findings condensed in the following set strongly support this argument.

	1. Associative	2. Conflictual
External system of int.sport	Superordinate goals Cultural exchange	Ethnocentrism National self-interest Commercialism Prejudicial interference
Internal system of int.sport	Exchange programs in sport Athletes' involvement with decision-making Conception of rivals: "partners" Prohibition of doping Hero-worship Victory ceremonies with national symbols Conducive to promote int. understanding	Inequalities in national systems Conception of rivals: "adversaries" Ignoring rules and fair play Seriousness of contest Conducive to oppose int. understanding

FIGURE 3 Factors and conditions related to international understanding

These findings can be interpreted in the following more specific terms:

Conducive to promote international understanding are

1. those sport-extrinsic conditions and contexts meant for common good of all parties;
2. those socio-cultural conditions promoting cultural-political tolerance and pluralism in sport;
3. those sport-intrinsic conditions meant for common good of all contestants with regard to competition as a proper test of sporting supremacy;
4. conception of rivals as "partners" in contest;
5. hero-worship of winners and victory ceremonies with national symbols.

Conducive to oppose international understanding are

1. those sport-extrinsic conditions and contexts meant for the advantage of some but not all parties;
2. those socio-cultural conditions prone to cultural-political discrimination and segregation of "aliens" in sport;
3. those sport-intrinsic conditions giving unfair advantage to some parties and distorting a competition as a proper test of sporting supremacy;
4. conceptions of rivals as "adversaries" in contest;
5. seriousness of int. sport with vanishing play spirit.

Contrary to expectations based on the dialectical frame of reference, "extraordinary hero-worship of winners" and "victory ceremonies with national anthems and flags" are conceived by the majority of athletes as conducive to international understanding instead of opposing it as mutually exclusive interest! This finding does not inevitably contradict the main assumption of the inquiry since, though "hero-worship with victory ceremonies" as a factual implementation rewards a posteriori just a few and as such can be categorized as an exclusive interest, it is a priori highly recognized as an incentive value shared by all participant athletes!

With global expansion accompanied with a tremendously enhanced social significance international sport seems to become more exposed to conflictual interventions both in internal and external systems, making it more vulnerable to problems of regulation and jeopardizing its legitimacy in promoting international goodwill and understanding. With the upgrading of the demands of performance in pursuit of success, international sport tends to lose play-generic characters and become serious business, "transformed from a "mock" fight into a "real fight"". With higher stakes involved, sport also grows more vulnerable to cheating and abuse by dubious means. The majority of athletes conceive this seriousness and distortion of contest as a fair test for supremacy as opposed to international understanding. The higher stakes and seriousness are accompanied consistently by athletes' conception of rival partners as "adversaries" designating them as "tough opponents prone to use all kind of means" and "to be beaten like "enemies"". It was also noted that the softer conception of rivals as "partners" "with shared interests in the same sport" "pursuing victory honestly" was also related to the softer conception of international sport with emphasis on the common good.

The stakes of national organizations responsible as a production system for high performance and success in representative sport are also increasingly accompanied by greater inequalities between the production systems of different countries. Consequently the inequality of countries is also accentuated as far as the chance of success is concerned. It is significant that most athletes conceive these inequalities of national systems as opposed to international understanding and all equalizing measures, on the other hand, such as exchange programmes for athletes and coaches as conducive to international understanding.

The totalization process in international sport means also that sport as a non-governmental, private business, even in many Western countries, will be more or less socialized into governmental and public business. With increased state and public intervention the exploitation of international sport for political or chauvinistic interests tends to get accentuated.⁴

The vicarious interest of spectators and of the public at large in international sport tends to have primarily ethnocentric motivation. Manifested in chauvinistic behavior or in "prejudiced interference" with events of the contest, spectators' interests are conceived by athletes as opposed to international understanding. This dilemma has been well recognized but hardly solved.

Concomitantly with public interest, commercial and political exploitation of international sport also tends to expand and, as mutually exclusive interests, serving

4 Kalevi Heinilä. 1982. The Totalization Process in International Sport. *Sportwissenschaft*, 12. Jahrgang, 3, 235- 254.

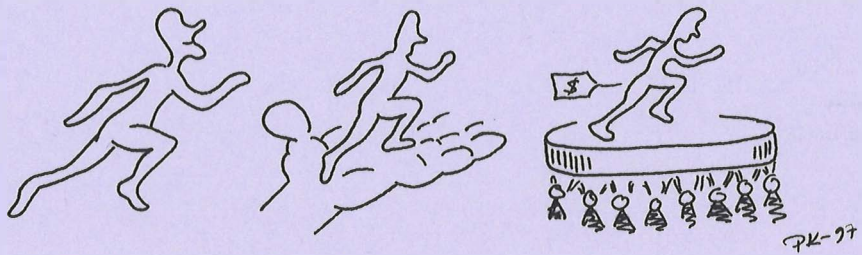
just some parties but not all involved, are conceived by most athletes as opposed to international understanding.

The role of mass media in exploiting international sport for the common good as well as exclusively for some parties' interest is of great importance. The sociopolitical significance of international sport today is first of all due to public interest and to the mass media serving it. It is a curious fact that the public at large and the mass media in its service are perhaps the most powerful interest groups affiliated to sport but at the same time the most sovereign ones and they are beyond any effective regulative measures of sport organizations, at least as far as their interests in sport are concerned. This dilemma has been well recognized recently with regard to expanding soccer hooliganism.

The promotion of international goodwill and understanding is the main legitimacy of international sport. But sport does not generate that goodwill and mutual understanding automatically through some self-regulating mechanism and under all circumstances. Though deficient in many respects, the exploration strongly suggests that this capacity of sport depends upon many intrinsic and extrinsic conditions. It is also evident that the recent trend in international sport shown in certain changes, transformations and new interventions in those conditions, tends to jeopardize the capacity of sport for the national common good and make it more vulnerable to selfish exploitation and conflictual propensities. For specification of those factors and conditions in the internal and external systems of international sport which are conducive to international goodwill and badwill in a more reliable and accurate way than was here possible, more research with proper design and properly commissioned is badly needed. Due to the deficiencies in design, data and resources, the results of this pilot study have only provisional significance. As stated in the Olympic Charter the promotion of international friendship, understanding and goodwill are fundamental aims of the Olympic movement. Is it not the primary interest of the IOC to initiate, sponsor and commission such an extensive, international research project?

CHAPTER 6

ELITE SPORT IN TRANSITION



6.1 THE TOTALIZATION PROCESS IN INTERNATIONAL SPORT (1984)*

The system of competition is recognized as having positive benefits with regard to human performance and achievements. Without competition the sports movement of today would hardly have attained its present world scope and popularity amongst young people.

Nevertheless, no human activity can guarantee per se that its effects are positive; they may also be problematic, and activities regarded as good may be accompanied by negative consequences and a potential for evil. In the light of national interests an activity may be positive but judged according to international interests it may appear negative. This applies equally well to competition. Competition, too, has its border limits and exceeding these may cause problems or even serious disturbances and conflicts.

6.1.1 The up-grading of the level of demands

The level of demands refers to the performance capacity of an athlete or team which guarantees the likelihood of success in competition. Statistics about the progress of records in different sports disciplines clearly show this almost rectilinear up-grading trend in the level of demands. The up-grading of the level of demands is the most significant determinant in the development of top-level sport: for the understanding of its present phenomena, for the anticipation of its future and also for the solution of the problems of regulation¹. According to my chosen frame of reference the determinants of the up-grading of the level of demands can in their turn be grouped, with a view to simplifying the matter, into three main categories:

- (1) the spiral of competition,
- (2) the increasing value placed on success ("overvaluation of success"),
- (3) the totalization of competition².

* Ilmarinen, Maaret (ed.), Sport and International Understanding. Proceedings of the Congress Held in Helsinki, Finland, July 7-10, 1982. Berlin 1984, 20-30.

1 For instance from the point of view of estimating the chances of success it is important to know the current level of demands amongst the international elite. In disciplines where the level of performance can be measured by means of an absolute scale this estimation can be carried out quite simply with the aid of statistics of results and records. This is, however, problematic in those disciplines requiring combativeness or skill as well as in team games in which the only way of estimating the adequacy of the level of demands is an actual competition match against athletes/teams who have recently been successful in international competitions.

2 A very significant analysis of the socio-political factor structure in top-level sport has been done in West-Germany: R. Pfetsch et al.: Leistungssport und Gesellschaftssystem -- Soziopolitische Faktoren im Leistungssport. Schorndorf 1975. In contrast to this research I am treating top-level sport as a process, trying to link together its individual development phenomena by means of a coherent theoretical frame of reference. -- My first attempt to approach the development process in competitive sport theoretically dates from 1964. The models used in the analysis describe the differentiation of competitive sport on a national level on one hand into "top-level sport" (= instrumental model) and on the other into "other competitive sport" (= ideological model), where the amateur ideal "sport for sport's sake" is the leading thought. Also under examination were the effects of these different models of competition as reflected in decision making of sport policy: Ideologien ja instrumen-

Kalevi Heinilä

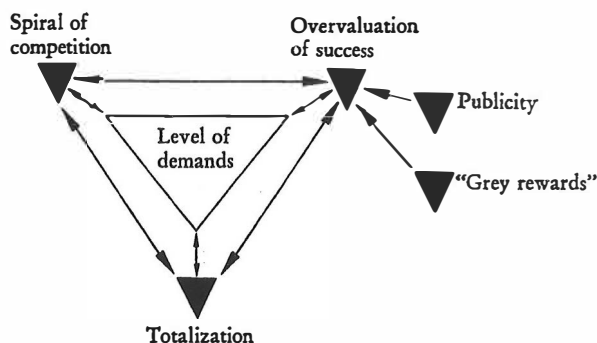


FIGURE 1 The determinants of the level of demands

6.1.1.1 The spiral of competition

The basic idea of competition is simple: to establish who is the best or the order of superiority amongst the participants³.

Thesis 1: Competition's inconclusiveness raises competition's level of demands.

The inconclusiveness of competition in sport creates a spiral phenomenon which raises the level of demands: the winner of today may very well be the loser of tomorrow and in order to avoid this fate the winner is continually forced to improve his performance capacity.

Thesis 2: In inconclusive competition the performance capacity of the winner dictates the target level of the other competitors, which in turn constitutes a threat of losing to the winner who then raises his performance capacity as well (= spiral of competition).

The old American saying "keep up with the Joneses" refers to the competition spiral in social life. In inconclusive competition the performance capacity of the winner dictates the level of performance which the other competitors attain or preferably exceed if they want to be successful in the future. The winner in his turn must respond to this predicted threat of losing by raising his level of performance⁴.

taalinen malli urheilupoliittisessa päätöksenteossa; Sosiologian laitos, Helsingin yliopisto 43/1964.

3 AIRLOCK has further analysed different types of competition where top-level sport belongs primarily to "competitive competition": "Competition against others is a means to achieving a single mutually desired goal as being faster or better than others" (T. AIRLOCK: *Winning through Cooperation*. Washington 1978).

4 In conclusive competition this demand-raising spiral does not exist and for instance the winner of a beauty contest like Miss Universe has reached the terminal point of competition and can start collecting her stream of prizes and benefits with no threat of losing; in bodybuilding, however, competition is inconclusive and the up-grading of the level of demands forces the competitors to develop even more impressive muscle masses in even stranger parts of the body than before.

Thesis 3: The spiral of inconclusive competition raises the level of demands relatively more when the group of reference competing for success is large in number and even in its level of performance.

Observations indicate that the spiral of inconclusive competition is sharper the larger the number of participants in a certain discipline, the more even this group is and the bigger the group of reference is against whose level of performance the athlete of team compares his own level when setting his target success (e.g., one's own club/district/country/Nordic countries/continent/world). In a discipline where the number of competitors is relatively small the spiral of competition does not raise the level of demands as strongly and quickly as in a more popular discipline. For this reason, for instance, the international level of demands in handball is probably considerably lower than, for example, in basketball which is popular everywhere⁵.

6.1.1.2 The overvaluation of success

The magazine "China Sports" writes about the captain of the world championship winning volleyball team, Cao Huiying (27), and her marriage plans as follows: "Every year she had spent long periods away from home attending camps or tournaments, and could only communicate her feeling to him in letters ... Now they had decided to postpone their wedding. To Yin this was no cause for regret. It gladdens my heart to see her play another year, he said. For the sake of the next World Championship I'm ready to do anything for her . . ." (China Sport, 4/1982, 12-13).

Despite the well-known Chinese saying "friendship first, competition second" the case of Cao shows just how much value even the Chinese nowadays place on international success. Success in top-level sport, today, however, demands from the athletes increasing stakes and more total devotion to sports career than before. Christopher Brasher, gold medallist in Melbourne, thus talks about the "time professionals" by whom he means athletes, who, contrary to the spirit of amateurism "devote all their time and energy to their chosen sport"⁶ Whereas during the period of true amateur sport the practising of sport was adapted to normal life and, for instance to the demands of studying, work, and family life, nowadays it is increasingly common that normal life is adapted to the demands made by the practising of sport, which is often regarded as a sacrifice for the sake of sport. These experiences of sacrifice in their turn give rise to expectations, even demands of compensation.

5 With the internationalization of sport the international norms of performance have become increasingly significant standards of comparison also in national and even local competitions, which may be partly the reason why there has been a decline in the popularity of low-level club competitions and interclub matches.
Another current phenomenon from the same source: in many disciplines regular international competitive contacts, even championships, are organized for youth competitors with the aim of gaining an idea as early as possible of the international level of demands amongst young athletes at various stages of development. Previously young people were happy to measure the adequacy of their performance capacity and set their targets primarily in small-scale reference groups at club and school level and in the form of light-hearted contests.

6 Ch. Brasher. Mexico 1968 - A Diary of the XIXth Olympiad. London 1968, 4.

6.1.1.2.1 Publicity and hero worship

Thesis 4: The higher the level of demands the stronger the incentives that are necessary and the greater the importance of the extrinsic means of placing value on success.

Although the practising of sport even at top-level possesses a good deal of sport's own intrinsic attraction it is hardly sufficient in itself for anyone as an incentive for long term, almost year-round training, let alone compensation for increasing 'sacrifices'. Thus the strongest incentives for practising top-level sport are nowadays external incentives for success.

The tendency is also strengthened by the fact that total training and the hardening battle for success are likely to cancel out the intrinsic, light-hearted incentives of sport even though other intrinsic incentives - such as perfect control, skilfulness, peak fitness - become perhaps correspondingly stronger.

Thesis 5: The more publicity and large-scale popularity top-level sport enjoys, the greater the overvaluation of success.

The factor which has perhaps most significantly influenced the value placed on success is today's mass media and its comprehensive and spectacular coverage of the most important national and above all international sports events. The mass media make winners and record breakers into world celebrities and national heroes whose worship - hero-worship - is so overwhelming that it overshadows achievements made, for example, in art and science.

The widening of the publicity given to sports events is in a reciprocal cause and effect relationship to the large-scale public interest in top-level sport. This large audience has become the most important interest group of top-level sport, as indicated by the way the needs of the public and mass media are given a great concern in the organisation and services of large competitions. Whereas previously a competition was primarily intended for the athletes themselves, it is now increasingly aimed at the public. This is shown by recent developments in many sports events and individual disciplines: elements of the spectacular and moments of tension and risk have increased, for example in gymnastics, polevaulting and downhill skiing as has violence in ice-hockey and boxing. This orientation toward the public is at its greatest during the spectacular displays on the opening and closing days of the Olympic Games.

In top-level sport the mass media and the public provide recognition whose power as an incentive is probably many times greater than the competition's official prizes. This is excellently illustrated by the way a continental football player who has just scored throws himself, even goes down on his knees in front of the spectators - not his fellow players - to receive their demonstrations of appreciation. Top-level sport would not be what it is today, nor could its phenomena be understood or explained without taking into consideration the public and the role of mass media serving its interests in the rewarding of success in competitions and the increasing value placed on it⁷.

7 "The raising of the Finnish flag and the sound of the national anthem in salute of victory on Olympic fields and stadiums is the one event which has most strongly proclaimed to us Finland's success in sport. A Finn wants to experience this strong feeling over and over

6.1.1.2 Unofficial ("grey") rewards

Thesis 6: The greater the financial benefit of success, the greater the value placed on it.

Public interest has brought commercialism with its associated businessmen and sponsors into top-level sport⁸. Since the public's primary demand is success in competition the producers of the moments of success -athletes/teams - naturally want to get their share of the increasing streams of money in top level sport. No rules or pool agreements can prevent this "grey" money from flowing into athletes' pockets. Even sports organizations increasingly use this financial incentive as a stimulus to succeed in competition and employers and home towns - in some countries also the state - who share in the success reward the achievements of their heroes with certain privileges.

"Grey money" and other financial benefits brought by success have likewise significantly increased the value placed on success. Whereas the immanent incentives of top-level sport such as publicity, fame and public worship, are likely to wear thin and lose their power to stimulate, financial incentives retain their value as a spur and even when 'worn thin' - or maybe exactly for that reason - stimulate the demand for more.

Thesis 7: The value placed on success works primarily to the benefit of winning and strengthens the overvaluation of winning.

The increasing value placed on success in top-level sport involves not only unsolved problems of amateurism but also problems of how this value is distributed. In top-level sport only the highest form of success, victory and/or a new record, brings its achiever real recognition and its associated value; finishing second always means defeat no matter how glorious it is. Minimal value is placed on the achievements of the loser. In a competition there is only one winner, one hero. "Winning is not the main thing, it is the only thing", says trainer Vince Lombardi.

6.1.2 The totalization of top-level sport

The level of demands in top-level sport has risen tremendously since Paavo Nurmi ran Finland onto the world map. He created the myth of Finland's sporting reputation. This myth is still a burden to Finnish sports culture. Nurmi was phenomenal but largely only in the sense that he and other "Flying Finns" who lived in difficult circumstances and were interested in sport took it seriously while other

again. No matter what it costs", as one well-known Finnish sports official interpreted the emotions of the public.

8 M. EWALD, chairman of the East German National Olympic Committee, made a telling attack on the commercialization of top-level sport at the Baden-Baden XI Olympic Congress in 1981: "Commercialization means reducing sport to a level of commercial interests and profit-seeking of firms, monopolies and advertising agencies . . . Commercialization destroys the ethical and moral foundations of amateur sport. By transforming them into walking advertisement boards, into running and jumping advertising articles, the personality of the athletes is discriminated . . . Commercialization, hand in hand with professionalization, leads to modern form of trade in human beings" (Bulletin, National Olympic Committee of the DDR, IV/1981, 12--14).

runners in other countries still took sport light-heartedly, in a game-like way⁹. We in Finland did not learn to have fun in sport until the 1950s and 60s when our society reached its state of social welfare and meanwhile elsewhere as a result of the rising level of demands athletes had learned to take top-level sport seriously, Finland's 'Golden Age' came to an end.

Thesis 8: "The iron Law of Totalization": As a consequence of continuous upgrading of demands in international sport, competition totalizes into a competition between "Systems".

In Nurmi's days top-level sport was simply a superiority contest between individuals and teams i.e. success in a competition depended crucially on the athletes and teams themselves. Gradually trainers came into the picture, generally former champions, who on the basis of their own experiences started to train athletes and teams.

The situation in top-level sport today is totally different. Although athletes still seemingly fight for superiority amongst themselves and one against the other success in top-level sport depends increasingly on the background forces in top-level sport, the performance capacity of the System of which the athlete or team is a representative¹⁰.

As a result of this international top-level sport has become increasingly more total, a contest between the Systems¹¹.

Totalization is the third determinant in the development of top-level sport in my frame of reference and at the same time it is a logical and rational response to the up-grading of the level of demands. The totalization of top-level sport implies that as a consequence of this up-grading the national Systems responsible for representative sport try to mobilize and utilize all relevant national resources in order to guarantee success in international competitions¹². Figure 2 depicts those processes and measures with the aid of which available resources are most commonly utilized in the leading sports countries. It is obvious that this totalization varies considerably with regard to

9 "Flying Finns. . . It was an attitude and a style far removed from the gentlemanly ways of most their fellow competitors, who regarded their sport as a hobby and a recreation" (Ph. GOODHART/Ch. CHATAWAY: *War without Weapons*. London 1968, 10).

10 NEIDHARDT also refers to the social system nature of top-level sport: „Das Aufkommen des modernen Massensports verstärkte den Zwang zu einer Organisierung sowohl des Sportspiels als auch seiner Umwelt. Als sich aus dieser Massenbewegung der Spitzensport ausdifferenzieren begann, wuchs die Vergesellschaftung des Sports; er geriet in zunehmendem Maß unter den Druck politischer Instanzen und ökonomischer Interessen sowie in die Gesetzmäßigkeiten der Massenkommunikation. Die Folge war, daß die individuellen Handlungen des Sportlers immer mehr Teil eines komplexen Systems geworden sind. Sporttreiben ist eine soziale Rolle in einem sozialen System; der Sportler besitzt einen gesellschaftlich vermittelten Status, und seine Entwicklung ist eine Karriere, die von außen strukturiert wird." [F. NEIDHARDT: *Soziale Bedingungen individuellen Handelns und einige Strukturprobleme im Hochleistungs sport*. In: *Sportwissenschaft* 12 (1982), 9.]

11 The system of top-level sport - abbreviated later to "System" - includes all the organizing, resources, means of regulation and interest groups which maintain and promote top-level sport.

12 This definition resembles the dictionary definition of total war: "war in which all the resources of a country (manpower, industry, etc.) are involved" (*Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*, Oxford University Press, 1963). It is also no coincidence that GOODHART and CHATAWAY entitled their well-known book about top-level sport "War without Weapons", see above, note 9.

the strength and comprehensiveness of the System in different countries.

Thesis 9: Totalization aims at covering all kinds of resources which affect the productive capacity of the System.

Since the System of top-level sport has to take care of the utilization of all relevant resources - in order to produce top-class athletes - totalization is not limited to one or two measures but according to the above definition tends to cover all relevant kinds of resources.

Thesis 10: The more total the utilization of relevant resources, the greater the probability of international success.

The more total the manner in which this utilization of relevant resources is arranged, the greater the likelihood of success in international competition. International statistics of results show that the so-called socialist countries have achieved recently relatively greater success in major international competitions which probably indicates that the totalization of sport has also progressed furthest in these countries. It must be remembered, however, that totalization is also progressing in the so-called Western countries, even in Scandinavia, but due to the social order this progress has been sluggish and awkward - as recent success! Without going into the details of this figure depicting totalization - interesting though it would be - it is obvious that from the viewpoint of success the primary and most important resources of the System are sporting talents, the contribution of the sports sciences, applications of sports technology and training conditions, the quality of all these depending in their turn on the respective level of development of the society's infrastructure¹³.

13 When changing over to total training where the athlete's living conditions are adapted as far as possible to the demands of sport, it is extremely important to optimize the athlete's training conditions and eliminate weather and other disturbing environmental changes, and at the same time to get the Olympic trainees acclimatized to the special conditions of the place of competition. Thus, for instance, the Finnish Olympic Committee has arranged a visit to Los Angeles in order to become familiarized with its special conditions-"a hot and polluted climate"-and is now looking for a training venue in some far off land which possesses the same un-Finnish conditions. Sports officials from different countries, either together or separately, have even founded permanent settlements as training centres for athletes in countries whose climate conditions permit year-round-training. One like this has been founded by Finns in Los Pacos, Spain.

Infrastructure	Sports culture	Top-level sport
1. Manpower		
Size of population and well-being Stratification	Sporting population Competitive athletes Hobby athletes Spectators	Selection on talent Top-class athletes Athletes in special training Migrant athletes Spectators
Education	Physical Education in schools College and club courses	Special schools Training camps Guided training
National defence	Physical Education in the Defence Forces	Sports companies
Social Welfare and Security	Sports clinics and Medical Centres	Sports clinics and SportsMedicalService Accident Insurance Scholarship systems
2. Know-how		
Science	Sports sciences	Research promoting top-level sport
University education	Teacher training doctors	Training of coaches Training of sports doctors
3. Technology		
Construction and equipment technology	Sports facilities Sports equipment Fitness technology	Special facilities Fitness technology Special equipment technology
4. Administration		
State administration Provincial administration Communal administration Private administration Business establishments Organisations Labour market unions	State Sports Council Provincial sports committees Communal sports committees Sports organisations	NOC Special federations Athletes' associations Special clubs "Stables"
5. Finance		
National income	State subsidy Communal subsidy Business income Income from membership fees Voluntary work	State support Gate-money Pool agreements Advertising income Income from sponsors Support foundations Job arrangements

FIGURE 2 Allocations of society's resources in sports culture and top-level sport

The totalization of top-level sport is thus a logical and rational reaction to the rising level of demands in top-level sport, but at the same time it is a new kind of reason for the continuation of this up-grading which in its turn nourishes the expansion of totalization and more efficient utilization of resources. Let us conclude this

examination by stating that the reciprocal correlation described earlier between this up-grading and totalization seems to exist between all the determinants mentioned, each strengthening the other and thus increasing the pressure to upgrade. The pressure to raise the level of performance will probably grow as an overall result of these determinants but injuries caused by overexertion and risks of injury, which are becoming increasingly common, set their own fast approaching limits to the actual rise.

6.1.3 Concomitances and consequences of totalization

The totalization of top-level sport has many significant concomitant and consequential influences which on one hand affect the nature of sport itself and on the other affect the System.

6.1.3.1 The intervention of society

Thesis 11: The totalization of top-level sport and the up-grading of the level of demands increase state and other public sector intervention.

Totalization has made the increasing intervention of society unavoidable, since only with the aid of state support and measures it is possible to carry out the utilization of many relevant resources. These are, for example, pursuit of the sports sciences, scientific training of coaches and other specialists, special service for athletes in the army, training centres with large modern halls and state subsidy for training.

Resources	Private sector	Public sector (state and communes)
Special schools		++
Special service in the defence forces		++
Training of coaches	+	++
Training of sports physician	+	++
Scientific research	+	++
Sports facilities	+	++
Sports clinics and centres	+	++
Social security	++	+
Finance	+	++
Administration	++	
Mass media	++	

+ = minor role ++ = major role or total responsibility

FIGURE 3 Distribution of private and public sector resources in Finland

With the up-grading of the level of demands the expectations of a more extensive and effective allocation of resources from the public sector seem to gain strength in the

private sector of top-level sport¹⁴. The System thus increasingly relies on the state supported conditions for activities, and an athlete taking advantage of these conditions is therefore more or less "a state amateur" regardless of the political order of society!

Thesis 12: Totalization and the increase in state intervention reinforce the politicization of the System.

One result of the growing intervention of the state and other public sector is the politicization of top-level sport, in other words, the increasing legitimate participation of political parties in decision-making affecting top-level sport. The autonomous system of top-level sport which has preceded totalization becomes in the process of totalization increasingly bound to the will of political decision-makers and in its policies has also to carry out the wishes of the state, for instance in its international competitive contacts and in, amongst others, the decision-making of the International Olympic Committee as it affects international sport¹⁵.

6.1.3.2 The strengthening of national interests

Thesis 13: Totalization is likely to strengthen and enlarge national interests in top-level sport.

Prior to totalization, when the success of athletes or teams was primarily founded on their own terms, the national interests linked to top-level sport were mainly ideological in nature and based on national feeling of solidarity and identification. As a consequence of totalization and the increasing intervention of the public sector the whole society is to an increasing extent involved in top-level sport and in international success or defeat. Thus totalization reinforces both ideological and political-economic national interests in top-level sport.

As a consequence of totalization the performance capacity of the System depends increasingly on the effectiveness of the activities of its officials and assistants - trainers, researchers, sports doctors and other specialists - and support organisations. The private professional and status interests of all these special groups in the System are also combinable in top-level sport and linked to the general interests of society, the public and the mass media which serves it. Thus even increased private interests feed national interests in top-level sport¹⁶. Under the

14 From the point of view of the traditional autonomy of the Olympic movement, it is worth noting that the National Olympic Committees, who rely increasingly more on state support in their activities, make their autonomy vulnerable to political intervention.

15 Especially significant in this development has been the purposeful work of the Council of Europe and the conference of its education ministers, for instance in the regulation of top-level sport (Governmental Responsibility for Sport, Resolutions, 2nd Conference of European Ministers, London, 4.-7. 4. 1978). The participation of the representatives of public authority in the following of major sports events as their patrons or as their guests of honour is therefore no longer just a matter of protocol but justified by facts.

16 Although seemingly only the individual athlete and/or team shares success or defeat in international competitions, in reality it is shared by the whole national system of top-level sport and its numerous specialists, support organisations, decision-makers and the public as a consumer and the mass media as a conveyor. It is said that Lasse Viren was amazed when the Finnish flag appeared behind him on his lap of honour but in fact this flag well symbolizes the way the interests of the whole country are linked to the success of an athlete

pressure of national interests in a situation of up-grading, the biggest cause of worry to the System is guaranteeing success. Only success satisfies national interests in totalizing top-level sport; Coubertin's idea of "participation and fair play" is no longer enough - if it ever was. And the price of success is going up. The late president of the International Olympic Committee Avery Brundage said at the 75th anniversary celebration of the Olympic movement in Helsinki in 1969: "An Olympic medal has to be won, it can't be bought". His argument is only true when taken literally, since as a result of the totalization of top-level sport the price of a medal has multiplied even in the recent history of the Olympic Games and it will continue to increase and approach its absolute price limit. When this is exceeded it will be too high and demand will slacken!

6.1.3.3 The position of the athlete

Thesis 14: Totalization increases the athlete's ties to the conditions and control of the System in top-level sport.

With the totalization of top-level sport the status of the athlete changes: whereas earlier he was free, a 'private entrepreneur' practising sport on his own terms, nowadays the athlete is more or less bound to the conditions of the System and its regulation. The athlete is at the same time the object and the subject of the System's production machine. When the purpose of the System is realized in the achievements of the athlete it increasingly strives by means of different sanctions to control the athletes' behaviour and the adaptation of their lives to the demands of sport, in other words, to make sure that athletes make effective use of the services offered by the System. The most total and at the same time most effective form of regulation by the System is manifested in the so-called camp training. For this reason camp training has become more common and the periods spent in camps have grown longer.

Thesis 15: The binding of the athlete to the System causes conflicts of interests and leads to measures aimed at protecting individual interests.

When binding himself to the conditions and control of the System, the athlete's own interests, for example professional, financial, and family interests easily come into conflict with the interests of the System¹⁷. For these reasons the binding of the athlete

in totalizing top-level sport. And the more totalized a country's top-level sport is, the more strongly national interests are linked to international success - and the more eager people are to defend the national recognition brought by success (national anthems, raising of the flag at prize ceremonies, country by country results comparisons etc.).

17 Above I referred to the "sacrifices" commonly experienced by an athlete, conflicts of role and indications of the conflict between the rules of amateurism and "grey" money. LOHRE'S research findings in West Germany also demonstrate the same: promising young athletes stress the importance of the problems of schooling arrangements and the transition period following a sports career when pursuing a career in sport [F. NEIDHARDT: Soziale Bedingungen individuellen Handelns und einige Strukturprobleme im Hochleistungssport. In: Sportwissenschaft 12 (1982), 10, 16].-Whereas previously the System, for instance in Finland, did not really attempt through its own measures to help the athletes to solve these conflicts of interest, these measures are now being taken and, for example, on the initiative of President Urho Kekkonen The Athletes' Foundation for the Promoting of Professions was founded in 1972 with the intention of awarding scholarships to young talented athletes for vocational training.

to the System is gaining a contract-like nature and approaching the type of job contract common to the labour market. In the contracts between the System and the athlete the rights and duties of the athlete are defined for a certain contract period. In team sport transfers of players from one club to another are also included in the terms of the contract together with periods of quarantine and transfer fees. The system of migrant work has also become part of top-level sport and, for example, American basketball players and British footballers have been sponsored to join club teams. In Sweden many migrant athletes have applied for citizenship and, having received it, become members of Sweden's national teams. In order to solve conflicts of interest in the System, and to safeguard their own interests in contractual matters, top-class athletes have begun to organize themselves along the lines of trade unions¹⁸.

6.1.3.4 Competition on unequal terms

The whole point of competition is that it takes place on equal terms. In actual competition general and uniform rules, venues and equipment are responsible for the realization of this principle. Competition loses its sense if a competitor exploits some special advantage and is successful for that reason. The great conceiver of this principle, Otto Szymiczek, curator of the International Olympic Academy, therefore states: "The fundamental moral principle of competitive sport is compliance with the rule of 'equal terms'. However, it is not sufficient to comply only in competition itself, this is taken care of by the special regulations applying to competitions, but according to our notion this principle should be obeyed already when training for the Olympic Games."¹⁹

Thesis 16: The unequal terms of the Systems in totalizing top-level sport increasingly regulate success.

As a result of totalization the success of an athlete or team nowadays, however, depends increasingly on the performance capacity of the national System, its effectiveness in utilizing all relevant resources for the benefit of top-level sport. The performance capacity of different national Systems varies considerably in this respect. In competition between different Systems, totalizing top-level sport thus in fact goes on and intentionally according to unequal terms. The press service of the Olympic Games gives plenty of information about the sporting achievements, sports career and personality of the participants. It would be at least just as relevant to give information about the resources of the Systems in different countries: for example the number of enthusiasts in a certain discipline, the number of trainers, sports doctors and other specialists, and sports institutes as well as the financial contributions to research in the sports sciences, for example, and in the form of subsidies to top-level sport. It is significant that while we try very carefully to ensure the realization of the principle of equal terms in actual competition, at the same time in the Systems we just as consistently try to gain the advantages allowed by unequal terms in order to

18 In Finland top-class athletes recently founded their own association with associated trade union-like interest group aims; previous athletes' associations, like Finland's Olympic Champions (founded 1945), are to a large extent social in nature.

19 O. SZYMICZEK: Adhesion to the Principle of the Olympic Ideals. The International Olympic Academy, Second Session. Athens 1967, 115.

ensure success²⁰. Totalizing competition is like an iceberg, of which only the top, the athletes, is visible, while the bulk of the iceberg, the resources of the System, is invisible and hidden beneath the surface. While athletes seemingly compete on equal terms, the national Systems they represent compete at the same time on rather unequal and increasingly differing terms. This diversity in the terms of the Systems came out quite noticeably in this spring's world ice-hockey championships. The superiority of the Russian team, fortified over the years, was so clear that in fact only second place was in dispute. Perhaps the different terms of player material become even more apparent in basketball and volleyball which favour height; for instance in women's basketball this advantage gives a match the nature of a farce. How to find enough tall players in a small country, who should also have talent for the sport.

6.1.3.5 The ethos of effectiveness

Thesis 17: The greater the pressure to succeed, the more prevalent the ethos of effectiveness in top-level sport becomes.

The up-grading, totalization and strengthening of national interests as a joint effect increase the pressure to succeed and are correspondingly likely to change the ethos of top-level sport, the spirit of the game. When "only one thing is important - victory", the humanistic norms of fair play are easily pushed aside by norms of effectiveness which permit, if not positively demand, the use of hardness, violence and tricks in order to achieve success²¹.

Under the pressure to succeed the System is willing to accept the new moral concepts appropriate to the high level of demands which, being led by the demands of effectiveness, define the athlete's allowed, accepted, expected or demanded alternatives of behaviour. The System may accept the norms of effectiveness either officially or unofficially in a laissez-faire manner. In that case the System can rationalize its indifference by different means; for instance: "it is allowed elsewhere" or "no abuse has been officially reported". And the athletes in their turn are ready to go for success "by hook or by crook" and take even extreme risks in doing so, as the Olympic Champion Harold Connolly and many other top-class athletes have stated

20 It is obvious that we try to utilize, for example, the achievements of national sports science and its applications in training - against the universal nature of science - first and foremost in our own country and to guard them just like business secrets from our competitor countries - otherwise very logical and justified in all competitive situations as well as in economic life and in armaments; cf. D. VOIGT: *Soziologie in der DDR*. Köln 1975, 12.

21 G. LÜSCHEN: Cheating in Sport. In D. M. LANDERS (Ed.): *Social Problems in Athletics*. Urbana 1976, 67-77. - In *International research young footballers' concepts of fair play* demonstrate the prevalence of the moral of effectiveness in high level youth league football. Research findings further showed that these concepts were connected to the professional concept of sport i. e. having to adapt one's life to sport's demands: K. HEINILÄ: *Ethics of Sport - With Reference to the Regulation and Humanization of Competitive Sport*. Report presented in The World Scientific Congress, Tbilisi 10. 7.-16. 7. 1980 (in print). - P. C. McINTOSH also refers to the breaching of norms in sport, "winning is the ultimate and dominant value. Many practises which in the past have been condemned, then become fair, such as deliberately incurring a penalty, violence to opponents, deceiving the referee, rule-breaking with the intention of not being found out or penalised, that is, 'cheating', and so on. If behaviour is allowed, that is if it does not negate success or disqualify the victory, it is fair" (P. McINTOSH: *Fair Play - Ethics in Sport and Education*. London 1979, 126-127).

in their memoirs and later interviews²².

Thesis 18: The greater the pressure to succeed, the more likely the use of dubious means.

As a result of the growing pressure to succeed and the leniency of the moral of effectiveness, the use of various dubious means has spread in top-level sport, of which the misuse of pharmacological products with its associated health risks is the most alarming. This is also supported by Lüschen's claim: "The rewards that are at stake in a contest will determine the amount and severity of cheating"²³ Although comprehensive and expensive measures have been taken, they have remained, and perhaps will remain, insufficient or inadequate to eliminate misuse, let alone prevent it.

Thesis 19: The greater the national interests involved in success, the less strictly the Systems control the use of dubious means.

The effectiveness of control is not so much dependent on international as on national measures and because of their national interests the Systems do not seem to have sufficient desire, nor a sufficient practical means covering the athletes' training in particular, to adopt these. And if not all the national Systems accept control, some then have to compete on worse terms - which is literally visible to the naked eye in the power disciplines for example!

The misuse of pharmacological products in top-level sport is, however, only part of the more extensive use of dubious means, stemming from this pressure to succeed, in which by exploiting product development the intention is to ensure success through advantages in equipment. In many so-called equipment disciplines the rules surprisingly allow the utilization of this kind of special advantage, in other disciplines this is forbidden or has been eliminated with the aid of strict standardization. The special advantage provided by these dubious mean is, particularly in an even competition with a high level of demands a key factor in whether one achieves success or goes without it. That is why it is strange that the use of dubious means is allowed although it would be possible to prevent it with rules of standardization²⁴.

22 The probability of risk has increased with the rise in the level of demands especially in those disciplines requiring skill and strength but also in combative disciplines government by the demands of effectiveness, like icehockey and football. The Chinese gymnastics expert LU ENCHUM thus states: "There have been too many tragedies in which gymnasts over-reached themselves, sometimes at the risk of their lives, trying to perform some 'miraculous feats'" (A Tendency in Gymnastics, China Sport, 3/1982, 4-6).

23 op. cit. (4. note 21), 70.

24 The use of dubious means is possible within the rules in, for example, rowing, canoeing, sailing, cycling and in the winter sports disciplines. In ski jumping, the alpine disciplines and especially in skiing, successful waxing in certain snow conditions can have a very significant effect on the result. Waxing is therefore undergoing constant product development and for this reason waxing knowhow is guarded like a business secret. When discussing this curious inequality of terms as long ago as in 1958, my Russian colleague doubted the practical problems of ensuring equality of terms. "But how simple would it be compared to Sputnik to develop a waxing machine which would put the same wax on all the competitors' skis at the starting line?" (The first Sputnik had been launched into space the previous year.) Either the development of a waxing machine is more difficult than I imagined or else this use of dubious means is intentionally allowed in the interests of ski industry, not of sport. With the blessing of the rules equipment technology in archery, for

The change-over from a humanistic ethos to an ethos of effectiveness in top-level sport is a logical and rational consequence of up-grading, but in the form of dubious means it leads to conflict with the rules and/or with competition's vital principle of equal terms. Athletes are not alone to blame for the use of dubious means but together with them the other beneficiaries of success, also business which profits from product development, and sports organizations who share the benefits with businesses via pool agreements, for instance.

6.1.4 Competition as a test of superiority

Competition is the way of measuring superiority. When applying the criteria of science to competition as a way of measuring we can lay down the requirements of validity and reliability. In this connection I will only concentrate on the validity problem of international competition²⁵.

The validity requirement for competition can be reduced to these questions: what is competition supposed to measure and what does it in fact measure? If competition measures in reality what it is supposed to measure, it has perfect validity.

Thesis 20: Competition as a test of superiority is valid when competition takes place on equal terms, and invalid if superiority is determined by the special advantage gained by the use of dubious means.

True competition, if and when it takes place on equal terms, is a valid test of superiority. For exactly then it measures at least in the ordinal scale those sporting skills and abilities characteristic of each discipline and on the basis of these determines the order of superiority of the participants. Different disciplines can also contain a certain element of chance but that, too, has been accepted in the criteria of sporting superiority. If on the other hand superiority is determined by advantages in equipment, doping, blood-doping or the use of other dubious means, competition loses its sporting validity and easily becomes a measure, especially if the participants are even, of the fraudulent superiority achieved through equipment or tricks. In that case it is rather a competition between promoters of dubious means and product developers than one between athletes.

The validity of competition as a measure of superiority is shown in a totally different light when competition and the performance capacity of the athletes or teams it is measuring, is considered as a function of the preceding training process which is many times more extensive. While competition itself nowadays takes place in general on the participants' or teams' own terms—the significance of assistants in some disciplines such as ball games and skiing may often be considerable - the raising of

than that used at present. Sport clearly bends to technical development but is this always in the best interests of sport?

25 The reliability problem of competition is important also in itself; due to the dependence on chance characteristic of many disciplines it is a question of many dimensions providing interesting challenges to researchers. For closer examination of the reliability problem of competition see K. HEINILÄ: *Kilpailu paremmuustestinä; Urheilu - Ihminen - Yhteiskunta*. Jyväskylä 1974, 28-31. R. CALLOIS has produced an interesting analysis of the features shared by competition and chance: *Man, Play and Games*. Glencoe 1961, 111-128.

performance capacity during the training process takes place increasingly on the terms of the System. These terms are, as we have already seen, very unequal as a result of totalization. As competition totalizes into a competition between Systems, thus it in fact increasingly measures the superiority between Systems²⁶. The validity problem of international competition can now be expressed in one key question: What should international or, for example, the Olympic Games measure, or what are they supposed to measure? I will leave this question open. It is a matter of international sport policy and replying to it is the responsibility of international federations and the International Olympic Committee. The answer will decide the validity or invalidity of competition as a test of superiority - and possibly also the whole future of international top-level sport.

6.1.5 The future of international sport

The dilemma of inconclusive competition: competition neither knows nor recognizes any limits, unavoidably reinforces the iron law of totalizing top-level sport: "As a consequence of continuous up-grading of demands in international sport, competition totalizes into a competition between Systems."

In principle the same market forces which emphasize competitiveness operate in international sport as in economic markets, only with the difference that in sport, for instance in world championships and the Olympic Games, one competes with everybody in a truly common market and with the same products, the performance capacity of the athletes or teams.

Thesis 21: The totalization of top-level sport increases international sport's proneness to disturbance and problems of its regulation.

Totalization inevitably also increases the intervention of public authority and politics, both in national and international top-level sports. For the reason that totalization inevitably reinforces national interests in international sport creating worsening problems, partly of a sports political kind - for example doping and the use of other dubious means - and partly of the true political kind, those of regulation and proneness to disturbance²⁷.

Thesis 22: Totalization reinforces the conflict of interests between the national and the supranational and thus increases competition proneness to disturbance and problems of regulation.

26 This competition between Systems is recognized in top-level sport in the German Democratic Republic for example. As D. VOIGT says: "Seiner Funktion, das internationale Prestige der DDR zu erhöhen und die Überlegenheit des sozialistischen Systems gegenüber dem kapitalistischen zu dokumentieren, verdankt der DDR-Sport seine außergewöhnliche Förderung und dafür im Verhältnis zum Sozialprodukt wohl von keinem anderen Land erreichte Höhe der eingesetzten Forschungsmittel"; op. cit. (note 20), 41 f.

27 In controlling these, diplomatic skills are definitely needed, which the IOC leadership fortunately possesses. Competition's regulation problems are complex, particularly in international sport, cf. K. HEINILA: Football at the Crossroads. In: *International Review of Sport Sociology* 4 (1969), 5-30. The regulation of competition as a system-theoretical question see K. HEINILA *Kilpaurheilun sääteilyjärjestelmä. Liikuntasuunnittelun laitos, Jyväskylän yliopisto* 9 (1975).

The basic problem of regulation in totalizing top-level sport lies in the fact that growing national interests are displacing the supranational interests of international sport, the common good, in both object values and in terms of policy-"right or wrong - my country". Cooperation with UNESCO, for example, with its universal cultural aims could help to put international sport's value settings and preferences in their proper order.

In this connection it is appropriate to state that in their official ideologies international organizations, and especially the IOC, emphasize the universal and humanistic aspirations of international sport but that this official ideology has become estranged from what happens in practice, from the "only one thing is important - victory" ideology. In becoming estranged from practice, the official ideology turns into a label ideology which seemingly legitimizes and idealizes another kind of practice. When this happens the official ideology loses its credibility.

Thesis 23: Totalization reinforces authoritarian tendencies in the System's decision-making and wielding of power.

Totalization also increases tendencies of authoritarianism and oligarchy in the System, regardless of the social order of a country. The effective mobilization of resources and their coordinated utilization naturally favours the centralized model of power wielding²⁸.

The centralized power structure often also leads to deficiencies in the democratic control of the System. In its decision-making the System acts in the manner of a closed society, refraining from giving public information freely about its operations and operational resources²⁹.

Thesis 24: Success in totalizing sport is determined by the unequal terms of the Systems and the gap between big and small and the developed and developing countries widens.

In competitions between the Systems success depends more and more decisively on the disparity in System conditions: countries with big resources will become even greater also in terms of success in sport and the developed countries even more superior compared to the developing countries. This inequality of terms in the Systems would already be more apparent, if the number of participants per country in big events is not limited.

28 Research findings support this claim: K. HEINILÄ: Finnish Sports Ideology, 67-81. Inconclusive competition is similar in nature to an emergency situation, and here P.A. SOROKIN'S hypothesis can be applied: In an emergency situation totalitarianism strengthens and in a stable situation it weakens: International Journal of Comparative Sociology 1, 2 (1960), 145-148. It is obvious that the centralized political power wielding of the socialist countries is better suited to the total utilization of resources than Western parliamentary democracy, which operates on a basis of compromises and within the permitted limits of legitimacy, that is, acceptance of public opinion. It is worth noting that in crisis situations even in these countries, due to a demand for greater effectiveness, more centralized powerwielding, that is, growing totalitarianism, is likely to push aside parliamentary democracy.

29 Also research is affected by this restraint; only 16% of National Olympic Committees responded to the inquiry carried out by G. LÜSCHEN concerning the policies of the Olympic movement: Die nationalen Wächter Olympias. In: H. LENK (Ed.): Handlungsmuster Leistungssport. Schorndorf 1977, 165-175.

Thesis 25: Totalization increases the need for the reorganization of international sport to ensure equal terms in the Systems and the sense of competition.

As success becomes increasingly more dependent on System conditions and together with totalization, this will probably lead to such rearrangements in international sport which would realize equality of terms in the Systems better than at present and would guarantee the sense of competition. For this reason bilateral competitive contacts between countries will probably become more common. If and when the small and the developing countries, under the pressure of national interests, still want to take part in World Championships and the Olympic Games which are contested by all the Systems, they will be forced, in their attempts to succeed, to concentrate their resources on fewer disciplines which are suited to their conditions and are in accordance with their national sports tradition.

This is my conception of "sport and international understanding". As a professional in this field I believe in the potential of sport to promote international good. The current trend, however, would rather indicate an increase in conflicts and common bad. Cooperation between researchers and international organizations is badly needed for the promotion of common good in top-level sport. A medical commission debating the narrow symptom complex of doping is by no means enough; the question of the problems and the future of international sport is fundamentally a social one and in searching for the solution we rather need the expertise of sociologists, political and other social scientists. A critical evaluation of the present state of top-level sport is also required, together with consideration of alternatives and scenarios for its future.

6.2 INTERNATIONAL SPORT - TRENDS AND DILEMMAS (1989)*

In a changing society sports is, as a matter of course, also changing. Due to its increasing popularity and high visibility, sports is exposed to the powerful impact of various social forces and exploitations. Within the expanding common market of international sports, competition becomes ever tighter, with the rising level of performance demands well-illustrated by the Olympic motto, CITIUS-ALTIUS-FORTIUS. As a continuous process competition in sports has no ultimate ceiling for the performances; hence the ever higher demands mean ever greater challenges to athletes and to sports systems responsible for elite sports.

To keep up with the rising level of demands not only athletes but also organizations have to invest more resources in sports. In the past, even at the top level, sports used to be just a pastime for athletes and subordinate to the central life interests of work, family and education but due to the high demands of elite sports today, the relation is reversed and these traditional life interests are and have to be adjusted to the priority of sport (Heinilä, 1973).

In the promotion of high performance in sports the role of sport sciences is well-recognized, at least in the leading countries, and scientific expertise and "know-how" are extensively applied, e.g. in the screening of the most talented youth for elite sport, in training, in medical services, and in issues of nutrition etc. Countries anxious to keep up with this scientific "arms-race" have even established special scientific centres for elite sports. The blueprint for such a centre has already been drawn also in Finland and, knowing the addiction of Finnish sport leaders, politicians and ordinary people to Olympic medals, the Centre will very likely be established without delay. It is also very indicative of the extensive exploitation of science in elite sport that the National Olympic Committee of Finland recently appointed a special expert group, composed of scientists representing 11 different disciplines, to make sure that all novelties, new materials and application possibilities will be effectively utilized; first in winter sport of Nordic type, and later on also in other sports.

Greatly due to the exploitation of scientific methods, a high performance in elite sport is like the outcome of a production process, making use not only of a number of resources and organizational capacities, but also of various means of persuasion when recruiting the most talented youth to the relatively short career of elite sport. In the past, an athletic performance used to be, first of all, an outcome of the individual efforts of athletes, assisted by their self-made coaches; today, and inevitably tomorrow, it is more like the product of sport industry. This transformation from the individual enterprise to the manufacturing production, called the "totalization process", has most penetrating reflections upon international sport (Heinilä, 1982).

Any competition in sport is supposed to test the relative supremacy of participants in their athletic performance. As such a test a competition is valid only if it is carried out on equal terms, that is, under conditions which do not give any unjust advantage to any participants over the others. That "on equal terms" is a fundamental principle in athletic competition, is well indicated by the strict rules,

* First IOC World Congress on Sport Sciences. Oct. 26. - Nov.3, 1969. Colorado Springs.

highly standardized equipments, referee systems and even by the execution of the notorious lie-detectors, called doping tests.

Under these circumstances, a competition in international sport has apparent validity and tests what it is supposed to test, but due to the totalization process involved, it in fact tests more and more the relative effectiveness of those national production systems that are responsible for high achievement in élite sport. Hence a competition is transformed from a competition between individual athletes or teams into a competition between the total national systems responsible for elite sport. Unlike an actual overt competition in venues, a covert competition of these national production systems takes place on unequal terms; each system making deliberate efforts to gain some advantages over its rivals, in processing high performance and in applying e.g. the most advanced scientific know-how in that process (Heinilä, 1988). For that reason, scientific discoveries and know-how tend to be more like business or military secrets or patents, and are not easily accessible to all the parties involved in international competition. Traditionally, science is supposed to be an open universal enterprise contributing to the common good, but not so in any competitive sphere of life, since there it is meant to serve the success of one party over the other parties involved.

In terms of success, the totalization process in international sport favours the most advanced and resourceful countries. In the light of the latest statistics on success in the Olympic Games, the countries with a centralized system of power also tend to have an advantage over the Western type of democracies in mobilizing and processing resources effectively for elite sport.

Dilemma. A Competition in sport is primarily meant to test, under equal conditions, the relative supremacy of athletes/teams performance, but due to the present totalization process in international sport, it in fact tests the relative effectiveness of those national organizations that are responsible for producing, under very unequal conditions, the high performance of athletes/teams. Is this in accordance with the prime purpose of international sport?

The rising demands and the totalization process in elite-sport have their impact on the very conception of sport. The effectiveness of any organizational production system is related to an authoritarian power structure. Therefore also in elite-sport an authoritarian leadership tends to be common, and the degree of freedom of athletes is often tightly regulated by the production system. In the production process the athlete's role is instrumental and submitted to the authority and expertise of the management. Thus in talks "at the production line" athletes are usually referred to as good or poor "material", to be processed towards high performance.

Due to the totalization of international sport, the investments of the production systems in enhancing their effectiveness and the investments of athletes in promoting their efforts to high performance tend to increase. This means that the production costs of high performance become higher and higher; hence organizations in elite sports are anxious to find new revenues to finance them. Traditionally, the sport movement in the Western countries has been strongly opposed to any political or business intervention in their sovereign field, but the quest for financial resources has made them strange bedfellows in elite sport. While this unholy alliance has greatly

improved the financial prospects in elite sports, it has also had impacts upon the very conception on sport. Due to the totalization process the demand for business expertise in general is accentuated in elite-sport. It is not a mere accident that businessmen tend to hold the most prominent positions in elite sport, not only in national but also in international organizations. With them also the kind of management, conceptions, values and ethical codes that are typical of business-life, are transmitted to sport. Scientific elaborations on the effects of business on sport are badly needed, but it seems likely that with the rising demands and the totalization process, elite sport will become more and more exposed to the influences of business-life, and the boundaries between sport and business thus tend to become obscured.

Dilemma. Elite sport, and international sport particularly, become more and more exposed to business; hence the maintenance of the boundary between elite sport and business-life becomes problematic. Due to the rising demands and the totalization process, the production costs of high performance in elite sport are escalating and new financial revenues and business expertise are sought after.

Concomitantly with the increased stakes, the expectations of success as outcomes tend to be accentuated. The hypertonic pursuit for success exerts great pressure upon the regulation system of competition. This regulation system looks after the execution of the proper purpose of competition as a fair test of athletic performance. The main agents of this regulation are the athletes themselves, self-conducting their behaviour by common rules and internalized ethical codes, and the referees appointed to maintain "law and order" in competition.

Because of the enhancing pressure for success, the self-regulation of athletes does not work as properly as in the past, and the regulation system leans mainly on the competence and executive power of referees. This trend means that especially the ethical norms of fair play have lost some of their regulative potencies. While probing in a cross-national survey the conceptions of fair play in football (N=925), the author noticed that there exists a wide disparity of notions on what is acceptable and what is not in various situations of the match, but also that these opinions varied between the polarities of "effectiveness" and "humanistic ideals" (Heinilä, 1984).

If and when "effectiveness" and "success" are of prime and exclusive concern in elite sport, it is no wonder that also such dubious means as drugs, blood doping, violent conduct, cheating, and bribery tend to spread out. Contaminated by these dubious means sport will lose its very meaning and justification and will be ruined to a "war without weapons". Since the national organizations of elite sport - among them also NOC's - seem to be primarily concerned with the pursuit of success, they seem to be rather reluctant in safeguarding sport and the ethics of sport from malignant exploitations, abuse and decay. In this situation, the critical role of scientists and universities is of crucial importance, but it can be implemented effectively only if they are not obediently committed to the mainstream of thinking and conventions in elite sport.

Dilemma. With the enhanced pressure for success and effectiveness, fair play norms tend to lose their power in the self-regulation of athletes' conduct; hence elite sport becomes more

vulnerable to disturbances and the role of referees in enforcing "law and order" becomes more difficult.

Athletes' pursuit for excellence in contest also provides, as a side effect, pastime and a spectacle for the spectators. Spectators' interests are today so tightly interwoven in elite sport and in international sport particularly that it is often hard to say which are of prime concern: athletes or spectators. The huge public interests that are attached to international sport and fed by the powerful mass media provide a most fertile ground for the invasion of sport by many alien "isms" - professionalism, commercialism, nationalism and even racism and hooliganism. Élite sport with its contemporary power structures and alien contaminations cannot be properly understood without taking into account the powerful impacts of spectator sport. In a Finnish survey conducted as early as in 1967, sport leaders (N=1660) recognized very well the role of the public in sport and 72 % agreed (20 % disagreed) with the statement:

"It is a public that makes sport meaningful; without a public sport is dead" (Heinilä, 1974).

Elite sport lives on the interest of the public; it is also meant for the public as mass entertainment and is more and more imprinted by the tastes and expectations of the public. As a show business elite sport is conditioned in its development by spectators' interests and tends to be transformed from sport and physical education proper toward the entertainment business with its particular values and conceptions.

In his often quoted article Gregory P. Stone dramatically articulated those impacts:

"The game, inherently moral and ennobling of its players, seems to be giving way to the spectacle, inherently immoral and debasing. With the massification of sport, spectators begin to outnumber participants in overwhelming proportions, and the spectator, as the name implies, encourages the spectacular display. In this regard the spectator may be viewed as an agent of destruction as far as the dignity of sport is concerned. There is a tension between the morality of the game and the amorality of the spectator." (Stone, 1978)

Dilemma. As spectators' interests are articulated, elite sport is transformed from sport proper into the mass entertainment for the public at large, and the boundary maintenance between elite sport and show business is obscured.

The legitimacy of international sport is not based, however, upon the entertaining value of sports but on the promotion of peace, friendship and international understanding in and through sports as stated e.g. in the Olympic Charter. In the past, it was taken almost for granted that sport par excellence promotes friendship and harmony, but the late history of international sport has proved that as a human endeavour sports has a potentiality also for animosity and disharmony. Obviously, competition as a social system is composed of both associative and conflictual elements. If so it is of prime importance to elaborate in research those conditions and elements in international sport which are conducive to the Olympic ideals, as well as

those which are in contradiction to them. In the pilot study initiated by the Committee of Sport and Mass Media of ICSSPE including 250 top athletes as a target group from Hungary, Finland, some from France and the Federal Republic of Germany, it was found that those conditions and contextual factors in international sport which include the mutual interests of all parties involved were reckoned by athletes as conducive to international understanding, whereas those conditions and factors that implied mutually exclusive interests, with some disadvantages to some parties, were reckoned as conflictual and prone to international badwill (Heinilä, 1986).

Accompanied by global expansion and its tremendously enhanced social significance, international sport tends to be more exposed to conflictual interventions. The totalization process as a rational response to the growing demands of performance tends to accentuate the problem of resources in elite sport and the conspicuous inequalities between participant countries in this respect. On the other hand, concomitantly with the expanding vicarious interest of the public, the selfish exploitation of sport tends to increase. The majority of athletes conceived these trends in international sport as conflictual and opposite to international understanding.

Dilemma. International sport has both associative and conflictual propensities but due to the totalization process and the expanding consumerist interests of the public, the conflictual elements tend to become accentuated. This makes international sport more vulnerable to problems of regulation and jeopardizes its legitimacy in promoting international goodwill and understanding.

In the above discussion I have tried to delineate some major trends in international sport and to specify those dilemmas that have become accentuated in recent development. Though sport as an activity of athletes is in essence a psycho-biological entity, international sport as a complex totality is first of all a social phenomenon, conditioned in its development by a number of social forces, interventions and exploitations. My exploration of those social forces and their impacts has been tentative. More rigorous research is necessary for any adequate conceptual command of this controversial but also most challenging institution of sport.

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6.3 CHANGING INTERNATIONAL SPORT AND THE ROLE OF THE ATHLETE (1995)*

Once again thousands of athletes from all over the world have competed for the Olympic fame and glory in Barcelona and Lillehammer under the emblem of CITIUS-ALTIUS-FORTIUS. Over twenty years ago, in the Olympic Scientific Congress in Munich, I argued that the pursuit signified by the symbols of the Olympic movement is perhaps a prime cause for transforming sport, and, for example, for contributing to professionalism and to the downfall of amateurism proper in international sport, thus also in the Olympic Games (Heinilä 1973).

6.3.1 The Rising Level of Demands

In sport a contest for victory is a continuous process without any finality. A winner today might be a loser tomorrow, and in order to successfully meet the challenges of adversaries an athlete has to further improve his or her performance capacity. Expanding participation in sport in general and in international sport in particular tends to accelerate this rising of the level of performance necessary for success. This trend is well manifested in the statistics of records but also in demands for enhancing virtuosity and risk elements in those events where a performance is measured in qualitative terms, such as in figure skating, gymnastics and diving. If there are any deviations from or stagnations in this trend some can be noticed, for example, in the events based particularly on muscle power like weightlifting - they are mostly due to the tightening control of doping.

6.3.2 Totalization Process

In the past, an achievement in sport used to be primarily based on the individual effort of athletes. "The Flying Finns", amongst them the famous Paavo Nurmi in the 1920's, earned their gold medals and made world records in track mainly by training hard and determinedly. They were a kind of self-made champions. They represented a developing country and were accustomed to a simple life style and hard living conditions. They transferred this pattern also into sport by training seriously and in a work-like manner at a time when elsewhere sport was regarded more as a pastime and a play-like activity.

As more and more is demanded from athletes, individual efforts alone are no longer sufficient for guaranteeing success in the common market of international sport. Success is mostly the outcome of the joint venture of athletes and sport organizations, and of the production process making use of various societal resources and expertise. In this production system athletes are often figuratively conceived of as material - poor, good or talented - to be processed in the same way raw materials are processed in industry into commodities and products for the market. I have called this transformation of sport a totalization process: for meeting

* Patriksson, Göran-Sletta, Olav-Björk, Tofte (eds.), *Pedagogikk Idrett og Samfunn i et Internasjonalt Perspektiv*. Aurskog 1995, 166-176.

the rising level of demands in international sport increasing number of human, technological and other resources are needed and mobilized into the production system responsible for the representative sport of a participating country (Heinilä 1984). In the past, the totalization process was most accentuated in the so-called socialistic countries, especially in the German Democratic Republic with its centralized power system and conspicuous success in international sport, but it is also well advancing in the Western democracies anxious for ranking high in international sport. Consequently, governments and public authorities are more and more involved with top sport, for example, when allocating resources for its development. These allocations are often based on a long term policy and a programme purporting to guarantee success in international sport. Peter Donnelly mentioned in the Olympic Congress in Spain that in Canada, which has had such a program, the Government provides eight times more funding to high performance sport than to sport for all (Donnelly 1992). The pressure to keep up with the increasing demands of the international sport is emphasized also in small countries with glorious Olympic achievements in the past. No doubt, a totalization process is well manifested also in Finland with regard to the increasing allocation of public resources in top sport:

In spite of the increasing public investments in top sport, sport federations call for more and more public resources "if we want to have success in international sport in the future", as they argue. As a result of totalization process the price of Olympic medals tends to go up - some day in the future the price might be too high, at least for poor countries with limited resources.

	Private sector	Public sector
Training		
Special schools for talented athletes		***
Special units in military service		***
Training camps abroad	**	*
Expert services		
Training of coaches	**	*
Training of specialists in sports medicine	*	***
Sport Clinics	*	**
Research and testing		
Applied research in sport sciences	*	**
Foundation for the Development of Sport	*	**
Doping laboratory	*	**
Sports facilities		
Sports facilities		***
Training centres and sport institutes	**	*
Administration		
Sport Federations	**	*
Sport clubs	**	*
Other services		
Health insurance	***	
Foundation for the occupational support of athletes	*	**
State grant for top athletes (since 1995)		***

FIGURE 1 Relative allocation of resources in top sport in Finland (***) = total amount)

With the increasing demands in top sport, public funding, particularly in sport sciences, for the training of experts and for providing special facilities and services, has become very important. It is rather paradoxical that while the IOC is anxious to

prevent any political interference with its affairs, the National Olympic Committees and Sport Federations responsible for the participation in the Games appeal to the Governments for more public resources for and involvement with sport. With the extensive involvement of the public sector, national interests and nationalism as ethnocentrism tend to be articulated in international sport, contrary to the noble aims of promoting friendship, peace and international understanding, as stated in the Olympic Charter (cf. Hargreaves 1992).

6.3.3 Competition Between the Systems

As a result of the totalization process, international sport has been transformed into a competition between the national systems of sport. Competition as a test is intended to measure the relative superiority of participating athletes and teams under equal conditions. So it does, but only in appearance in international sport since, in fact, it measures the relative effectiveness or superiority of national systems in producing high performance in sport. It is important to notice that national production systems do not function under equal terms but each system tries hard to get some advantage over the others, for example, in training methods, devices and facilities, but also in incentives, screening talents into sport, medical services, and even in cheating and doping. Helmut Digel's point of view is similar:

"Unfortunately in international top-level competitive sport those athletes or those teams are most likely to win medals that are in a position to carry out scientific research programs in wind tunnels, that have a staff of specialists in biomechanics serving as advisers, that apply modern methods of sport psychology and that, of course, can rely on a competent team of physicians who are willing to exceed the usual limits imposed by medical ethics. It is in this way that the principle of equality of opportunities in sport has been distorted. This distortion places the countries of the Third World at an especially great disadvantage." (Digel 1988, 186-187)

And this circular reaction between the totalization process and the increasing demands further fuels both processes and results in extending totalization and in raising the level of demands! This process brings to mind the armsrace between the superpowers in the past.

6.3.4 The Role of Athletes

The proper focus in sport is, however, a human being called an athlete. It is obvious that the transformation of sport from an individual enterprise into a joint venture for high performance has significant impacts upon the role of athletes. The partnership of athletes in the joint venture means numerous ties and contacts with the system providing resources, expertise and services without which athletes today can no longer keep up with the demands in international sport.

While the System invests more and more resources in the production process it expects athletes, in turn, to commit themselves totally to a sport career and persuades them with various sanctions to do so. All this means that the control the System has over athletes tends to be tightened and is fully implemented in training camps where athletes are literally 24 hours per day under the control of the System.

From the viewpoint of athletes a total commitment to the System means restrictions in their free choice and sacrifices of their other life interests. This discordance between sport and other life interests conceived by athletes may have detrimental repercussions on their efforts in sport and/or on their life adjustment. In the national survey conducted by Pauli Vuolle in Finland, it was found that sacrifices made for sport are relatively common in different spheres of life as conceived by elite athletes.

Sphere of life	%
Vacationing (holidays)	54
Family-life	32
Personal freedom	29
Economic status	21
Education	19
Occupational career	15
Health	11

FIGURE 2 Severe sacrifices in life conceived by elite athletes (n 653)¹ in Finland.

6.3.5 Conflict of Interests

It is worth noticing that one's sport career covers mostly those significant years of life-span when also such vital life interests such as proper education, occupational career, getting married, family-life, recreational and other are also existing and realized if possible. If these are suppressed too much for the benefit of a sport career it easily leads into a conflict of interests. It is not a mere accident that in many advanced countries elite athletes have their own unions to look after their interests in relation with the System which acts as an employer. In most professionalized disciplines, such as in ice-hockey in Finland, labour relations between athletes and Systems are defined by a formal contract stating mutual rights and duties.

In the past, sport was regarded as a leisure interest and as such submitted to more central life-interests, but because of increasing demands for performance athletes have to totally devote themselves to sport and submit their other life-interests to it. Under these circumstances and also taking into account uncertainties and risks involved, it is likely that many youngsters, even talented ones, will in the future overlook a sport career as their prime interest; a sport career is chosen mostly by those who find some constraints - ethnic, racial, capabilities, poverty, opportunities etc. - in the normal social mobility through education and occupational career. Evidences of this kind of deviant recruitment to sport career are clearly apparent, for example, in some national teams participating in the recent Olympic Games. Sport leaders all over the world acclaim the glory of top sport and champions in sport but it is a curious fact that so few of their offspring have chosen sport as their career and prime life-interest!

1 The athletes ranking top level in the Olympic years of 1956,1960,1964,1968 and 1972 represent 21 different disciplines (Vuolle 1977, 115-123).

6.3.6 Serious Business

Increasing investments of a System as well as those of athletes in sport - resulting from increasing demands - tend to accumulate the value-loading or the importance of success as the main compensation with all accompanied returns - public recognition, hero-worship, trophies, pecuniary rewards, honoraries etc. Success is so important for athletes that they are even willing to take ultimate risks and tempted to the use of dubious means in their pursuit of victory, as the American gold medalist Harold Connolly used to say. In top-sport ultimate limits of human capacity are challenged but often also surpassed today, resulting in injuries and even in disablement. Top-sport is becoming a serious business with increasing occupational risks and hazards. The distinguished expert in peace research, John Galtung, looked for any sign of fun in today's sport in his address in the Helsinki Congress on Sport and International Understanding in 1982:

"Is that more important than winning? Look at the facial expressions of people who compete, look at the strain, the stress, not only the perspiration resulting from the strenuous exercise of the body but also the anxiety, the aggressiveness bordering on destructiveness: Is this really what we want?" (Galtung 1982)

6.3.7 Ethos of International Sport

The increasing demands for performance with their concomitant repercussions on national sport Systems have also their impact on the very ethos of sport: the traditional conceptions of fair play as a principal code of conduct are often superseded by norms of effectiveness (see Heinilä 1984b). When success is looked upon as an ultimate goal and the "lombardian" standards such as "a victory at all cost", "winning isn't the most important thing, it is the only thing" etc. constitute the main code of conduct, sport becomes vulnerable to various forms of misbehavior and abuse; hence the manipulation of equipment, violent conduct, doping and even bribery have their contaminating effects on sport today. With cases of misconduct and cheating, competition as a valid test of superiority is distorted and the very sense and the legitimacy of international sport are seriously jeopardized. All cases of doping and other cheating in sport constitute, in fact, a serious crime while distorting the validity of competition as a test of superiority of actual athletic performance (Heinilä 1989).

Control measures have not been sufficient so far and too often hustlers and fakers are glorified as winners or heroes, I am afraid. National sport authorities are primarily responsible for the control but since national interests and even passions in addition to personal interests of athletes, coaches, sport leaders etc. are tightly interwoven with success, the authorities - among them the National Olympic Committees - have been rather reluctant to implement right control measures. I believe that also the IOC has been reluctant in this respect but mainly because it wants to keep the shield of the Olympic movement shiny in public, however ostensibly. But isn't it rather a peculiar and extraordinary state in sport that because of cheating and dishonesty, most expensive doping laboratories with their most sophisticated lie-detecting devices are needed for screening out hustlers and swindlers? Has top-sport anything to do with play and honesty anymore?

Because of the advent of powerful mass media, top-sport in general and international sport in particular is transformed into popular mass entertainment. Competition in sport, transmitted live by TV, has a strong appeal to the public at large. By identifying with the performance of athletes, spectators find, in this vicarious way, excitement and exultation which serves as an antidote to their often unexciting and monotonous everyday routine (see Dunning 1970). But when more and more spectators are involved with top sport also elements of display are manifested and ethos proper in sport tends to be distorted (cf. Stone 1978). Along with intensive public interest, extrinsic commercial and political interests are intervening in sport, making it more vulnerable to regulation problems as well as contributing to the excessive valuation of success as an exclusive goal!

6.3.8 Cost-benefit Analysis

I have tried above to delineate the transformation process going on in top-sport as a result of the peculiar character of continuous competition with increasing demands for performance. I have deliberately overstated this process and its impacts on national systems of sport and on the changing role of athletes. My delineations and arguments are intended to trace the main trend in top sport in advanced countries. I assume that in the forthcoming years when demands increase and competition intensifies in international sport the arguments will more and more prove their validity. At this stage of development it is very important for sport authorities to recognize the issues and problems involved with this transformation process. In addition, the cost-benefit type of comprehensive analyses are needed with regard to international sport events as well as to participating countries and athletes involved. Because of increasing demands and the concomitant totalization process the total costs of participation tend to go up while benefits tend to shrink at least in small countries with their lessening chances for success. If the supply of resources for sport is limited and relatively fixed in the state budget - as is typically the case in small countries - increasing demands for resources for top-sport inevitably lead to the cut of resources in other areas of sport culture such as physical education in schools, sport for all, sport for handicapped persons etc.

I have also pointed out that with the transformation of sport there has been a change in the role of an athlete as well. Success in high performance sport is today more a matter of joint venture than of individual effort. The System, while providing athletes with services and resources necessary for achieving the level of high performance, also expect them to be totally committed to sport career. But as human being athletes also have other vital interests in life and if these are overlooked a discordance or even a conflict of interests appear and must then be solved. With the increasing demands for performance imposed on athletes, this conflict of interests tends to be accentuated and become more serious and problematic. If these human problems in top-sport cannot be solved the sport careers of the athletes serving national and public interests may turn into a zero-sum game of life for many athletes: whatever athletes might win in sport, they

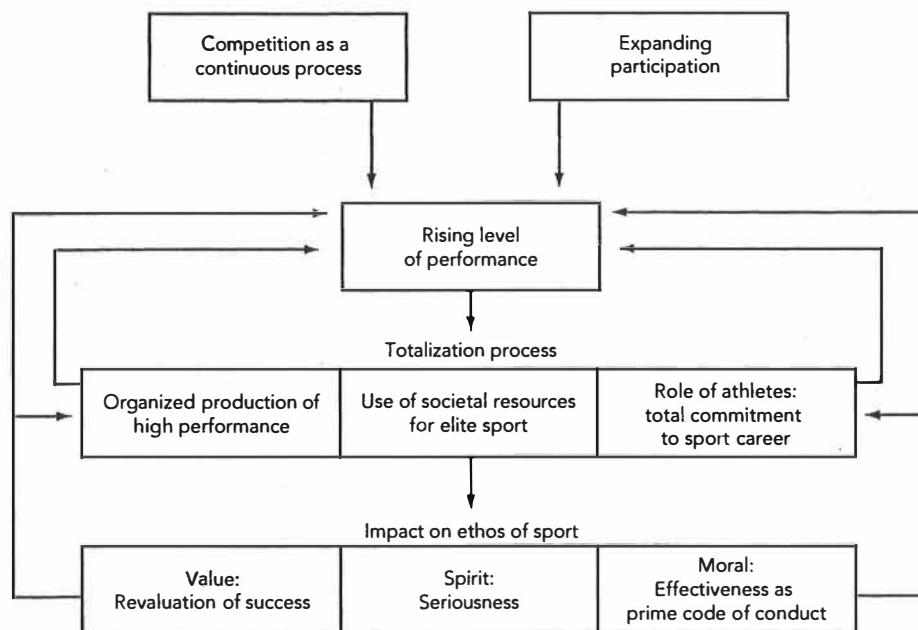


FIGURE 3 Trends in International Sport

will lose in their lives. The most problematic group of athletes are those who have made their utmost effort to reach the very top but have failed. It is the primary responsibility of the System and sport organizations to solve these human problems together with athletes.

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6.4 ELITE SPORT IN TRANSITION (1996)*

Professionalization of sport: from fun to occupation

Abstract

The increasing popularity of sport as mass entertainment of the public at large has been the prime condition for the gradual growth of commercialism in sport. The intervention of business with its flow of money has provided the material prerequisites for professionalization of sport. One strong impetus for this professionalization has its origin in the very essence of sport competition as a continuous process. Due to this process the performance level demands necessary for success in elite sport tend to be continuously enhanced, and professionalization is one response to these heightened demands. Also, because of the new demands, international sport tends to become totalized into a competition between the national systems responsible for promoting elite sport. Within the totalization process, then, it is not only the prime role of athletes but also the other key-roles contributing to the production of high performance levels that tend to become professionalized.

6.4.1 Popularity of sport

Changes in society have an impact also on sport. Obviously, the rising standard of living along with the diminishing burden of work and increasing amount of leisure time have greatly contributed to the global expansion of sport in providing surplus energy and time for sport activities. It is also fairly obvious that any great advances made in the science and technology of a society are reflected in sport. This fertile societal soil has made sport not only one of the major leisure interests of people, but also a major international movement today. Proclaiming the glory of sport all over the world, the role of the Olympic movement has been of extreme importance in promoting the expansion of sport; sport has become a common language spoken and understood everywhere. There are no other events than the Olympic Games and the World Championships in football which can evoke such global enthusiasm among billions of TV-spectators. The potential of the Olympic Games in promoting interest in sport is further enhanced by the high involvement of the mass media in this process. This is a fact well recognized also by the IOC with its four permanent commissions acting in the service of the mass media.

Since the very beginning the mass media has been involved with the modern Olympic Games, stimulating both interest in the Games themselves, as well as evoking national interest in sport in general. Albeit the promotion of friendship, international understanding and goodwill have been the primary justification behind

* Magisterium - International Magazine. Vol. Olympia. June 1996.

the Olympic movement, the membership of the IOC and participation in the Games are in national terms defined quite conspicuously. This is clearly manifested in the ceremonies emphasizing national symbols, which all tend to make the Games more like a demonstration of nationalism than internationalism proper. Paavo Seppänen, the well-known Finnish scholar of the Olympic movement, is on the same lines in his argument:

Nationalism has never been foreign to the Olympics. While the Olympic advocates have proclaimed their creed in universal participation for the betterment of man kind, the countries of the world have interpreted the participation in the Games as an opportunity to express national feelings and national identification.... The Games have been utilized not so much for international fair play, peace and understanding as an expression of national self-interest and pride.

6.4.2 A market for vicarious consumption

There was a time when sport, even at the top level, was primarily seen as a pastime activity to be engaged in for its own sake, for fun, excitement, demonstrating one's prowess etc. Seeing man's love of sport as an intrinsic value is, in fact, the core of the amateur concept of sport (amare = to love), cherished for a long time as the main eligibility norm for participation in the Olympic Games. The increased publicity around great sport achievements and the spectacularity of the big games, flavored with patriotism, contributed to the emergence of an expanding new market characterized by the demand and supply of spectator sports. The demands of this market are defined in terms of the spectators' desire to live within the drama of contest and to share the ups and downs of the athletes with whom they feel togetherness. It is particularly the great achievements and wins that raise the spectators' interest; consequently these achievements are also well represented and articulated by the mass media, which primarily serve the spectators' interest in sport. In addition to sharing the interest, the mass media also act as the prime promoter of the hero worship without which there would be no superstars such as *paavo nurmis*, "*magic*" *johnsons*, *said aovitas nor any ayrton sennas*, *diego maradonas* or *o.j.simpsons*, but just top athletes, *primus inter pares*. Due to the crucial role of spectators in elite sport, the mass media, and particularly the TV, are more and more involved also in financing those events. Furthermore, the spectators' interests are of great importance for sport events organizers in their plans of programme supply in the venues. Because of the operation of these market forces the traditional concept of amateur sport has inevitably become obsolete, as far as elite and international sport are concerned, but is still viable for the vast majority of athletes engaged in sport just for love.

Along with the public yearning for champions and heroes money and grey envelopes also invaded the sport market. The controversy between official rules and praxis, between ideals and market reality was inescapable. Under the pressure of the market forces the IOC and the proponents of amateur ideals were doomed to lose their fight. After all, who would be strong enough to resist taking money when it is offered for your sport contributions to the public? Possibly only a few athletes with very wealthy parents, if anyone.

The royalties as such paid to the few most successful athletes for their

participation are not the proper criterion for professionalism. Under the strict rules of amateurism, however, it can be a sufficient reason to make an athlete ineligible as a participant in the Olympic Games, as happened e.g. to the great Finnish runner Paavo Nurmi on the eve of the marathon in Los Angeles in 1932. However, the ban did not prevent him from bringing the Olympic torch to the Stadium during the opening ceremony of the Games in Helsinki in 1952, and lighting the Olympic flame. Paavo Nurmi was a superstar of his era and as such he was the most popular and desired participant in track and field events everywhere. Under these circumstances it was rather obvious that also money was used to ensure his participation. After quitting his active sport career Paavo Nurmi also proved to have great talent in business. Perhaps he was materializing his business inclinations already in his sport career. According to one story Paavo Nurmi stepped aside in a 5 000 meter contest in Germany just after crossing the line of 3 000 meters, because according to his royalty contract he was supposed to run 3 000 meters and not 5 000 meters. Even if Paavo Nurmi as an athlete was not a professional in the proper sense of the word, he seems to have possessed the proper professional attitude as regards bargaining in sport.

6.4.3 Total commitment to sport

The increasing popularity of elite sport and its commercial potentialities were the main forces behind the development of the sport business market with its demand and supply and flow of money. These contextual facilities are the necessary, and usually also sufficient, preconditions for the process of professionalization of sport. In addition, the very nature of competition also tends to accentuate this process. In his diary of the XIXth Olympic Games in Mexico, Christopher Brasher, gold medallist in the 3 000 meter steeplechase in Melbourne in 1956, pointed out the problem of inequalities between the participants in the Games as regards their actual commitment to pursuits in sport:

For years the International Olympic Committee has fought against professionalism in the Games. There are two aspects to professionalism - money and time. It is fairly easy to ensure that no one who has competed for money is allowed to take part in the Olympics. It is much more difficult to eliminate what I call "the time professionals" or in other words the people who have no jobs or career but who are supported in some ways that enable them to devote all their time and energy to their chosen sport.

Because of the inequalities in the time investments of athletes, as well as the high altitude in which the Games were held, thus favouring those athletes well acclimatized to those particular conditions, Brasher called the event "the most unfair Games" in the Olympic history. Brasher's argument on the important point of time professionalism did not, however, reflect the core problem involved and embedded in the very essence of a competitive process in sport. The competition in sport is a continuous process, and the pressure "to keep up with the Joneses" tends to raise the performance level demands necessary for success. In sport, a winner today determines the standards of achievement for his/her rivals tomorrow. In order to avoid the threat of losing tomorrow, the winner has to improve his or her capacity of performance further. This "screwdriver" function of the competitive process in sport

is well reflected in the statistics of records in those sports events in which the achievements can be measured in some proper way, but it is also evident in other events, such as ball games, combat sports etc. As a process, a competition in sport resembles the unlimited armsrace of the superpowers in the past with their accumulating resources of nuclear arms well capable of destroying the whole Tellus. Fortunately, the superpowers managed to bargain on the upper limits of nuclear armaments, but in sport any restrictive norms for achievements seem to be unfeasible.

Citius, altius, fortius is the most striking motto for the Olympic Games. Due to the screwdriver-effect, the performance level demands in international sport today are so high that only athletes who can totally devote themselves to sport career have any chance of reaching any great success. In the past, when these demands were relatively modest even in elite sport, the sport pursuits of athletes were more or less submitted to more central interests of occupation, education or family life; today the situation is reversed and the other interests in life are adjusted to the central pursuits in sport. Because of the heightened demands sport - which used to be a mere pastime activity related to play - has been transformed into an occupation proper, as I provocatively pointed out in the title of the paper presented at the Olympic Congress in Munich in 1972: *Citius, altius, fortius*. The Olympic contribution to the professionalization of sport?

Full-time preoccupation with sport is the most crucial criterion for professionalism. Sport organizations responsible for the promotion of elite sport, and athletes engaged in it, have learned that total devotion to sport is a prerequisite for high sport achievement today. But there used to be a serious dilemma between the rising demands of sport and the rules of eligibility prohibiting professionals to compete side by side with non-professionals.

This dilemma was solved in different ways in different countries. The most effective solution of the so-called "state-amateur" was carried out in former socialist countries: the most prominent athletes were appointed to public offices - usually in the army and public administration - which fostered their occupational pursuits of high achievement in sport. Due to democratic control, this type of solution involving more or less spurious occupations was to some extent also possible in Western countries, but only in the private sector of business. In most cases the solution to the problem was sought through various scholarships and subsidies, which, however, often remain too scarce and modest to cover all costs of livelihood. As far as the youth is concerned, it is mostly the parents that take care of the financial support needed in the early pursuits in sport.

6.4.4 Intervention of business

With the expanding popularity and the great publicity of elite sport as a form of mass entertainment, business proper also became interested in sport as the potential market for commercial exploitation. It has as its particular focus the transference of the high quality and popularity of peak performance in sport into business products and company images. Due to this intervention, all most popular sports and sports events, including the most sacred Olympic Games, as of Los Angeles in 1982, have been transformed into a business market in which athletes may look like living

billboards covered from head to toe with business logos. In the first World Championship games held in Helsinki in 1983 the main entrance area to the Olympic Stadium looked more like a market place or a bazaar - for the first time since the Helsinki Games 1952. This business exploitation of the World Championships awakened some critics in the mass media, but the whole issue was settled down by the General Secretary of the organizing committee by his rationale: Since sport and business are both respectively legitimate and proper affairs in society, their promotion in concert cannot be otherwise either, can it?

That is a good tag question: can it? In the same way we could argue e.g. that partisan politics and science are both legitimate and proper affairs in society but what about their mixture? Sport and business, which used to be in contradiction with each other in the past, have common mutual interests of profit-making today. Due to this commercialization, the money in demand has flown into elite sport enabling e.g. athletes to devote themselves totally to sport careers. The intervention of business into elite sport has thus substantially contributed also to the professionalization process of sport. Since business interests in sport are primarily focused on the popularity of sport events and on high achievements, business investments have similar priorities: firstly the most popular sports such as football, track and field, basketball and motor racing etc., as well as the most spectacular events such as the Olympic Games, World and Continental Championships get their major share, and secondly, the most conspicuous achievements attracting people, such as winning the championship or an Olympic medal or breaking some unique record, also attract most of the business investments and sponsorship.

Because of this selectivity of business stakes professionalization is most advanced in those sports which can best excite the public interest. This process can go so far that the whole action system in some particular sport can be transformed into commercial business proper, as has happened in many countries with boxing, football, tennis, basketball, volleyball, ice-hockey etc. When this occurs, sport as a personal interest and a voluntary, non-profitable enterprise has been replaced by business proper, characterized by its particular norms, ethics and jurisdictions. Despite their similar appearances, the two systems of sport are in essence very different from each other.

The flow of money is skewedly distributed among various sport events: the few sports which incite the greatest public and business interest get the major share. As a rule, sports which get the highest TV coverage and thus also reach the largest number of spectators also attract most of the money. Just one lucky punch in a boxing match or superior playing in tennis can bring some athletes a fortune of a million dollars, but even the most exhaustive pursuit or the World Championship e.g. in rowing, swimming, wrestling etc. is hardly ever remunerated with equal compensation for athletes. While costs continue to grow, elite sport becomes more and more dependent on the investments of the business sector. Consequently also, public taste and demands are likely to have more and more influence on international sport, and the most popular sports will supersede the less popular ones in the future programme.

Today, however, there are many sports in the market which arouse only limited public and business interest. As long as they belong to the Olympic programme athletes and federations can incite moderate business interest, but as a rule they are

mostly dependent on public subsidiary. Today in Finland 30 athletes with the most potential for international success can each have a monthly tax-free income of 1000 USD from the state budget, which enables them to devote themselves professionally to their sport pursuits even in "minor" sports. The present author has commented on this novel intervention of the state in elite sport: At last the Finnish modification of the concept of "state amateurs" of the German Democratic Republic has been found.

6.4.5 Sport as occupation

Professionalism as a full-time occupation can be materialized in sport only by means of providing the athletes the money needed to cover their living expenses. No doubt, the intervention of business and the resulting commercialization of sport has been of great importance in overcoming the financial problems connected with elite sport, contributing at the same time to the process of professionalization. Yet, there remains the problem of recruiting of the most talented athletes into sport. Sport as an occupational career is most demanding in terms of its requirement for hard training and high qualifications, since only success and super performances count and can compensate for the high investments and sacrifices that the athletes must make in their pursuit for the top. Furthermore, sport as an occupational career is not only among the most demanding but also a most insecure career today. Even a highly talented young athlete can never be sure that he or she can reach the top. According to some estimations in the USA only one athlete out of 100 000 can reach the very top in elite sport. In terms of Olympic medals, the ratio of athletes at the top might even be smaller than that. If this is true, the vast majority of athletes fail in their pursuit for the very top, and sport as a career produces more losers than winners. Because of total dedication to sport it is plausible that sport career can even be transformed for some athletes into the zero-sum -game of life: what is won and achieved in sport is lost in other spheres of life, for instance, in security, education, family life, leisure, friendships, cultural interests, etc.

The sport career is distinguished from many other occupations also in terms of the tenure and hazards involved. Usually the scope of the tenure of a normal occupational career is about 30-35 years, ending in retirement at the age of 60-65, but the tenure of a sport career is exceptionally short usually ending as early as at the age of 30-35. This relatively short career can provide just for a small minority of athletes such an income that it will provide secure means of living at retirement. The particular hazards of the sport career include all the health risks involved, e.g. injuries, overstrain and some disabilities might intervene in the pursuits and even interrupt the whole career. With the heightened performance demands these hazards tend to be even more pronounced, and are most clearly articulated in the practices of medicament and drug abuse which is contaminating today's elite sport.

The peculiar conditions and hazards involved and acknowledged tend to make recruitment of talented youth to sport careers more problematic today than in the past. Moreover, the potential hazards are great enough to make straightforward persuasion of young people to adopt sport careers even controversial from the ethical point of view. It is plausible that for those reasons many youngsters who are highly talented in sport are inclined to give priority to education and a normal occupational career and remain indulged in sport primarily for fun, fitness and companionship if

at all. It is likely that the actual career athletes will in the future be recruited more and more from those minority groups in society which are burdened with such social deprivation, constraints or shortcomings that a normal occupational career will become less attractive for the youth anxious to get on in life. There is some evidence that athletes representing ethnic minorities are often over-represented in the composition of some national teams as in the Olympic Games. No doubt, however, to counterbalance the deficiencies and hazards involved in a sport career, there is also plenty of excitement in seeking for one's limits and joy of effort, as well as great fame and glory, and even a fortune waiting for the few most successful athletes. Therefore, because of these counterqualities sport still has a strong appeal to the youth willing to take the risks involved.

6.4.6 Commodification of sport

Business intervention in elite sport has its most penetrating impacts on sport culture. In commercial sport, the very concept of sport is conceived of as a commodity for the vicarious consumption by the public. As a commodity, sport disciplines, as well as organized sport events, are modified according to the public interest and made as attractive as possible. Therefore, the comfort of spectators is of great importance: buffet services, entertainment during breaks and physical comfort with sheltered and proper chairs have obtained special attention. Traditionally sport has been conceived as an enterprise for promoting health and education. Accordingly, there has been a close alliance between sport and temperance movements in society. Present commercialization of sport tends, however, to dissolve this tradition. Today the Finnish Champion of Europe in shotput advertises beer not only by his appearance but also by his sportswear. Beer drinking is becoming common among the audience and enhances the spectators' emotional involvement with the events in a venue, but it also makes those events more vulnerable to disturbances. Commercial sport is first of all meant to be mass entertainment for the public at large - not for athletes, as was the case when modern sport was still at its dawn. This goes along well with the business interest: the more spectators there are in a sport event the more willing business companies are to invest in sport. As far as a huge amount of money for the TV-franchise is concerned, it is no wonder that the IOC is ready to modify the programme of the Games according to the wishes of American TV-companies and the taste of American customers. Also, in order to enhance the attraction of sport events for spectators the world's best athletes in track and field tour like a circus around Europe, competing with each other for superiority but also for a nice amount of money and 20 kilogrammes of gold. Tight contests of superstars, as well as the preannounced trials for new records are used to attract spectators all over the world.

In team sport the success of the local or national team is a vital condition for spectator interest. In professionalized team sport success is no longer mainly a matter of training and coaching, but also a matter of the labor market. Sport clubs make use of that market by hiring players from other clubs or foreign professionals as keyplayers for their teams. Because of this aspect of the labor market the most wealthy clubs have the best chances of hiring the best players, and with them these clubs also have the best chances of success. It is particularly the "migrant workers" as keyplayers of the teams that attract spectators, and with an increase of spectators

there is also more money available for further professionalization. In this way the cause-and-effect circle becomes complete: success attracts spectators and business, with them more money becomes available, the money in turn attracts the best possible players for the team and they, in turn, guarantee further success.

6.4.7 A new concept of sport

Professionalization of elite sport also affects the code of conduct in sport. The prime norm in professional sport is the pursuit for victory by might and main, well phrased by the famous American coach Vince Lombardi: Winning is not the main thing, it is the only thing. Since success is "the only thing" which athletes can get as compensation for all their training efforts, sacrifices and investments, sport becomes a serious business and a full-time occupation.

Anyhow, sport at the very top today is such a serious business for athletes and organizations involved that all components of this endeavour are submitted to serve the prime purpose of victory. Look at the gestures or body language of the players in pro-tennis: tennis seems to be the second most depriving and depressive human affair after slave labour!! No doubt some love of sport still remains in professional sport, but it is mostly suppressed under the strict norm of effectiveness. The high pressure for success is not only reflected in the concept of sport but also in the code of conduct regulating the athletes' behaviour in contest. These concepts tend to be shaped by a selfish pursuit and search for some unfair advantage over the rivals rather than by common interest in sport and mutual respect for rules. However, fair play and respect for rules are crucial even in professional sport to ascertain the validity of contest as a fair test of athletic superiority. Due to these monolithic professional concepts elite sport today is more vulnerable to disorder and problems of regulation than before. While the stakes involved get higher and higher, the pressure for more effective control is also accentuated. As a result of this pressure, control is gradually also professionalised e.g. in refereeing, doping control and maintenance of order.

The process of commercialization and professionalization of elite sport does not mold the code of conduct only with reference to contest proper but also with reference to spectators. Spectators are conceived of as the main customers and the most important interest group in elite sport. There is some truth in the old slogan: Athletes are owned by the public at large. There is hardly any doubt that without the interest of spectators there would be no business market and no professionalism in sport. In a sense spectators are like employers and stockholders with respect to athletes. Consequently, good relations with the public at large are of great importance in elite sport. This is clearly reflected in professional football: as a rule after scoring the players rush up to the front to meet their fans in the audience and receive the homage paid for their accomplishments (and for the fulfillment of the spectators' expectations) on their knees. The emotionally loaded sport audiences also get easily frustrated by any ineffectiveness of "its" employees in contest and express its disappointment with the athletes (and referees) through critical comments and instructions but also through abuse and obscenities. In professional sport athletes are supposed to bear with even the most malicious verbal interventions without any protest. An American tennis player was quite heavily fined in 1995 in Wimbledon for

paying somebody in the audience in his own coin. Curiously enough in professional tennis the audience is supposed to be silent when the game is going on but is allowed free expression when the game is at a standstill.

In promoting public relations, and also hero worship, as a vital aspect of elite sport the press conference has become a must in any big sport event. When identifying with their heroes in sport, spectators in general, but fans in particular, get interested not only in the in- and backside of games but also in the private life of their idols. Because business sponsors in sport are primarily concerned with the positive image of their companies and products, they expect that the sport events and athletes used for marketing purposes also have those high qualities. For this reason today's athletes are often well briefed and trained for press encounters; in professional sport athletes do not any more represent themselves only but also their countries and the business companies sponsoring them.

6.4.8 Unionization of sport

Professionalization of sport is also closely related to the unionization of athletes. Commercial sports interests tend to be differentiated according to the different parties involved as was noted above with reference to business and spectators. In the sport labour market the interests of employers and employees are also to some extent apart from each other. Sport organizations as employers have their main interest in producing athletes and teams capable of high performance levels in sport, while athletes as employees materialize the interests of sport organizations. As in the labour market in general, the unions of athletes take care of their employees' interests in the sport market. The unions operating in the most professionalized sports have contractual relations with their respective federations which follow the system of collective bargaining for defining the obligations and rights of athletes. Unions are also anxious to make sport careers more secure and more attractive to the youth by paying specific attention to the deficiencies found in health services, insurances, occupational training and the forms of subsistence available after retirement from sport. The unions also naturally have vested interests in the distribution of the money flowing from business into the sport market. In the most popular international events athletes are rewarded not only by fame and glory but also by real monetary fortunes. So far only the fame and glory are served openly to the athletes for their achievements, whereas "the fortunes" are usually handed to them afterwards and covertly in envelopes, unlike in pro-tennis which has long professional traditions in following the procedure whereby the real fortunes earned by playing successfully are concretely shown to the public in the form of a magnified copy of the cheque received.

With the increasing pressures for higher performance levels athletes become more conscious of their personal interests involved, and with the increasing flow of money they, as the prime actors in sport, naturally want to have their due share of the profits. Some athletes have already expressed their disappointment in the symbolic rewards of the Olympic Games. Eventually the Olympic medals actually do have substantial value already since most countries reward their athletes with different amounts of bonuses directly related to the level of achievement. It is, however, plausible that great achievements in all professional sports will in the future

be recognized not only in terms of symbols but also by cheques. In professional sport it is a matter of course that the price for the achievements is paid in cash. It is quite conceivable that sooner or later this will also become true of the Olympic Games with their more or less professional participants. Such a situation may rise even sooner, if the athletes start wanting their due share of the huge revenues of the Games and are ready to sanction their wants by boycott, for instance.

Records and any exceptional achievements in any field of human endeavour have a particular appeal to the public as is evident e.g. in the Guinness Book of Records. This peculiar appeal is well utilized also in elite sport, and as a rule the athletes breaking records can earn attractive amounts of bonuses. Sergei Bubka as a superior athlete has proved his superiority also in business by collecting a substantial fortune while breaking the world record in pole vault in the consequently smallest possible steps of one centimeter, thus earning nice bonuses for each new record. Breaking records is like milking cows: let the milking cow milk for as long as possible.

6.4.9 Totalization of sport

Professionalization of elite sport does not only concern athletes but is a far more extensive process. Because of the ever growing demands, the production of high performance levels is no longer possible for athletes alone, but has become a kind of a joint venture with an increasing number of partners who provide for the various resources and services - expertise, publicity, funds, medical services, facilities etc. within the production process.

Due to this totalization process international sport has, in fact, been transformed into a contest between the national systems responsible for elite sport, and a competition which is supposed to be a valid test of the relative superiority of athletes or teams, in fact, tests more and more the great inequalities of the national systems as regards their effectiveness and resources to produce high performance levels. In the past, elite sport used to be mainly the concern of the private sector of society in the Western countries. The new demands and the totalization process have made elite sport extensively also an important concern of the state and public authorities in that it is dependent on the allocations of public resources. In this connection it is worth noting that the totalization process - in terms of mobilizing various resources for elite sport - also implies professionalization of many other key roles in the production system. These key roles cover - besides the prime role of athletes - the important tasks of management, treasury, journalism, sport science, medical services, doping control, coaching, and to a lesser degree also recruitment, refereeing etc. This extensive professionalization of all the key roles in elite sport has been materialized mainly by means of the increasing stakes of the public authorities and business.

6.4.10 Concluding remarks

In sport, the common usage of the term "professionalization" usually refers to the changing roles of athletes. Because of high performance demands today's elite sport is more like an industrial enterprise committed to the production of high performance. In this joint venture it is not only the prime role of athletes but also the

increasing number of auxiliary roles that tend to become professionalized. The more investments are made by the business sector and public authorities, the more extensive is the professionalization of all key roles in elite sport. Transformed from the status of voluntary movement into a commercial business proper elite sports such as pro-tennis or pro-football tend to be pervasively professionalized, let alone their prime clients - the spectators. Citius, altius, fortius as the very basic idea of competitive sport contributes not only to the "arms race" and to the totalization of sport but is also the primary determinant in the professionalization process of sport.

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CHAPTER 7

MEANING CONTENT OF SPORT



7.1 SIGNIFICANCE OF EVALUATION IN PHYSICAL EDUCATION (1979)*

7.1.1 Evaluation and the various systems of physical education

Physical education in schools can be conceived as a system composed of various mutually interrelated components like such as objectives, programmes, teaching methods, facilities, participants etc. In this frame, evaluation as a method and process is merely one component of the system and consequently it varies substantially according to the system of physical education. Thus, when we talk about evaluation it is necessary to refer to the entire system of physical education. For lack of valid comparative studies of various systems of physical education - which are badly needed - I will use the so-called ideal type constructions for indicating the validity of the argument. The "ideal type construction" is a conceptual device for grasping and describing the variety of reality. The latter, however, seldom corresponds accurately to these theoretical constructions, but comes only more or less close to these models. Thus for the mere purpose of illustrating this kind of theoretical constructions relevant to physical education and their validity with reference to evaluation, I have tentatively extracted the following three different systems of conceptions:

1. Sociopolitical conception of physical education

Main purpose of the system:	Socialization of children in and through physical education into sociopolitical consciousness and citizenship
Primary source of information:	Political doctrine
Primary source of norms:	Teacher
Primary sanction:	Authoritarian discipline
Teacher conception:	Authority
Student conception:	Object for teaching and learning
Primary teaching method:	Direct
Conception of physical activity:	Conventional
Primary criterion for the evaluation of students:	Degree of sociopolitical conformity

2. Athletic conception of physical education

Main purpose of the system:	To promote athletics through training of children with a view to the demands of high performance in sport
Primary source of information:	Technology and skills in sport
Primary source of norms:	Maximum performance in sport
Primary sanction:	Competition and ranking by performance
Teacher conception:	Trainer
Student conception:	Potential athlete, training object
Primary teaching method:	Ideal performance (model)
Conception of physical activity:	Conventional, universal sport

* Haag, Herbert et al (eds.), Physical Education and Evaluation. Proceedings of the XXII. ICHPER-World-Congress. Kiel July 23. - 27. 1979, 154-163.

Primary criterion for the evaluation of students:

Common standards for performance and success in competition

3. *Child-centered conception of physical education*

Main purpose of the system:

To promote the integrity of children's personality and abilities in and through physical education

Primary source of information:

Functional and developmental knowledge of human beings

Primary source of norms:

The best interests of children

Primary sanction:

Attractiveness of movement

Teacher conception:

Advisor, supervisor

Student conception:

Primary subject of physical education

Primary teaching method:

Indirect

Conception of physical activity:

Invented, modified or natural movement systems adjusted to the interests and capabilities of children as well as to educational purpose

Primary criterion for the evaluation of students:

Child-specific, individualized

This very schematic description, I wish to repeat, only attempts to illustrate potential variation of physical education conceptions in different countries and perhaps also in different schools in one country, which form the primary determinants of the whole system and all of the system components. Evaluation as a system component is functionally related to the other system components but first of all to the ultimate purpose of the system and it can be examined properly only with a reference to that primary purpose.

7.1.2 External evaluation of the physical education system

By evaluation we usually refer to the process and to the outcomes of the interaction process of physical education lessons. Besides this primary focus of evaluation - I call it evaluation within the internal system of physical education - there exist also evaluation activities which are external to the physical education lesson but still vital and significant to the whole system. Since this external evaluation tends to be overshadowed by the primary concern of evaluation in the internal system I will pay more attention to the former, relatively neglected domain of evaluation.

Besides the teacher-pupil interaction system there are many other interest groups in society with an active concern for and a significant influence on the role and contributions of physical education in school. And if there exists such a keen and influential interest in physical education there will also be more or less systematic evaluation conducted by these agencies. These agencies can be listed in the following order:

1. Educational authorities
2. Teacher training authorities
3. Parents and the public at large
4. Sport authorities

7.1.2.1. Educational authorities

In modern society the main problems of curriculum planning lie in the fact that there are so many subjects well justified to be included in the curriculum and often strongly lobbied by interest groups there only a limited number of weekly lessons. In the State Committee for planning the curriculum for the new comprehensive school in Finland ten years ago it was noted that the expectations of various pressure groups - most of them representing various teachers' professional associations but also trade unions, sport federations, church etc. - added up to 60 teaching hours a week! Taking into account also the hours necessary for homework there exists quite a peculiar paradox: while the work week tends to get drastically shortened for adults it tends to get lengthened for children. In practice this tendency means also that the curriculum gets more and more loaded with cognitive learning and consequently the students' life is more and more dominated by physiologically inactive, unplayful sedentary work at school and at home.

In the current technological age the academic subjects have a high priority in the curriculum and consequently pressure toward minimizing the number of physical education lessons is felt everywhere. In terms of evaluation this tendency means that the school authorities do not recognize the contributions of physical education but consider it less significant in modern society at least when compared with the contributions of some other subjects which seem to have an increasing share in the curriculum. This sort of evaluation might prove fatal to the future of physical education in school and the crucial question to be raised here is how justified this tendentious evaluation is?

The ultimate purpose, the general aims of education constitute the fundamental criteria for the evaluation of various curricular subjects. Therefore, in setting up criteria that justify diminishing or strengthening the position of various school subjects we have to go even beyond the general educational aims and base them on a critical evaluation of stated aims and on a critical appraisal of the conception of life, the conception of man and conception of the good of man reflected in the stated objectives. The Finnish State Committee for Curriculum Planning followed the progressive ideas of the previous State Committee (1966) responsible for defining the general framework for the school reform. The ultimate purpose of the new comprehensive school was defined by that Committee (1966) through the concept of "cultural man" with the following characteristics:

- the pupil is capable of embracing the universal heritage of human civilization,
- the pupil is able to cooperate with other people, and
- the pupil develops a well integrated, independent personality capable of critical judgement.

If the whole of curriculum planning is derived from such a view of "man" and of the purpose of education, the share and the role of different subjects ought to be derived accordingly. It is not too difficult to challenge this conception of "cultural man" as the ultimate purpose of education by pointing out the fatal onesidedness of the concept and the total ignorance of the needs of "biological man" for balanced growth and development; the "cultural man" conception is biased and does not guarantee the integrity and the balanced development of children's personality.

For evaluation in general and for the justification of physical education in terms of the general purpose and objectives of education we need more and empirical evidence of the real and potential contributions of physical education to the curriculum. In this respect physical education obviously has more potential educative capacity than any other school subject.

Physical education as a subject is most flexible - if we want to conceive it in that way - and as such can contribute to the good of man and society but can also have less desirable effects as has been amply documented in the history of sport and physical education. We are inclined, but not justified, to take it for granted that physical education lessons inevitably contribute to the best interest of man, - a presumption that needs to be verified. In evaluating the contributions of physical education we should dare to ask bold questions such as: Taking into consideration the modest number of students voluntarily engaged in physical activities after high school, could it be partly due to some failure in physical education?

If the education in school purports to contribute to the balanced development of children's personality, the curriculum should also be balanced and in evaluating it in this light the following criteria seem to be appropriate in general but also from the viewpoint of educative capacity of physical activities:

1. balance between the cognitive, affective and sensorimotor domains,
2. balance between expressive vs. instrumental activities,
3. balance between frustrating vs. rewarding, pleasant vs. unpleasant experiences,
4. balance between sedentary life and motor activities,
5. balance between teaching contributing to different "Lebensbereiche", different spheres of post-school life: occupation and work leisure and citizens' political role as described by Helmut Schelsky in his work "Schule und Erziehung in der industriellen Gesellschaft" (1965).

7.1.2.2 Teacher-training authorities

Physical education in schools is as good or as bad as the teacher-training in physical education. There is some truth in this proposition and the failures of physical education are at the same time the failures of the teacher-training or we should at least see these failures as a challenge to our work in these institutes. The gap between teacher-training and physical education in school and the lag of information exchange between them is, I think, a serious obstacle to the development of physical education in general and to teacher-training in particular. Teacher-training institutes, like any other professional or vocational training institutes, tend to limit their task responsibility only to producing formally qualified persons for the labour market without a sincere further interest in how these people will succeed in practice with their learned competence, that is, without evaluating their training system through inservice practice.

In decision-making the appropriateness vs. inappropriateness of the solution depends first of all on the appropriateness vs. inappropriateness of the information available. This proposition is valid also in teacher-training if conceived as a decision making system, and its corollary can be stated as follows: the development of the teacher-training system depends on the growth of relevant information available to that training and thus also upon physical education in schools. If properly utilized

through evaluation and feedback, physical education in the schools can be one of the main sources of information.

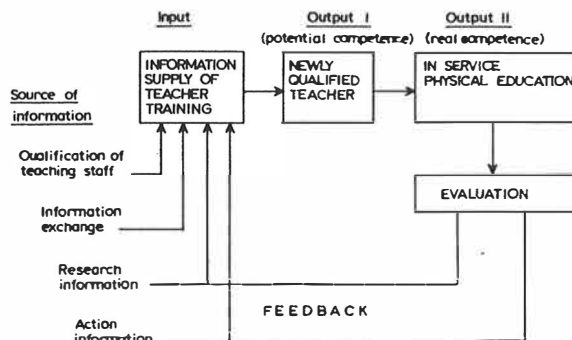


FIGURE 1 Teacher-training as a function of information system and interaction between theory and practice

If there is no reform or feedback of information the teacher-training institute is bound to operate mainly on the prevalent, more or less stable, qualification of teaching staff without any prospect of significant improvements. But if the institute promotes information exchange and/or experiments and research of its own for revising its operative information supply the system is changing and developing all the time. The teacher-training system represents the so-called learning system - distinct from a non-learning system based upon the part qualifications of teachers described above - if and when the system takes care of revising its information supply and provides also follow-up evaluation of the qualifications of new teachers (output I) engaged in practical teaching (output II) and utilizes this information in validating and revising the information supply for the training of teachers. I suspect that as a learning system the teacher-training institutes have some deficiencies to be rectified and the vital exchange between theory and practice to be improved. Mao's advise to the intellectuals: "Go among people and learn" surely contains a very significant message though it might ignore the fact that there are other, likely more effective ways to achieve that learning purpose!

We really can learn from practice. In teacher-training institutes we tend as a rule to teach the students of physical education in an optimal way for optimal circumstances while the reality in schools is often far from the optimum, besides varying a great deal in many respects. Is not this kind of information from the school reality relevant to be fed back to the teacher-training institute? Without a face contact with the actual clients of physical education lessons - children in schools - there is a risk that we might, while teaching adult students in these institutes, miss the actual target group of our work and substitute visible students for "invisible children". The adult students in front of us are often more anxious to improve their athletic performance than their capacities as future teachers !

Contact between the teacher-training institute and practical physical education in the schools is needed to avoid biased conceptions about teacher-training. The recent reform of teacher-training in Finland, which placed the teacher-training institutes together with the practicing schools under the authority of universities, improves this vital contact and helps to remind university teachers of the ultimate criterion of their work: *cui bona*, for whom are they training teachers? It might also be helpful in this respect if on the walls and on the notice-boards of the institutes there were posters and photos of children in action, not only of the most talented but even better of average children, handicapped, or disabled, to whom physical education might contribute most - if properly supervised and programmed.

7.1.2.3 Parents and the general public

School as a social institution is exposed to expectations and to evaluation by many interest groups external to the school system. Physical education as a school subject is exceptionally vulnerable to this external exposure. First of all, parents tend to be quite sensitive to what takes place in physical education because it often has a conspicuous impact on the children's emotional state of mind and physical well-being. This is easily noticed by parents and as easily reported by children at home. Because the layman's expertise is especially high on popular sports, parents are rather hastily inclined to raise questions in public of what should or should not be done in physical education lessons even by writing critical comments on newspapers.

On the other hand, parents are the most significant agents in socializing children into physical activities which is well evidenced in many studies, and in this pursuit they are also the most welcome collaborators with physical education in school.

The evaluations by parents, often latent and unnoticed by school authorities, are therefore of great importance to physical education, and should somehow be taken into account and critically appraised.

Physical education as a public concern also presupposes public recognition for its very existence and development. For obtaining that recognition from parents and the general public it is necessary that they should be given valid information about and demonstration of physical education and its contributions to education in the schools. That information is necessary also for the prevention of biased and unjustified evaluations by parents and unfavourable publicity in mass media.

7.1.2.4 Sport authorities

The most influential interest groups, external but still close to physical education in school, are clubs and sport federations with primary concern for representative sport. In Scandinavian countries, as well as here in Germany, the voluntary sport movement has been the foremost contributor to the large expansion and recognition of sport and through sport also to the recognition of physical education in the schools.

Since the 1950's the uniform sport culture dominated by competitive sport of international origin has been differentiating in Finland as well as many other countries giving rise to new interests and new possibilities for new groups, evoked by changing conditions of life in industrialized and urbanized society. In passing I should like to mention that the Grand Old Man of Finnish sport, professor Lauri Pihkala wrote in 1951, at the eve of the Olympic Games in Helsinki a famous pamphlet, "On the Urgent Mobilization of Sport for All Before Our Olympic Games", urging communities and clubs to promote every man's sport since he feared that after the Games people might get too intoxicated with championships and vicarious sport with no lasting interest in active participation. Fortunately the prediction did not come true, perhaps because of the poor success of the Finnish athletes in the Games or for some other reason. Anyhow, the Finnish people became gradually interested in the sport-for-all movement. In 1970 the State Committee stated that

Every citizen shall be given the opportunity to participate in physical activities in accordance with his individual abilities and inclinations. The organization of every man's sport shall guarantee citizens the freedom of choice in sporting activity and the opportunity to participate in the decision making which affects every man's sport.

With the more pluralistic conception of sport and physical culture, the traditional linkage between sport and physical education is weakened and the prevailing sport-centered conception of physical education in the past is being superseded by a more child-centered conception which at the same time integrates of physical education as a subsystem into the common purpose of school education.

The novel conception of physical education in the new comprehensive school system have caused some frustration in sport federations which are anxious to recruit the most talented youth for competitive sport and eager to collaborate with school authorities despite the straightforward statement in the report of the State Committee, that "it is not the primary purpose of school to train athletes for competitive sport."

The expectations of municipalities and the associations interested in promoting every man's sport are, however, more in line with the novel conception of physical discrimination by sex or natural talent for sport. Accordingly, instead of maximum performance the new conception of physical education underlines more optimum performance; instead of adjusting students' lives to the demands of sport the new conception holds that sport should be adjusted to the demands of life at large and to the different interests and faculties of students. Consequently, the evaluation of physical education tends to extend beyond the school age to the post-school life, especially in reference to the stated aim of fostering, in school, a lifelong interest in physical activities and in the care of one's health.

7.1.3 Internal evaluation by teachers and students

Giving priority, in this report, to the problem of a system learning through evaluation I have so far dealt mainly with those stimulus-inputs for learning generated by some influences external to physical education in the schools. Surely a system should learn also through an internal evaluation within the system itself, from the stimuli generated during physical education lessons. But the ultimate criterion and

justification for system learning in education is of course, the student: a system should learn as a system mainly in order to be able to improve student learning.

Because the main focus of the concern is on the learning process through the teacher-student interaction in physical education, I purpose to consider mainly those aspects relevant to the system learning approach.

7.1.3.1 Evaluation by teachers

Evaluation as a teacher's concern can take several different conceptions:

- evaluation as a process,
- evaluation as a test or outcome,
- evaluation as a learning and self-corrective system.

7.1.3.1.1 Process conception

The conception of evaluation as a process sees evaluation as an ongoing and inseparable component of a teacher's activity. All teachers have more or less conscious and more or less specified preconceptions of a lesson, at least some idea or some anticipation of classroom activities or of directing the lesson and the learning process. If teachers behave like rational beings - and usually we do so - they judge every action in terms of how the preconceptions are realized through classroom activities and if some deviations occur they take some counteraction. Through this kind of ongoing evaluation during the classroom activities the teacher can regulate the learning process in such a way that the preconception of the lesson - what the lesson is supposed to accomplish - is of practical use. Sometimes it is also quite possible that evaluation feedback indicates that the lesson plan itself needs changing.

Equating evaluation with testing, commonly found in literature and often implied by the term "evaluation" in physical education, can never substitute - and is not meant to do so - the process conception of evaluation, since the latter is an integral part of the teacher's role in a rational orientation to physical education.

7.1.3.1.2 Test conception

Within the dominant positivistic paradigm in the behavioral sciences, and thus also in scientific endeavours in education, measurements and measurable objects are of great importance. Partly due to this orientation a test conception of evaluation has often superseded the process conception as described above and evaluation through objective tests in more or less experimental settings has undermined the recognition of subjective evaluation through teacher observation. Sometimes these measurable, and as such comparable, components of physical education seem to become the very purpose of education or at least they tend to receive recognition as operational objectives.

The problem of test validity is certainly worth critical consideration: what should be tested or evaluated, what is actually tested? More attention should perhaps be paid also to the problem of the causal interpretation of test outcomes. In testing a teacher is primarily interested in process outcomes of the lesson but is the test applied valid to cover properly the outcomes of the lesson without any distortions or

contamination effects due to e.g. students' extracurricular activities? If we are primarily interested in the process outcomes of physical education, the most appropriate tests are those covering pupils' immediate cognitive, affective, sensorimotor and social experiences during a lesson. A contest is one of the most popular tests used in a physical education lesson, though usually not so intended. Contests primarily test athletic superiority but success and high performance in competition is often due more to extracurricular than to curricular activities. Obviously, competition as a test is more compatible with the sport-centered than the child-centered purpose of education. Besides, competition by its very definition tends to discriminate against those who are inferior and less talented in their performance, and in a contest there are usually few winners, but many losers; hence, a contest could single out some as active participants but stigmatize others as bystanders and spectators.

Some cautionary remarks are needed in general concerning the extensive use of tests, particularly the misuse of tests as a substitute for the physical education lesson proper. A test, even a sportive one like that fashionable Cooper-test, is meant to be only a means of evaluation but never the purpose of the lesson itself. Because even physical performance tests are constructed to measure certain specific dimensions of human faculty they tend to be estranged from the very essence of the play, game or other genuine movement systems with their complex flow-structure, elevating emotional commitments that are very essential to any natural and playful movement and to their attractiveness.

7.1.3.1.3 System-learning conception

The different conceptions of evaluation are not mutually exclusive. This is particularly true of the learning conception of evaluation. The ultimate criterion of and the real justification for any evaluation in physical education can be stated just by one term - LEARNING. Learning through evaluation has been the common denominator of the previous arguments: evaluation by significant external authorities for the system-learning, more intrinsic continuous evaluation by teacher during and for the classroom activities and eventually evaluation through special tests mainly for assessing the outcomes of lesson but also for the system-learning. Accordingly, the system-learning conception of evaluation is the most comprehensive one and any evaluation on any level has some reference to this system-learning with the ultimate focus on student learning. The primary criteria for student learning depend however, upon the purpose of education: in the sociopolitical system of education it might be indoctrination itself, in the sport-centered system high performance in sport, and in the child-centered system the integrity and balanced development of students' personality with a lifelong interest in physical activities. Whatever these criteria for evaluation and learning are, the purpose of a physical education lesson in all systems is realized in and through students.

7.1.3.2 Evaluation by students

To what extent the various purposes of a physical education lessons are realized can be evaluated only through student performance and learning outcomes. Irrespective of purposes these outcomes tend to be more favourable the more committed students are to the lesson process. If this is true, in planning lessons we need to take into consideration also the evaluation by students: how they conceive of different programmes, what kind of meanings these lessons evoke in them, what impacts lessons have on their self-concepts, to what extent a programme is felt attractive and challenging by students with diverse inclinations and performance capacities, or to what extent it is felt to be fair and appropriate by them. Irrespective of teachers' intentions, students make there evaluations of different kind by themselves and the real outcomes of physical education depend greatly on what kind of meaning students infer from or attach to lessons.

Learning is to a great extent a matter of positive and active involvement: you may lead a horse to the water, but you cannot make it drink, says an old proverb. Detached, non-committed students are usually poor learners, they even tend to deteriorate the learning of other students. In the interaction process, students are supposed to get some reasons for the lesson from the teacher for their learning motivation. On the other hand a teacher can also learn from the students' evaluations by planning lessons in such a way that students' impressions and opinions receive a proper consideration and their involvement is improved. For that purpose it is not enough that teachers know the objectives of physical education, rules and skills in sport, and teaching and evaluation methods, they must also know the students and how they evaluate the physical education lessons. That is a real challenge to all of us and to the development of physical education. The human right and capability for rational self-evaluation as a necessary precondition for the self-regulation of one's behaviour is surely worth encouraging and is the foremost criterion for nature citizenship in a democratic society.

To conclude:

Evaluation is a key concept in learning and learning is the only justification for evaluation. Students learn better

- if their teachers also learn
- if teacher training also shows a good concept and
- if physical education as a system learns.

7.2 SOCIAL MEANINGS OF SPORT FOR ALL (1990)*

Abstract

"Symbolic interactionism," as a school of social philosophy, states that people assign meanings to objects of focus in their environment and react accordingly. These meanings are social in origin. Hence "sport" as a particular object in the symbolic environment symbolizes "achievements" or "preeminence" and as such is meant mainly for the young, the talented, and the boys. The learning of various meanings through the socialization process is conditioned by the supply of physical activities available in the environment. A person assigns meanings both to objects in the environment and to self in terms of self image. These self-conceptions are reflections of and conditioned by cultural norms, conventions, and ideals. The meanings assigned to sporting activities and to self do not remain stable, but are prone to reevaluation and revision due to changes in life situations, the supply of programmes available, capabilities with aging, fashion, and life-long learning.

Key words: conception of sport, symbolic interactionism

7.2.1 Two concepts of sport

Simplification is the only way to comprehend the complexity of reality. It is exactly what I am doing by arguing that the rich reality of physical culture in most Western countries reflects two basic concepts. One of these can be called the "achievement concept of sport" and the other the "human-centered concept of sport." In a national survey on the value orientations of sports leaders, carried out in Finland already 20 years ago, these two basic concepts were clearly reflected in the answers given by sports leaders when they were asked about their notion of the correct way to practice sport [1].

The distinction between these two concepts of sport can be illustrated by the following ideal type of characteristics, in which there are some similarities with the well-known "pattern variables" of Talcott Parsons:

The achievement concept of sport

seriousness
determination
specialization
competitiveness
achievement-orientation
society-orientation

The human-centered concept of sport

playfulness
pleasure
versatility
individualism
participation-orientation
self-orientation

* Oja, Pekka - Telama, Risto (eds.), Sport for All. Proceedings of the World Congress on Sport for All, held in Tampere, Finland, on 3-7 June 1990, 439-445.

The prime idea of the achievement concept of sport is, by definition, the adjustment of one's capacities to the demands of sports disciplines. On the other hand, the prime idea of the human-centered concept, and sport for all reflecting it, is the adjustment of physical activities to the different demands and faculties of different people. These basic concepts of sport/physical activities are well implemented in the physical culture of many countries, in their organizational structures, sports policy, physical education system, sports facilities, and so forth. Obviously the achievement concept of sport has prevailed in the past, at least in the Western countries, with its powerful agencies of the Olympic movement, championship sport, training centers, sports museums, sports journalism, and the like. This prevalence is due to the fact that this concept of sport is tightly in accordance with the common pursuits of the achieving societies of the West. Through the identification process the achievements of athletes or teams are shared by spectators, and also the achievement concept of sport in these societies is highly reinforced by the vicarious public interest of spectators' sport and by journalism.

7.2.2 Differentiation of physical culture

Due to its very idea, achievement sport attracts mostly the younger generation and males. In the past, sports used to be primarily a youth movement. In a changing society physical culture has also been exposed to changes with emerging new forms and new conceptions which have attracted new segments of the population to engage actively in physical activities.

In the early 1960's the issue of further differentiation of the physical culture in Finland, dominated by the achievement concept of sport, was well recognized and phrased in terms of the "second way." If there are different purposes and tasks in physical culture, there must also be different ways, different programmes, and different organizations and facilities to carry them out [2]. In 1966 the Finnish Ministry of Education appointed a Committee to outline a programme for the development of sport for all. It was the first official challenge to the traditional concept of sport that was deeply rooted in international forms and conventions and also well defended by the national federations of competitive sports with their argument that competitive sport is the best fitness sport for all. The expanding new movement of sport for all used to carry different labels, such as "mass sport," "Volk Sport," "fitness sport," and the like, but the committee found them all more or less defective. For example the term "mass sport" conveys the idea that participation is carried out in mass events and in conformed ways, and the terms with "sport" as a suffix indicate the conventional connotations of competitive sport. Finally the "fitness exercise" was accepted as a working concept. To encourage inventions, differentiation, and familiarity the term "sport for all" was defined broadly as "physically active way of life." As a way of life it is possible to implement not only in and through a particular programme designed for sport for all but also in other spheres of life, for example, through work-pause exercising, gardening, walking or biking to work, choosing the stairs instead of the elevator, and the like.

7.2.3 Reflections on the human concept

Any concept of sport or sport for all, in turn, reflects also a concept of the human being. If the concepts of the human being that are implemented in physical activities are defective, distorted, or one-sided, their implementations in physical culture - in physical education in schools, in sport for all, in facilities, and the like - are defective, or one-sided as well. The valid concept of the human being as a frame of reference is of great importance in any field of physical culture and certainly so in sport for all. It is, however, easier to argue for this valid concept than to specify it.

Such a valid concept of the human being with reference to physical activities is composed of the following two basic constituents: (i) physical activity is a necessity for the functional well-being of people, physical activities therefore being meant for all people, and (ii) there is great variability in a person's functional capacities and interests in physical activities, the physical culture of a society therefore needing to be differentiated accordingly.

Last but not least, in promoting people's interest in physical activities, one needs a valid conception of the socialization process in physical culture, that is, how people become engaged or disengaged in physical activities in their lifetime. Everyone who is professionally affiliated with physical activities, I assume, has some comprehensive notion of the factors and circumstances that contribute to a person's interest in physical activities. The more learned through scientific studies about this phenomenon, the more complex the picture tends to become - at least at this stage of knowledge [3]. Complexity seems to be the very character of this phenomenon, at least in a modern society, whereas "jumping, running, and throwing" appear to be simple natural activities in primitive societies and in childhood. Is the complexity an indication of the alienating way of life in advanced societies?

7.2.4 Symbolic interactionism as an approach

If one wants to understand this social behavior in focus, some phenomenological approach is appropriate, as David Whitson has pointed out [4]:

To properly understand why someone acts in a particular way, it is necessary to get at what he understands himself to be trying to do, and beyond this, to understand the cultural context and the life experiences which have led him to view the world in this particular way . . . [pp 53-4].

One of these phenomenological approaches was called "symbolic interactionism" by Herbert Blumer, who also was the intellectual leader of this school [5]. Some basic ideas of symbolic interactionism also contribute to understanding people's interest in physical activities [6,7].

People live in a symbolic environment, as well as in a physical environment, and can be stimulated to act by both symbols and physical stimuli. Thus it is not at all trivial matter in symbolic interactionism, for example, by what terms the entity of physical activities meant for all is called. More specifically, people act toward those stimuli of objects - symbols, things - on the meaning that the objects have for them. These meanings derive from the social interaction process; in other words they are learned. If one has not learned to assign any meaning to certain objects in the

environment - like foreign visitors in Finland who have never learned anything about the Finnish baseball or sauna - these objects do not have a significance. It is also important to notice that meanings are not static but are modified and interpreted in actual social situations. In Blumer's words [5]:

. . . action is constructed or built up instead of being a mere release. Whatever the action in which he is engaged, the human individual proceeds by appointing out to himself the divergent things which have to be taken into account in the course of his action. He has to note what he wants to do and how he is to do it; he has to point out to himself the various conditions which may be instrumental to his action and those which may obstruct this action; he has to take account of the demands, the expectations, the prohibitions, and the threats as they may arise in the situation in which he is acting. His action is built up step by step through a process of such self-indication. The human individual pieces together and guides his action by taking account of different things and interpreting their significance for his prospective action. There is no instance of conscious action of which this is not true [p 182].

Those who are familiar with the symbolic interactionism founded by George Mead in the 1930's know that it is a very sophisticated system of thinking. As a semilearned person and not an expert in symbolic interactionism, I have employed the basic ideas of symbolic interactionism in constructing a phenomenological conception of people with reference to physical activities.

7.2.5 Learned meanings

People assign different meanings to things and objects that have been learned in social interaction (i.e, in a socialization process) in their environment. In the process objects are also evaluated, and attractions and repulsions are assigned these meanings. While the relevant objects of physical culture are learned in schools and through mass media many specific and distinctive meanings are learned in peer groups, in families, and from "significant others."

The sociocultural distinctions imposed by social class, occupations, generation and gender shape and mold these meanings and might designate an object like play as appropriate for youngsters but not for elders and a muscular body as appropriate for a man but not for a woman. Because of the expansion and differentiation of the field of physical culture in terms of tasks, branches, and forms, the meaning content of physical culture tends to become enlarged and diversified. In 1979–1980 the interests in physical activities of the employees of the city of Jyväskylä were the focus of a research project. When asked in the interviews what attracts them to physical activities in general and to their favorite sports in particular, the employees gave about 100 more-or-less different answers. Reasons such as "recreation," "outdoor-life," "fitness," "nature," and "relaxation" were the most common [8]. It is really amazing to notice the multitude of meanings assigned to physical activities. It was also proved that various sports have some distinctive meaning or content [8]. Hence the more various sports there are available, the greater variety of meanings is involved.

The different meanings assigned to physical activities are often phrased in positive terms, but according to symbolic interactionism these meanings can also have negative value loadings. Thus "companionship" as a meaning assigned to a

sport like downhill skiing might have a negative value loading for some people but a positive one for others. If and when these meanings are learned in and through the socialization process, it is likely that males and females, different age groups, and people of different social status assign at least some distinctive meanings to physical activities in general and to different sports in particular. This proposition comes very close, as far as I can see, to the more recent reasoning of Pierre Bourdieu, but instead of accumulating distinctive economic, cultural, or social capitals in sports by their social dispositions as a habitus, people - according to symbolic interactionism - assign different meanings with both their positive and their negative - repulsive - loadings by their social dispositions or habitus [9-11].

7.2.6 Situation as a determinant

The meanings assigned to various stimuli of physical culture are also interpreted against the actual situation or life space people are involved in and against individual capacities in terms of their adequacies in implementation. Factors in the social situation and in personal physiobiological capacities are evaluated in terms of their potential to facilitate or to constrain participation. For the purpose of illustration some facilitating and constraining factors are listed in Fig. 1.

	Facilitators	Constraints
Personal capacity	adequate sporting competence time available surplus of energy positive past experience proper equipment, etc.	inadequate sporting competence no time available no surplus of energy negative past experience lack of equipment
Social situation	social conventions favorable (norms, customs, role expectations) facilities available instructions available safety	social conventions unfavorable no facilities available no instructions available nonsafety

FIGURE 1 Facilitating and constraining factors in sports participation.

It is rather obvious now that if the meaning assigned to activities in sport for all is positive and the personal and social factors involved are favorable, active participation is also highly probable. This reduced model of the participation in physical activities as a social behavior is based on some premise of symbolic interactionism. It has some obvious similarities with the familiar "demand and supply" model of consumption (Fig. 2).

Objects = Supply	Meanings = Demands	Situation = Market	Response options
Competitive sport Sport for all - various physical activities	Expectations/ repulsions	Facilitating/ constraining Personal capacities and social situation	Positive attitude Spectators' sport Active participation Ignorance Opposition

FIGURE 2 Meaning-situation-response model of sport participation.

With the differentiation of physical culture new purposes and new forms of physical activities are emerging, and as time passes new meanings and novel attractions are learned and adopted. If these meanings have real significance, efforts are made to improve the facilitating conditions and to moderate the constraining personal and situational conditions for active participation. In the promotion of sport for all, a valid concept of human beings as a basic premise is of great importance. More research is needed to clarify it. Too complicated conceptions and models of persons engaged in physical activities are, however, of little use for organizations promoting sport for all. In the preceding text I have attempted to introduce a relatively simple concept of people with reference to physical activities. It is tentative and needs elaboration and validation through research. It is obvious that a concept based on symbolic interactionism - if valid - gives proper guidance also for organizations in promoting sport for all. That guidance is needed, since the potential of physical culture, for the well-being of people and society, is still far from being realized in any country.

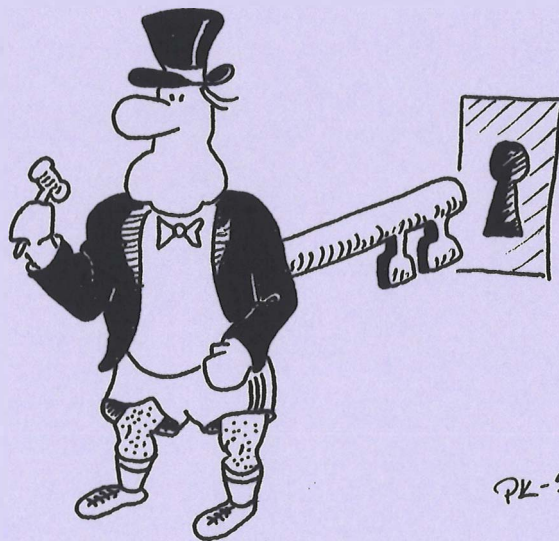
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CHAPTER 8

KEY ROLES IN SPORT



PK-97

8.1 SPORT DISCIPLINES IN THE LIGHT OF THE SOCIOLOGICAL IMAGINATION (1995)*

The increasing number of new sports is characteristic for the recent trend in sport culture. The very idea of sport is realized in and through various sport disciplines yet their study and comparative analysis have remained of minor interest in sport sociology. The best known studies in this field concern mostly the interplay between the culture and popular sports in society (see e.g. Allison and Luschen 1979; Andreano 1973; Guttmann 1978; Stone 1972; Weinberg and Arond 1971). This article aims to explore and map out some other issues in sport disciplines for the sociological focus.

8.1.1 The impetus for the increase of sport disciplines

There are many social and environmental circumstances but also movement-intrinsic factors which instigate the growth of the number of sport disciplines: (1) the emancipation of sport and the new interest in sport, (2) the environmental challenges, (3) the new technology and materials, and (4) the multidimensionality of the movement.

8.1.1.1 The emancipation of sport and the new interest in sport

The very core of any sport discipline is a movement. A movement as a constituent element is as flexible and potentially as rich as a sound in music, a colour in a painting or a word in literature. A human expression in movement can greatly vary not only in forms but also in content. The hegemony of competitive sport anchored in the programme of the Olympic Games has restrained the emancipation of human expression and the emergence of new sport disciplines, especially in countries like Finland which are strongly committed to the Olympic movement. The need for this emancipation and the further differentiation of sport culture was clearly conceived when the idea of sport for all became popular as a public issue in the 1960's. Most sport disciplines in the 1950's and 1960's were meant for competitions and the new forms were badly needed "since sport is meant not only for those younger people interested in competitive sport but for all people."

When people at large conceive that sport is meant for all with some potential contributions to their life, the consummatory interests are diversified due to the different needs and the different capabilities of the new consumers. New sport disciplines, or the modification of old ones, are needed to meet the new demands of females, handicapped and elderly people. The male hegemony in sport culture is well reflected in sport disciplines available, most being meant for the male population. With female emancipation and with the demand for equal participation, well justified in movement culture, those deficiencies in programmes are recognized and the new inventions like ringette, rhythmic gymnastics, aerobics, jazz ballet etc. have had their

* Bette, Karl-Rutten, Alfred (eds.), *International Sociology of Sport: Contemporary Issues*. Festschrift in honor of Gunther Lüschen, Stuttgart 1995, 99-109.

social order in market. Such a social order is well perceived also amongst the elderly and the handicapped people.

8.1.1.2 The environmental challenges

Some sport disciplines have their roots in folksport and in the traditional way of life such as livelihood affairs, fighting, hunting and locomotion by skiing, rowing, by foot etc. In modern societies new sport disciplines tend to have their seeds in the environmental and cultural soil.

The great variation of the geographical environment has given stimuli and challenges for a number of new sports like "water" as an environment for numerous water sports: calm water for swimming and canoeing, water with winds for sailing and surfing, flowing water for water slalom, frozen water for sports on skates and deep water for diving sports. In winter an amazingly high number of sports make use of the gravity force on hills: ski jump, the Alpine sports, the bobsled sports, some gliding sports, snow boarding and freestyle. The most popular winter sport resorts gain part of their attractions from the conveniences of the hill sports: "the lift takes care of the trouble to ascend up to the hill and the gravity helps to descend" as the grand old man of Finnish sport, professor Lauri Pihkala used to satirize the Alpine sports. In an affluent society people are accustomed to conveniences and seek that also in sport.

8.1.1.3 The new technology and new materials

The impetus for the emerging of new sports stems also from a new technology and new materials available for sport equipment and apparatus. Due to the high technology motor sport is diversified into a number of new disciplines and is differentiated according to various environmental challenges (cf motor cross, speedway, endurance, water skiing, outboard race, rally etc.). To move some equipment or to master one's body on some apparatus are the constituent ideas for a great variety of sports. Such disciplines as apparatus gymnastics, rhythmic gymnastics with ball, ribbon and hoop, and most track events in athletics belong to this class of sports. In principle, any tangible and transferable object and vehicle can be transformed into a sport as seen e.g. in the strongest man competition. Kick sledging as an old means of locomotion has recently been turned into a sport discipline with the world championship while the throwing of the boot has remained as a folk sport. New materials like plastics and glassfiber have also contributed to the invention of new sports such as frisbee, wind surfing, snowboarding, and hanggliding.

It is rather significant that the greatest number of sports are constituted around the simple but magic object of the ball. No doubt, ball games based on the idea of moving a ball - by carrying, kicking, throwing, punching or beating - in pursuit of certain aims are, by far, the most popular sports in the world attracting millions of participants and spectators. The question about the popularity of the ball games is still open; it has been argued that the delicate balance between chance and effort stemming from the control of the "playful" ball has something to do with that popularity, but who knows.

8.1.1.4 The multidimensionality of the movement

The multidimensionality of the movement itself contributes to a great variety of sports each reflecting some specific component or combination. Hence a sport discipline might be constituted on the movement demanding either muscular strength, endurance, motoric agility or accuracy, sense of rhythm, gracefulness or virtuosity but also expression of feelings or any of their combinations. The track and field events represent well some of those different components of the movement and the decathlon the combination of them. In most disciplines the whole body is involved in the movement but some sports deviate from the pattern like shooting-based rather on a non-movement - and wrist-wrestling, a new championship sport. With reference to the movement wrist-wrestling can be perceived at least as strange as walking as a competitive sport and an Olympic event. Lauri Pihkala used to illustrate the peculiarity of competitive walking with the imaginary analogy to a competition in whispering: a winner is one who whispers loudest!

8.1.2 The identity of the sport discipline

A sport discipline can be conceived (1) as an abstract "blueprint" manifested in the constitutive rules, (2) as "a liveprint" experienced mentally and physically in participation, and (3) as an institutionalized and encultured "cultprint".

8.1.2.1 The blueprint identity

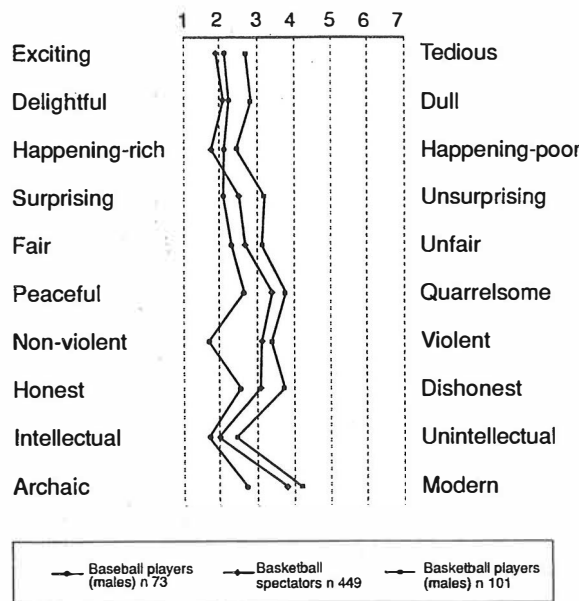
A sport discipline is a product of human imagination and is reduced into a set of constitutive rules defining the sporting purpose, the frame of reference for behavior, means, equipments, and venues, proper for the pursuit of that purpose. In essence a sport discipline is nothing but a set of constitutive rules. These rules as blueprints give each sport discipline their distinctive forms and their conceptual identity; without those rules - written or not written - there are no sport disciplines proper but mere physical activities like running, skiing, swimming, skating etc. Those informal activities are common but not inevitable in sport for all whereas the engagement in competitive sport is bound to sport disciplines proper with specified rules providing equal conditions for participants and thus contributing to the validity of the competition as the test of the relative superiority of the performances of the contestants (Heinilä 1989).

8.1.2.2 The liveprint identity

While the blueprint of the sport discipline is just an abstraction or "a dead word", the liveprint is the total reflection of those sensorimotor experiences generated by the active or the vicarious participation in any sport discipline. Due to different purposes and structures each sport discipline brings about some distinctive experiences which activate the human consciousness in a particular way. Hence e.g. chess as a strategy game triggers first of all the intellectual domain of human consciousness but ballet as an art primarily acts on the sensorimotor and aesthetic domains. In a national survey in Finland skijumpers were asked to list the main attractions of the skijump. The

answers reflect their experiences and thus the distinctive liveprint of the ski jump with the following order of the attractions: the fascination of "flying", the probing of ones bravery and determination, the virtuosity demanded, the speed (the element of vertigo) and the pointed individuality of ski jump.¹ It is quite obvious also that the skijump as an experience is different from e.g. the long jump in athletics!

The prime question is here: how participants or spectators conceive various sports? This is crucial if we want to establish the diversity of mental outcomes supplied by different sports for their different consumers. So far, however, the comparative studies on the liveprints of sports are scarce. In the explorative study on basketball and Finnish baseball² it was found that some tentative differences existed in their liveprints illustrated in the following figure:



The scale average of the 7-point scale is 4. The data are drawn from the following reports: Heinilä 1986; Koski and Heinilä 1986; Tyry 1986.

FIGURE 1 The semantic differentials of the basketball and the Finnish baseball in the national league (the average scores)

- 1 The data are based on the survey on skijump conducted by the author in 1989 with the sample of 93 top skijumpers in Finland; unpublished paper presented in the national seminar on skijump in Lahti, November 24, 1989.
- 2 The items for the test instrument were chosen in the following way: the students of the Faculty of Sport Sciences of the University of Jyväskylä were asked to illustrate in terms of few adjectives the prime experiences they have had when engaged the particular sport given, and then the list of those experiences was screened. The final list approved to the instrument consisted of the 35 pairs of adjectives. The used instrument proved to be clumsy and any forthcoming study on the liveprints of various sports calls for the revising of the measuring instrument.

Basketball and baseball are games related to each other and well manifested also in similarities of their liveprints. The items in Figure 1. are rearranged in such a way that the adjectives with the positive cultural value-loadings are listed on the left. The affectual outcomes of basketball tend to be more positive than those of baseball whereas the ethical, intellectual, and the archaic contents of baseball are more accentuated. It is interesting to notice that the spectators in basketball - attending the same matches from which also the players were chosen in the sample - conceive basketball as a spectator's sport more positive than the players do. Spectators appear to enjoy the game without any "costs" - apart from the fee! - while players often have to make most exhaustive "investments" for their enjoyment in matches moderating their positive returns.

When the liveprints of the games in different leagues were compared it was noticed that those in the lower league tended to be slightly more positive than those in the national league; also the liveprints conceived by female players tend to be more positive than those of male players in the respective league. It is plausible that with the heightening demands imposed on performance of players the liveprints of sports tend to lose some of their positive loadings.

The liveprint of various sports varies and each sport has its distinctive profile composed of various mental and bodily experiences in the following categories

- motor experiences (strength, endurance, agility, rhythm, virtuosity etc.)
- affectual experience (fun, pain, tedious, dull, exciting, aesthetic, hazardous etc.)
- moral experience (fair/unfair, violent, equal/unequal, sportsmanship etc.)
- intellectual experience (tactical and strategic implications)
- social experiences (solitude, co-operation, socially proper/improper etc.)
- sexual experiences (masculine/feminine, sensual, erotic, homo-/heterosexual etc.)
- situational variances (monotonous, complex/simple, rich/poor in content etc.)

Due to the great variety of sports and their liveprints people with most diverse interests can be engaged in some sport compatible to their particular interests. The interesting details are involved with the liveprints of sports like tennis, apparatus gymnastics, downhill skiing etc. in which the full sensorimotor experiences are realized only if the relatively high threshold of basic skill is overcome through training.

It is supposed that the liveprints are primarily shaped by the structural blueprints of various sports. Obviously also cultural impacts have their reflections on the liveprints of sports. Thus some sports are conceived by cultural conventions as proper or improper for females and for the marketing purpose erotic aspects in movement and dressing are highlighted in some sports. These cultural impacts on sports are next in focus.

8.1.2.3 The cultprint identity

If and when a new sport discipline has reached "a critical mass" in the market - in a number of clients - some organizational framework is needed for organizing events and for mobilizing resources such as funds, facilities, expertise in coaching, referees, and leadership etc. for the further development of the sport discipline. All these organizational affairs are based on the social interaction contributing to the gradual emergence of the particular subculture around the sport discipline. The subcultures

of various sports have their distinctive traits composed of their particular slogans, conceptions of sport and code of conduct, traditions, great achievements and sagas, myths, rituals, and ceremonies etc. Due to this enculturation a sport discipline is institutionalized and as a social institution it continues to live on its own and instills some self-value on participants. It is not infrequent that athletes are perceived simply as mere materials to be processed according to the demands of the performance in the sport market.

A sport discipline as a social institution has also become the most significant object for research, training, and teaching in universities especially in biomechanics, physiology, and sport medicine without any due recognition of the fact that a great number of those issues are based just on human imagination and on the set of the conventional rules as a core of all sport disciplines. In top sport the social institution of sports assumes, more or less, the total control of an athlete's life and all other interests of life are submitted to the prime interest of sport. Due to powerful institutionalization "king soccer", for example, attracts global-wide interest and the pattern of life is, to a great extent, shaken and interfered by the World Championship in a number of countries. It has been calculated that the overall costs for policing in the finals of the 1988 European Championships in Germany exceeded DM 35 million (Williams and Goldberg 1989). So ist das Leben!

8.1.3 A sport discipline in market

In the market all sport disciplines as commodities for consumption are exposed to market forces which finally determine which of them survive and find their clients, which are doomed to perish or remain merely as a curiosity of some minority groups, and those which prosper and become popular sport and a social institution on their own. The success in the sport markets is, like in trade, a matter of the balance between the demands and the supply providing the costs and other possible constraints - time available, incapacibilities, sickness etc. Due to the new demands of new groups and the differentiating supply of the new sports competition in the market is tightening. This is well evident in the expanding market research in sport and in the systematic efforts for the development of sports as a product and making the liveprints and the cultprints of sports as attractive as possible to consumers and society at large. The Finnish Baseball Association has made this kind of product development in baseball for a long time and by probing and revising the constitutive rules of the blueprint has tried to make the liveprint of the baseball more attractive to spectators as well as to players with good results. This kind of rational development is not so easy to carry out, alas, when some international sports with long traditions are concerned.

Demand as a function of the sport market is defined not only by the liveprints or the immediate outcome-expectations of the participation but also by some extrinsic factors and the long-term outcome-expectations of the clients. In the past sport used to be bound closely to the class structure in societies. Few sports are still interwoven with the different life styles and with the habitus and dispositions people afford in the particular social field in which they live. Bourdieu argues that various sports as part of the life style are bound to the class distinctions, and the choice of sports is made accordingly (Bourdieu 1984; see also Lüschen 1963). In the repetitive studies in Finland it was found that the common interest in sport crosses the class lines and only

some sport like golf, tennis, surfing, and slalom have some distinction power between, but curiously also within, the classes (Roos 1989).

No doubt, the life style and the social field shape people's interest in sport but in varying degrees in different societies. Also a fashion bound to a life style and local traditions and conventions play their role in the choice of sports. People are also disposed to accumulate the so called economic, cultural, and social capital valued in their social field and manifested in their interests (Bourdieu 1985). Those terms, probably, have some relevance also in the choice of sports and are accentuated when outcome-capital is further differentiated as shown tentatively in the following figure.

The prime interest	The outcome-capital	The sport discipline
1. Recreational	Health fitness Social capital: companionship etc.	Sport for all events: outing, biking, swimming, skiing, jogging, tennis etc.
2. Competitive-achievement	Social capital: public hero Economic capital: pecuniary rewards	Championship sport Championship sport Motor sport
3. Self-expression · narcissistic-erotic · aesthetic-mimetic	Sex-appeal capital Cultural capital	Body-building, sport Figure skating Jazz ballet Rhythmic gymnastic
4. Combat/martial	Self-defense	Budospport Boxing

FIGURE 2 The choice of sport as a function of the sporting interest and the expected outcome-capital

Engagement in sport provides not only some immediate sensorimotor stimuli for body and mind but also a few long-term and even tangible and visible outcomes prone to the different sporting interests and to the different sport discipline. It is also plausible that some of those outcome-capitals afforded are convertible. Thus e.g. the status of "celebrity" achieved in some popular sport is convertible into the economic capital and the fitness into the working capacity etc.

Sport and physical activities are so rich in their potentialities that their outcome-capitals are most diverse, too, and as such can attract people with most different habitus. All these propositions are tentative and the outcome-capital as a possible component of the demand function in the market calls for more rigorous studies.

8.1.4 A sport discipline as a policy problem

Due to the diversity of supply in the market more people are engaged in sport today than ever before. In the past sport used to be primarily a youth movement but in advanced societies, today, it is a movement for all and as a spectator sport it is one of the most popular types of mass entertainment. But the increasing number of new sports in the market accentuates the so-called problem of abundance well noticed e.g. in the expanding programme of the Olympic Games.

As already mentioned, all major sports have some organizational network with clubs, regional and national unites and federations for the implementation and the development of sport. The vital conditions for the affairs and the pursuits of these organizations are common and shared: they all need variety of resources mostly available and located in the external society like funds, venues, and facilities, scientific and medical services, and mass media but also new talents for the achievements in sport. The increasing number of these special organizations makes a competition for the scarce resources in a society tighter and tighter. Under these circumstances the municipalities responsible in many countries for the provision of the venues and facilities in sport face the problem of an abundance of demand as related to the resources available. A similar problem is accentuated in mass media, in physical education in schools, in university teaching and research etc. Due to the great number of sports the scarcity of talented youth capable for high performances is accentuated especially in small countries as also in Finland. With the heightening demands in elite sport the problem of the sufficiency of resources is by and large accentuated (Heinilä 1982). In the national survey it was, however, noticed that 79% of the adult population in Finland considered that success in international sport is important (Olin and Ranto 1986). The only rational way to pursue this goal is to limit the program and to concentrate the scarce resources available for fewer sports (Heinilä 1994). The resolution to the problem of the abundance is thus a matter of policy but in the open society with the open market such decisions are not so easy to carry out.

8.1.5 Concluding remarks

The increasing number of sport disciplines emerging into the market is the most remarkable trend in sport culture with some penetrating repercussions and impacts in current sport culture. For some peculiar reasons neither sport disciplines as totalities nor their comparative analysis or impacts on the sport culture in society have provoked notable scientific interest so far. The provocation of that interest is the prime aim of this paper.³

The article also attempts to provide some tentative frames of reference for such studies by tracing the factors contributing to the increasing number of sports in the market and by introducing the threefold evolutionary concept for the identity of sport discipline: (1) the blueprint as a set of constitutive rules, (2) the liveprint as a multidimensional mental and bodily experience of sport in action, and (3) the cultprint as a cultural product of the enculturation and institutionalization process.

3 The author has made some tentative explorations in this field; see Heinilä 1969; Koski and Heinilä 1986.

Due to the increasing number of sport disciplines a competition between their organizations for clients - participants and spectators alike - and for various resources vital for their survival and prosperity becomes tighter and tighter. The question how these sport disciplines with their organizations compete with each other and respond to the diversifying demands in the market is to a great extent open for research. The latter issue is closely related to the most significant problem of the cultural diffusion of sport. With the increasing number of sports the problem of abundance and supply is accentuated and the sufficiency of resources becomes problematic in sport policy especially in small countries.

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8.2 THE SOCIAL STATUS OF PHYSICAL EDUCATORS, COACHES AND ATHLETES (1980)*

After the first considerations and orientation to those social action phenomena triggered by the key concepts of the given theme - social status, athlete, coach and physical educator - I found it necessary to keep the definition of "an athlete" as a participant in the system of competitive sport distinct from a physical education student or pupil as a participant in the physical education lessons in schools.

Of course, it would have been possible to take the given theme literally and regard those three statuses as components of the same social system of competitive sport and to take the status of the athlete as a process of career with its early stage established in school and the physical education teacher as a significant contributor to that career.

Because my approach is not rigorously scientific, but sooner intends to stimulate thinking and discussion, I prefer to define also those key terms in a relatively loose manner (the strict terms and concepts often hamper creative thinking, but the ambiguous and vague ones inspire imagination). Thus with the term "social system" I refer to any entity of some common purpose and identity with components interacting with each other, and with the term "social status" I refer to the set of task differentials in a system and "role" as the action implementation of social status.

8.2.1 Differentiation of physical culture

Some decades ago sport culture in the Scandinavian countries was dominated by competitive sport with respective monolithic value orientation penetrating into all spheres of sport life including physical education in schools with the highest common denominator of the Olympic Games and pursuits of success in the Games.

Perhaps due to the failure of Finnish athletes in Helsinki in 1952 or even earlier due to the new tasks and challenges the welfare state provided, physical culture adopted in the 1960's a more pluralistic orientation with the respective differentiations in tasks, forms, organizations and even in facilities - a process which is still going on. As a result of this process, common in all Scandinavian countries, the following distinctions in sport culture are generally recognized: championship sport, lower level of competitive sport, everyman's recreational sport, physical education in schools and special physical education for handicapped people.

8.2.2 Two systems of competitive sport

The recent trend in competitive sport has made the distinction between championship sport and the lower level of competitive sport justified. Due to the upgrading demands of performance for success, the training period represents the most significant part of the athlete's engagement in sport, necessitating not only a year-round training cycle with complete devotion to sport but also a reorganization

* Simri, Uriel (ed.), *Social Aspects of Physical Education and Sport. Proceedings of the First ICHPER-Europe Congress*, Dec. 28, 1980 Jan. 1, 1981, Netanya 1981, 148-162.

of educational, vocational and even vocational pursuits of their life, so that these do not interfere with their athletic pursuits.

The following schematic description of the two differentiating systems of competitive sport includes mainly those aspects which have some relevance for the social status of athletes and coaches:

Championship sport

Victory and success
- exclusive pursuits and
value orientation

Primary devotion and
adjustment of life to sport

Training the most significant
part of engagement

Tight regulation and control
of athlete's behaviour by system

Professional and bureaucratic
system management

Public-interest primary in
system orientations (nationalism,
spectatorism, etc.)

Lower level of competitive sport

Success - the very meaning of
competition, but also enjoyment
and "good game" as such

Secondary devotion
and adjustment of sport to life

Training has its share but
real meaning of engagement
realized in competition

Loose regulation and high
permissiveness of athlete's
behaviour by system

Non-professional, voluntary
system management

Participant-interest primary,
and public-interest secondary
in system orientations

In a national survey on value orientation of sport leaders (N=2356 with 71% return) their notion of the "right" way to practice sport was asked. These "role expectations" imposed upon athletes by a very significant group of sport leaders varied in a regular manner with two distinct role models called the competitive sport and the recreational sport orientation, the latter having the characteristics of lower level competitive sport described above.⁴

8.2.3 Status differentials

The most significant determinant of one's social status is the very system to which it belongs with more or less strict ties and with more or less mutual interests. It is appropriate to take a system approach in studies of social status of athletes and coaches and ask questions such as what kind of impacts the changing status of athletes (e.g. due to the referred upgrading demands of performance) or the highly different social status of top athletes in different countries have on the very system of competitive sport. Especially the international authorities, such as the IOC, tend to adopt primarily this kind of system approach when they consider e.g. the changes in rules and their implications in the athlete's status and role. As said, this approach is also appropriate and even highly recommended if implemented in futurologic

4 Kalevi Heinilä, 1980. The Value Orientations of Finnish Sport Leaders, *International Review of Sport Sociology*, Vol.3-4, (67-70)

terms, giving due consideration to their consequences upon the system of international sport in the long run. Unfortunately, the international authorities have not been able to consider those problems of international sport seriously in future terms, but have dealt with them mainly shortsightedly, in terms of here and now.⁵

Instead of a system approach, I am inclined to a more phenomenological approach and want to trace those repercussions that the changes and differentiations of competitive sport have upon the social status of athletes and coaches, especially with reference to their way of life. This approach is equally appropriate if sport is supposed to cherish human values and contribute to the welfare of athletes and not only to the welfare of the systems with their national or international authorities!

The following properties of social status as a constellation of values, norms and behaviour patterns are treated here.

1. Social status as a process: career pattern
Recruitment of athletes (coaches and physical teachers) and the most significant status passages in career.
2. Status constraints
Social pressures and role conflicts due to the expectations of various role prescription groups and status sets in various systems.
3. Cost-benefit analysis of status
The problem of the balance of investment and compensation in the two systems of competitive sport

8.2.3.1 Career pattern

The career pattern of athletes is a particular phenomenon of social mobility. The American scholar Ralph H. Turner makes a distinction between the so-called sponsored mobility in which the elite or their agents take care of the selection process and "choose individuals for elite status who have the appropriate qualities" from the contest mobility, in which "elite status is the prize in an open contest and is taken by the aspirant's own efforts":

"The governing objective of contest mobility is to give elite status to those who earn it while the goal of sponsored mobility is to make the best use of the talents in society by sorting persons into their proper niches"⁶

The contest mobility type of selection process prevails at the lower level of competitive sport and through the process the most talented athletes are screened to the very inner circle of championship sport with their privileges in training and services offered by the system. But there are some draw-backs with this traditional

5 Günther Lüschen, 1977. Die nationalen Wächter Olympias; The shortsightedness of IOC Kalevi Heinilä, 1980. The Value Orientations of Finnish Sport Leaders, International Review of Sport Sociology, Vol.3-4, (67-70) policy is evident also in the recent survey conducted by prof. Günther Lüschen since only 16% of National Olympic Committee returned the questionnaire purporting to study the fundamental policy matters of Olympic movement!

6 Ralph H. Turner, 1960. Sponsored and Contest Mobility and the School System, American Sociological Review, Vol.24

selection system: the contest mobility takes too much time and is bound to cause delays and ineffectiveness of training. Athletes, when they reach the very top, are already "too old" for the full benefits of the most favourable circumstances for training and also "too old" for serving the system in full return for investments made. Because of these dilemmas the contest mobility system has been superseded gradually by the sponsored mobility, in which the most talented youth are selected in scientific tests and/or Spartakiad kind of screening process for the systematic training provided by special schools - most common in socialistic countries but established recently also in the Western countries - and/or sport authorities responsible for championship sport.

Owing to the great scientific interest paid in many countries to developing the tests of selection, their validity and reliability have been greatly improved and sooner or later those dilemmas of contest mobility can be avoided. Thus the whole system of recruitment for championship sport could be based on early selection process carried out at the age of 8-10 years - without wasting resources and professional capacity for the training of losers! Through sponsored mobility the talented youth can reach the very top earlier and thus serve the system longer - if some guts and fitness are still left for that.

When the career patterns of athletes are described quantitatively in track and field events, they are usually shaped by linear function of improved records. Phenomenologically this pattern has, however, a cyclical character with certain turning points, which Barney G. Glaser and Anselm Strauss call status passages:

"Such passages may entail movement into a different part of a social structure; or a loss or gain of privilege, influence, or power, and a changed identity and sense of self, as well as changed behaviour"⁷

One of the earliest "passages" is timed at the age of 7-8 years, when children get engaged in compulsory physical education lessons in school - if available - and sponsored towards the career of the athlete and the role of the "national hero" as its ultimate goal.

After the primary school a talented youth has the most decisive choice of career to be made: whether to devote oneself to a sport career with full heart and vigor or to regard a vocational career as one's primary interest.

Many talented youths drop out at this stage from the wagon to stardom in sport and give priority for more serious matters of life. But are there any more serious matters today than sport except, perhaps - the armsrace, a competition in killing capacity?

For the identity development of a youth it is a very significant point and a status passage when a young athlete passes the threshold to championship sport and gets the public recognition as a top athlete, perhaps as a national hero.

This new status can completely change the life pattern of the athlete: He becomes a public figure without any more privacy of old friendship ties, but with new social contacts with a strange mix of superficiality and familiarity introducing

7 Barney G. Glaser - Anselm Strauss, 1971. Status Passage, The authors prefer not to define status passage but to let the full range of meanings for the concept emerge (in the book) through the combined references of the data analysed and the analyses themselves. (p.6) London

the way to the exclusive societies on the very top. In Finland one weekly journal used to have an annual Gallup-inquiry questioning readers who the most popular person in Finland is. As a rule, always some top athlete with world records or gold medallists ranked at the very top with President Kekkonen - himself a record holder in track and field and very much affiliated in the past with sport as a leader and still a devoted spectator and regular participant in recreational sport, though already 80 years old. Already biographies of athletes and the more or less systematic studies suggest what significant impact this particular status might have on the identity and personality of young athletes, but more rigorous and longitudinal studies are needed for their verification.⁸ Conventionally, the most significant spheres of adult life include vocational training and career, marriage and family life - but not the athletic career in sport. With the upgrading of demands for performance sport career presupposes more or less complete devotion to this pursuit but once the very top is reached, the time to stay there and to enjoy of the fruits of those efforts tends to get shorter and shorter. A champion in sport is a short-lived butterfly: today he is in the spotlight, but perhaps already tomorrow in the shadow and an ex-champion. If the status passage to the membership of the top club has had any intensive impact on the identity of a young athlete, this inevitable status passage to the commonness might be quite difficult, even painful, with the necessary re-definition of identity. If it is not successfully carried out, the ex-athlete, though still at a relatively young age, remains for the rest of life as an athlete and star with the fake identity of a great champion, always reliving in his imagination his glorious past as a champion. He or she is not able to live for today and for tomorrow like others, but only in the past.⁹

This status passage to the common life is difficult if an athlete must find the ways and means for the re-adjustments to life alone without any help from the establishment of championship sport. While encouraging young athletes into a sport career and taking them under total control and supervision, the establishment tends to lose its interest in their welfare after they have done their job and no more can produce any glory and victories for the system. With the upgrading demands of performance in competitive sport, training plays the most decisive role in pursuits for success; consequently coaches as "know how" -specialists have achieved a very significant status in competitive sport. At an early stage of competitive sport it was more a matter of birth and personal effort to become a champion, but today champions are produced and a coach is the very *primus motor* at that production line to championship.

At the lower level of competitive sport a great majority of coaches in the Scandinavian countries work on a voluntary basis not profiting at all from their work.

8 See e.g. Bruce C.Ogilvie - Thomas A.Tutko,1966. Problem Athletes and How to Handle Them, London; Arnold S.Beisser, 1967. The Madness in Sports, New York; Simo Mäkelä, 1974. The Finnish Top-Level Athlete of 1971, Helsinki, 74-110

9 Kalevi Heinilä, 1975. Urheilun sosiologia (Sociology of sport), Urheilutieto II. Recently, however, at least in the Scandinavian countries some measures for the soft landing and for the vocational security have been made when the career as a champion is finished and in Finland e.g. the most successful young athletes are given scholarships for their vocational training by the foundations established for that purpose. These scholarships are meant, as said, only for the most successful athletes, who have been most rewarding to the establishment ignoring those who have done their utmost but failed in their pursuits to the very top. Keuruu, 824.

Only few of them are part-time coaches with some basic training, often provided by national federations. These coaches are often recruited among retired athletes still eager to be involved in a vicarious way in competitive sports, in its ebbs and flows, for getting that flavour of life what Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning call "pleasurable tension" and "an essential ingredient of mental health".¹⁰

Because these coaches are usually very much anchored in their home place with strong ties of marriage, occupation and friendship circles, there is not much social mobility among them and the status quo persists. In Lensky's terms they designate a high degree of status crystallization.¹¹ Their inconspicuous status as a coach is linked in a compatible way with their lower middle class or skilled workers' position and solid occupational career preceded by highschool and/or vocational education, with solid standard of living, etc.

In the system of championship sport the recruitment pattern of coaches is different. As argued before, the type of sponsored mobility is applied when the system recruits the most talented youth for championship sports. Particular sponsorship adheres to certain individual sports practiced in close setting as in the ice rink, in the swimming pool or in the gymnastics hall, and systematic training begins at a very early age of 6-10 years. The first sponsors and often at the same time the first coaches of these young candidates for championship are their own parents, especially mothers with particularly affective and partisan involvement.

The most typical coach in championship sport is, however, a part- or full-time person with some professional training and scientific qualifications. In socialistic countries they are often recruited among ex-athletes trained in universities. Ex-athletes as coaches with adequate professional training have the advantage of inherent authority due to their former success and achievements compared to the social status of a coach with more professional training.

The social status and mobility depend foremost, however, upon the future achievements of the clients and not on the past achievements of a coach: the more successful the athletes or teams, the more prestigious and the more secure the status of the coach. In the common market of competitive sport the fluctuations of success is commonly due to the tough competition for victory. Accordingly, the status of coach also tends to be labile and insecure. The only guarantee for stable status is the success of a client and for securing that a coach's exclusive concern in sport is victory, well expressed by the famous American coach Vince Lombardi: "Winning is not the main thing, it is the only thing". The insecure status of a coach and its dependence upon the success of the clients in the fluctuating market of championship sport designates in Lensky's terms labile crystallization of social status of a coach: once achieved, high crystallization state with high achievements, solid professional training, high social prestige and high income might be drastically turned to low crystallization state due to some bad failures and lost games, and cause some

10 Norbert Elias - Eric Dunning, 1970. *The Cross-Cultural Analysis of Sport and Games, Champaign, III* "The Quest for Excitement in Unexciting Societies"; in Günther Lüschen (ed.), 31-51.

11 Gerhard E. Lensky, 1956. *Social Participation and Status Crystallization*, *American Sociological Review*, Vol.21 (4), 459.

dissonance with pursuits for a balanced state of status.¹²

Because of this symbiotic relationship of athletes and coaches, the same status passages as noticed in an athlete's career could be traced in a coach's career, but probably not so drastic ones. A coach is always more like a stuntman remaining in the shadow. Research and systematic observations are needed for learning more of his career patterns and status passages, but also of constraints and hazards of his profession and status.

8.2.3.2 Status constraints

Behaviour expectation in a certain status is called role-expectation. Athletes and coaches occupy, besides their status in sport, also other statuses in other social systems of occupational, family and friendship circles with their respective role-expectations. Especially in a society which does not provide the secure and legitimated occupational career and life pattern for athletes, this situation with many role-prescription groups presenting respective divergent and even controversial expectations makes the social status of athletes particularly constrained and cross-pressured. The dissonant role-expectations tend to be accentuated at the age of 17-20, when usually the important decisions on occupational and educational career are made, but when also the sport training demands full attention and great devotion. This role conflict should be settled only by choice and by suppressing the irreconcilable expectations. Suppressed conflicts of this kind might be felt as role stress inhibiting full dedication to and full performance in sport. As an indication of the suppressed conflict, it was noted in a survey on athletes' sport career that almost 1/3 of ex-athletes were without any vocational training and nearly one half (n=660) were disappointed with their educational background.¹³

The solid occupational status and career as well as marriage and settling down in the early twenties are commonly accepted as a decent mode of life and as model behaviour for young adults. If not realized but ignored, e.g. due to the demands of a sport career, this might also cause role-stress.

Particularly vulnerable to conflicting expectations are female athletes. Their engagement in competitive sport is still a controversial issue because of the traditional concept of a woman with characteristics like softness, non-aggressiveness, non-muscularness, home-boundness and unambitiousness. Role-expectations of this type are still quite popular in society and they are not adequate to the very idea and demands of competitive sport.¹⁴

12 Lensky proposes that persons whose status is poorly crystallized a social category peculiarly vulnerable to rebuffs, embarrassments and disappointments, op.cit.459.

13 Pauli Vuolle, 1977. Suomalaisen huippu-urheilijan elämänuora (Career pattern of Finnish athletes), Liikunnan ja kansanterveyden julkaisuja 17, Jyväskylä, 64

14 In the pilot study concerning the acceptance of women in different roles in sport clubs and as a participant in various sport events a great deal of disagreement was noticed; Kalevi Heinilä, 1977. (ed.) Nainen liikuntakulttuurissa (Woman in Finnish physical culture), Jyväskylän yliopisto, 164-168. In the the German Democratic Republic efforts have been made to re-define the ideals of woman in a compatible way with respect to competitive sport. Thus, goldmedallist Margitta Gummel says that sport is often unified with beauty today, which she in a marxist term conceives to purport the unity of esthetic, appropriateness, meaningfulness and social significance... Human being purporting for meaningful goal is beautiful in his or her effort; Margitta Gummel, 1975. Sportliche Tätigkeit und

Anyhow women's engagement in competitive sport and its various events and rules invented by males and their submission to the males' leadership, often also to males' coaching, tend to accentuate cross-pressures on the status of female athletes and probably undermine and prevent their participation, even cause early withdrawal. In spite of the equalization of sex-roles, women still have more role-conflicts as athletes to be endured and solved than men have.

Due to high demands of championship sport the athletes are always more or less on leave and, if married, they have to leave home for training, even go abroad for that purpose if there are more favourable circumstances to be found; during the season of competition they have to travel like tourists from place to place. This moving way of life of athletes is not very functional to marriage and family roles. Recently some measures for mitigating the role-conflicts of athletes have been proposed: in Finland the president of the NOC has recently proposed that top athletes should be provided a (shorter) 6 hours workday, instead of a full leave for training and competition, which would leave them enough time for daily training and give security for life.

The conventional ideology of sport is saturated by idealism: all the human virtues and ideals are supposed to be realized in sport and personified by athletes! Accordingly, athletes are idolized and conceived as behaviour models for youth.¹⁵

This expectation of model behaviour, with the daily exposure to the public in mass media interested not only in the idol's sport behaviour, but as the hero-worship phenomenon, also in his or her private affairs very likely contributes to the social pressure upon the status of the athlete in championship sport.

Those status constraints described above might be conducive to the premature withdrawal of the athletes who are not able to find adequate solutions to these cross-pressures and/or too demanding expectations and anomalies of life as athletes - I dare say. With the upgrading demands of championship sport these anomalies and status pressure tend to get accentuated and if not solved properly, the early dropouts are likely to be increased.

At the lower level of competitive sport those status constraints of athletes are to a great extent avoided or remain a minor nuisance since the athlete's role is adjusted to other roles and to longer terms of life. Championship sport has lost in numerous actual and even more potential talents at the lower level: some athletes who already reached the very top level have solved those status constraints simply by dropping voluntarily down to the lower level with more modest demands and revised purpose and interest in competitive sport. On the other hand, there are many talented athletes who will never aspire to be great champions in sport, but rather self-regulate their participation and training according to their own expectations and concept of life, thus avoiding cross-pressures and constraints in their sport pursuits!

Emanzipation der Frau, Theorie und Praxis der Körperkultur 11, 964.

15 The champions in sport enjoy a high social prestige especially schoolboys; Pertti Toukoma, 1967. *Arvomaailman kehitys kouluiässä* (The Process of Value Socialization among Schoolboys in Tampere), Tampere, 66-84; James S. Coleman, *Athletics in High School*, W.Neil Widmeyer (ed.), 1978. *Physical Activity and the Social Sciences*, Waterloo, 214-224

8.2.3.3 Cost-benefit analysis of status

"What could be accomplished if all the energy of athletes wasted in sport would be invested in some utilitarian purpose?", has been sceptically asked. Anyhow a few youngsters are much more willing to invest their energy in a non-utilitarian sport career than anything else and to accept sacrifices, even health risks for the success in sport.

The main attraction of sport is supposed to be the play element involved and its intrinsic potency for self-expression. Even the professionals argue that it is always sport itself which has and should have some appeal to them for motivation and for the strenuous effort sport demands today. Is it the play element well hidden in today's sport, or the opportunity for self-realization sport so amply offers or just tension vibrating there in the air of the stadium and fed by the uncertainty of outcome, but also by big stakes invested in the contest for a guarantee of the right outcome, that is victory? These intrinsic appeals of competitive sport are certainly the main incentives for engagement in sport on the lower level. While the investments in training are low and sport is more adjusted to the life space of athletes, the sacrifices felt and done for sport remain insignificant. Real amateur spirit: sport for sport's sake, still prevails but mainly on the lower level of competitive sport.

Amitai Etzioni makes a distinction in his classification of means for control available for organizations between those intrinsic appeals and immaterial kind of incentives, which he calls normative, from a physical force and a remunerative power.¹⁶ Normative power of intrinsic values is hardly a sufficient incentive for striving for fame and glory in sport and for that pursuit the extrinsic values of symbolic recognition of victories and records granted to champions are of great importance and have a tremendous appeal to young athletes. This symbolic recognition and social prestige adhered to champions and victories are created by the public and extended by the mass media.

In a national survey of Finnish sport ideology the significance of the public in contemporary sport was clearly recognized by the sport leaders (n=1666)¹⁷:

16 Amitai Etzioni, 1961. *A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations*, The Free Press, Glencoe, 5.

17 Kalevi Heinilä, 1973. *CITIUS-ALTIUS-FORITUS, The Olympic Contribution to the Professionalization of Sport?: Ommo Grupe et a. (eds.), Sport in The Modern Word-Chances and Problems*, Heidelberg, 351-356.

	Agree	Disagree	Do not know	
	%	%	%	%
The support of the public is indispensable and a vital condition for the survival of sport	92	5	3	100
The public lends the meaning to sport; without the public sport would be dead	72	20	8	100
There is no justification for the influence of the public on the policy matters and the very purpose of sport	47	35	18	100
The public is quite an alien factor to the very ideology and essence of sport	12	77	11	100

I have postulated that there is a close causal interaction between championship sport, the public and the mass media, and if some changes happen in one of those elements, there is some impact on other elements. There is no championship sport in recent sense without public interest and without the huge exposure of sport to the public through the powerful mass media. Due to the mass media and public interest, sport has its public recognition and social prestige.

Champions are in that sense "created by the public and possessed by the public".¹⁸

With the upgrading demand of competitive sport, the normative rewards of intrinsic and extrinsic type not alone sufficient spurs to guarantee full efforts necessary in the lengthening and ever hardening training in championship sport. The normative power and even the intrinsic values tend to lose some of their drive if "consumed" daily and year-around, if sport becomes daily routine like work. It is quite rewarding to earn public recognition and celebration as a hero, but do the athletes like to have that publicity repeatedly even when they are already well recognized? Does the publicity also lose some of its appeal as incentive when athletes notice that publicity follows them not only in days of success, but also in days of defeats and even interfere with their strictly private matters? Athletes in the Western countries are no longer happy with intrinsic or extrinsic immaterial rewards only they get in championship sport, but they expect more and more tangible, remunerative compensation for their harder efforts.

According to Heinz Meyer, championship sport is more show business than leisure-sport.¹⁹ In fact, there are classical market forces available: the public which is willing to pay for the spectacles of sport; sport federations and clubs as producers of successful athletes and teams, coaches as their main agents for that purpose; and finally athletes as raw material on the production line or as an already refined commodity ready for the market and for sales not only in the professional football or

18 Kalevi Heinilä, 1973. *Huippu-urheilun markkinat (The Market of Championship Sport)*; K.H.-Jukka Wuolio (eds.) *Huippu-urheilu ja yhteiskunta (Championship Sport and Society)*, Congress Report, Jyväskylä, 115-125; The close relationship between championship sport and the public is well recognized also by Ommo Grupe, 1977. *Hochleistungssport - Handlungsmuster Leistungssport*, Schorndorf, 79-80.

19 Heinz Meyer, 1973. *Der Hochleistungssport - Ein Phänomen des Showbusiness*, *Zeitschrift für Soziologie*, Jg.2, Heft 1, 59-78.

basketball market, but also in the so-called amateur sport, where big money, contractual terms of relations and commercialization are transforming the whole system of sport to be more similar to that of professional sport and business proper.²⁰ And the ranking of athletes in performance has its equivalence in terms of market value defined in hard currency.

8.2.4 Physical education in schools

Those transformation processes due to the upgrading demands of competitive sport, described above, have been conducive to the differentiation of sport culture in society and to a more distinct separation of competitive sport from physical education in schools.

While the primary purpose in competitive sport is to test the supremacy "who is the best", and training purports to improve those specific faculties needed for success, physical education in schools tends to be more child-centered with the main purpose to cultivate children's personality in and through physical activities, modified "sport" and physical movement according to individual needs and faculties.

Because of the traditional diffusion of physical culture lots of contamination of competitive sport in physical education in schools is still to be found and will also remain but the goals of the physical education in the new comprehensive school are far from being identical with competitive sport. In the curriculum for the reformed comprehensive school in Finland the State Committee states straightforwardly "It is not the primary purpose of school to train athletes for competitive sport." Competition tends to discriminate winners from losers and thus favours the most talented and frustrates the others. While competition promotes inequality among participants, physical education purports to modify "sport", gymnastics, plays and games in such a way that they can serve equally everybody without discriminating according to sex, talent or interest.

The basic differences between the so-called sport-centered system of competitive sport and the child-centered system of physical education can be described schematically in terms of ideal types and well-known pattern variables of Talcott Parsons:

COMPETITIVE SPORT

Affective neutral

Postponement of gratification
Disciplined training

Specificity

Specialization in sport and in interest

PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS

Affectiveness

Immediate gratification
Playful, affective expressiveness

Diffuseness

All-around versatile interest and engagement

20 Kalevi Heinilä, CITIUS-ALTIUS-FORITUS, op.cit.

(cont.)

Universalism

Common standards for evaluating performance (local, national, international standards for good performance)

Performance

What counts most:
the performance and success
in sport

Society-orientation

Public and spectators orientation:
exclusively the main concern of public
interests in sport

Particularism

Individual standards for evaluating;
each according to his or her need,
inclination and performance

Quality

What counts most:
impetus of physical education to the
personality development and welfare of
participants

Individual-orientation

Phys. Ed. lesson intends to serve
participants: the main concern of
students' interests in physical
activities.

Of course, the definitions above are theoretical in a sense that in reality all the systems vary quite a lot and there might be no system which fully corresponds to the described ideal types, but it is, however, postulated that this kind of distinction has some relevance at least in Finland, despite of great variations due to the teacher-specific and level-of-competition causes.

In the sociological terms of Ferdinand Tönnies, competitive sport represents a so-called goal-oriented *Gesellschaft* type of system, whereas physical education represents more a *Gemeinschaft* type with the self-expression as its primary orientation.²¹

The social status and role-expectations of athletes and coaches are determined by the system purpose of competitive sport and respectively, the social status and role-expectations of teachers and students are determined by the system purpose of physical education in schools. Because the systems differ, also the statuses and roles of their subordinates differ accordingly. This difference has some remarkable practical implications. Sport federations responsible for promoting competitive sport and producing successful athletes for representative sport are naturally keen to intervene in physical education for recruiting purposes and for coaching assistance. But if and when the systems and their purposes differ so distinctly, coaching is compatible neither with physical education proper nor with the role of physical education teacher and so far these intrusions have been dismissed. Even in those few special classes for talented youth established in Finland the teachers with proper physical education training take care of coaching with proper concern also of the very purpose of education, I hope. Thus the more the systems of competitive sport and physical education differ from each other, the less the roles of coaches and teachers are transferrable and this gap tends to get wider with the recent trend in competitive sport.

21 The distinctions of this kind are just for the conceptual command of richness of reality. It is worth noticing that competitive sport which is carried out in a proper amateur spirit comes closer to the *Gemeinschaft* than the *Gesellschaft* model, which is more conducive to the higher level of competitive sport.

While competitive sport tends to become different from physical education in schools, the developing system of recreational sport - but also the intramural sport in universities - has some basic similarities with physical education, just facilitating students' smooth transition from physical education to these other systems and the continuance of their active participation.²²

While the physical culture of a society gets more differentiated in its value orientations it is expected that also the value orientations of physical education teachers reflect more adequately their special field of education. In an early study in the 1960's when competitive sport was more dominant in society, it was noted that female teachers of physical education in schools were more genuinely child-oriented in their primary interest than their male colleagues who were more interested in extrinsic aspects of their vocation and continuing their own career as athletes. Because of their less relevant value orientations male teachers tended to be less satisfied with their occupations than their female colleagues.²³ The selection systems are renewed today and due to that students with more relevant value orientations of the more "other-directed" interest in physical education are likely to be recruited to teachers' career.

The person's social status is usually well correlated to his or her educational and occupational status. Since championship sport, as noted, enjoys popularity and is able to raise a huge public interest partly due to its close linkage to patriotism, it enjoys also a high social prestige - if successful, and coaches get their fair share. There is an apparent paradox, quite common in the Western countries, I guess, since that common correlation mentioned does not hold true of physical education teachers. In the survey on occupational prestige, consisting of almost 1300 different occupational titles, it was noted that physical education teachers enjoyed the lowest prestige among the occupations with academic qualification, theirs being as low as the one of a director of a slaughter-house, nurse and expeditor and even lower than that of a primary school teacher without any academic training.²⁴

One of the main reasons for the lower prestige of physical education is due to the priority of intellectual substance in the curriculum as well as in occupational life, but also to the improper circumstances - 2 or 3 weekly hours and crowded classes - physical education lessons have in contemporary school systems.²⁵ On the other hand physical education as a school subject in Europe does not possess those dramatic and spectacular aspects championship sport does - very contrary to sport in U.S. schools - and thus cannot appeal to public interest!

22 Kalevi Heinilä, 1966. Istuva ja liikkuva ylioppilas (Sitting and moving student) When exploring students' interest in sport, the author found in 1956 that students prefer the *Gemeinschaft* type to the *Gesellschaft* type of sport interest. A recent trend seems to accentuate this orientation. *Stadion* 4, 4-34.

23 Kalevi Heinilä, 1964. Tyytyväiset ja tyytymättömät voimistelunopettajat (Occupational satisfaction of physical education teachers), *Stadion*, 1-2, 3-17

24 Urho Rauhala, 1966. Ammattien arvostus ja yhteiskunnan sosiaalinen kerrostuneisuus (The Social Stratification of Finnish Society), Porvoo. The rating of various occupation was carried out by the 118 members of different municipal councils. They used a 19-points scale in their rating "how people in general assess the prestige of different occupation".

25 Curiously enough physical education as a subject is among the best liked and appreciated by students, and physical education teachers together with their colleagues in mathematics are by far most often elected to serve as principals of high schools with quite a high social prestige!

8.2.5 Interest groups as status determinants

As noted at the very beginning, social status is defined by the system, by the values, norms and tasks imposed upon the person occupying a certain status in a system. The more central these tasks are from the viewpoint of the system purpose, the higher the prestige of status with respective insignia and status symbols. In addition to these inner determinants, there are also outer determinants of social status. The more open a system is, that is the more interaction there exists between a system and its environment, the more social status is influenced by the environment. Championship sport is primarily oriented to public interest and therefore the most powerful interest growing outside sport is the public as primary or secondary spectators of sport, the latter kind of public following sport mainly through the mass media. This relationship is so essential to contemporary sport that some scholars regard with good reason the public and mass media as undistinguished component of championship sport, without which the system does not work and cannot exist any more.

The social prestige of a given status depends not only on the centrality of a status with respect to system purpose, but also on the recognition it gets from the interest groups of the environment. These different ties and different interaction patterns with the environment explain some of the variation of social statuses in championship sport and in physical education in schools earlier referred to. Physical education is a closer system with less interaction with the environment, with less publicity conducive to the stability, but also with less recognition and lower social prestige! The interest and role-prescription groups vary in their significance in the two systems:

ROLE PRESCRIPTION GROUPS

- +++ very significant
- ++ moderately significant
- + minor significant
- o almost none

	Championship sport		Physical education in schools	
	Athletes	Coaches	Students	Teachers
Public	+++	+++	o	+
Mass Media	+++	++	o	o
Sport Federations	+++	+++	++	+
Community	++	+	o	++
Family, parents	++	+	++	++
School-/Workmates	++	+	+	++
School authorities	+	o	+++	+++

At this stage of scientific endeavours in the field of physical culture, it is easier to raise the questions and introduce problems for research than to give definite answers or tell how things are or what is going on and why. By the way, I personally like this situation with ample problems more than the more advanced stage with fewer problems to be studied.