SPORT AND INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING AS CONCEIVED BY ÉLITE ATHLETES

KALEVIHEINILÄ

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PREFACE

This research project was initiated by the Committee of "Mass Media, Sport, International Understanding" of ICSPE (International Council of Sport and Physical Education). 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. The Committee commissioned professor Kalevi Heinilä from the University of Jyväskylä, Finland, to conduct the project. The collection of data was carried out by means of mailed questionnaires from the Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, France and Hungary. Because of the deficiences in the sample and design the results of this pilot study remain provisional. More extensive research is badly needed on this neglected field of sport and international relationship.

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SPORT AND INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING as conceived by élite athletes

ENHANCED SIGNIFICANCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL SPORT MOVEMENT

The expansion of the international sport movement which has taken place during the last decades has greatly enhanced the social significance of sport as a mean of international communication. While the number of international sport organizations was only 60 until the 1950s it had more than doubled by the end of the 1970s and the number of countries affiliated to the international federations in the most popular sports such as track and field and football now exceeds 150. 1)

The extension of the network of international sport is accompanied by an increase of the number of sport events organized not only for their primary participants, athletes, and audience on the spot but also for the public at large which consumes events via the mass media. While sport has been primarily meant for athletes themselves, high performance sport in general and inter-

Hietanen Aki, Varis Tapio, Sport and International Understanding: A Survey of the Structure and Trends of International Sport Co-operation. In: Current Research on Peace and Violence. Vol. V, No. 2-3, 1982, 98. (Tampere Peace Research Institute, Tampere)

national sport in particular is more and more meant as well for the mass entertainment of the public.

Because of this development the sociopolitical significance of sport as media in international communication is greatly enhanced. This was clearly though not pointedly recognized by the High Representatives of the 35 participating States in the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe in 1975:

"In order to expand existing links and co-operation in the field of sport the participating States will encourage contacts and exchanges of this kind, including sports meetings and competitions of all sorts, on the basis of the established international rules, regulations and practice."

With enhanced significance, international sport has become notably prone to the intrusion of various extrinsic interests. The most tragic example was the violent attack of Arab terrorists in the athletes' apartments in the Olympic Village in Munich 1972 with many Jewish casualties. But the number of casualties within a sport event was, on May 29, 1985, multiplied in the Heysel Stadium in Brussels when the British Liverpool FC fans attacked the Italian Juventus Turin fans with 39 fatalities! Less tragic but equally conspicuous extrinsic intervention in sport have been the Olympic boycotts in 1980 and 1984.

The expanding common market of international sport has also appealed to business for profit making. As a result commercial interests are more and more interwoven with sport and distinctions between the amateurism and professionalism, between leisure interest and commercial entertainment are getting outdated and shady. In his analysis of the commercialization of Olympic Games in Los Angeles Horst Seifart concludes drastically: "Sport, which used to have a pedagogic and moral value, is now a dimension of business". 1)

The popularity of spectator sport and the public interest in Sport has made it vulnerable to commercial exploitation: "success in television and in the media in general increases the market value of athletes, organizers and of the media". These pecuniary interests are of a great importance not only as profit for business but more primarily as revenues for financing the increasing costs of sport events. The First World Championship in track and field was arranged in Helsinki in 1983. This was financially possible only by means of

Seifart Horst, Sport and Economy: The Commercialization of Olympic Sport by the Media. In: International Review for the Sociology of Sport, vol. 19, 3/4 1984, 314.

the revenues from commercial enterprises associated with the Games in and around the Olympic Stadium. 1)

The impact of extrinsic interests upon the international sport and its development is most significant, since even the very legitimacy of international sport is based primarily on these interests defined mostly in some common good cause like "promoting international understanding", "friendship", "peace", "mutual respect" etc. For instance, the aims of the Olympic movement, as defined by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) are:-

- to educate young people through sport in a spirit of better understanding between each other and of friendship, thereby helping to build a better and more peaceful world,
- to spread the Olympic principles throughout the world, thereby creating international goodwill
- to inspire and lead sport within the Olympic Ideal, thereby promoting and strengthening friendship between the sportsmen of all countries" (Olympic Charter, rules 1, 11)

UNESCO has announced similar aims:-

"Stressing that physical education and sport should seek to promote closer communion between peoples and between individuals, together with disinterested emulation, solidarity and fraternity, mutual respect and understanding, and full respect for the integrity and dignity of human beings ... Stressing the importance for peace and friendship among peoples of co-operation between the inter-

One TV-commentator was puzzled at this commercial fuss around the Games but got the blatant answer from the Secretary General: "Since sport and business are both separately acceptable affairs in society their combination cannot be anything else but acceptable".

national governmental and non-governmental organizations responsible for physical education and sport ...

Through co-operation and the pursuit of mutual interests in the universal language of physical education and sport, all peoples will contribute to the preservation of lasting peace, mutual respect and friendship and will thus create a propitious climate for solving international problems ..." (International Charter of Physical Education and Sport, 1978)

Typically all international governmental and non-governmental organizations with some responsibility for sport or with some supervisory role tend to subordinate sport to those extrinsic interests and the common good.

2. 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 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, it has been harnesshed in the service of the most diverse interests, categorized in the figure 1 as <u>sportive</u>, <u>political</u> and <u>commercial</u> interests. Taking into account the frame of reference of this study, further elaboration is needed. The following distinctions between <u>sport-intrinsic</u> vs. <u>sport-extrinsic</u> and <u>mutually inclusive</u> vs. <u>mutually exclusive</u> interests are relevant:

1. <u>Sport-intrinsic interests</u> 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
 - E.g. success, victory, championship, sportive competence, excellence

1.2. Pattern maintenance

- refers to those interests vital to the validity of a competition as a proper test of supremacy
 - E.g. fair play, respect for rules, justice, equality in terms
- 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
 - E.g. power politics, profit making, professionalism, political exploitation, chauvinism, ethnocentrism, racism, discrimination

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
 - E.g. peace, frie dship, mutual respect, international understanding, universal human rights, equality
- Mutually inclusive interests are meant to serve equally the common good of all parties affiliated
 - E.g. respect for rules, fair play, justice, peace, mutual respect, friendship, international understanding etc.

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- 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
 - E.g. victory, success, priority of political or national interest, interest of superpowers, chauvinism, "my country right or wrong", injustice, inequality of terms, home site of competition, victory ceremonies with national symbols etc.

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

Figure 2: The main interests and <u>interested parties</u> in international sport

	Mutually inclusive	Mutually exclusive	
	interests	interests	
	PATTERN MAINTENANCE	MEANING CONTENT	
	-respect for rules -fair play -equality of terms IOC, sport federa- tions, UNESCO etcstriving for excel- lence athletes, coaches etc -sport as entertainment sport public, mass mee	Ē	
Sport-	LEGITIMATION	EXPLOITATION	
extrinsic interests	standing -mutual respect	-ethnocentric interests -chauvinism sport public, mass media s NOC's, nat. sport federations -superpower interests USSR and USA with their allies -national recognition developing countries etc.	
		-profit making business, sport industry	

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. In the international survey conducted by the Tampere Peace Research Institute in 1980 it was noticed that most sport organizations in many countries perceive their role and profile as non-political:

"...the sport organizations believe that the "Freiraumthese" of unpolitical sport also holds true in practice and that sport is outside all politics in a vacuum. Only some 20 national associations out of 364 answered that they had some kinds of political commitments in their activities". 1)

¹⁾ This survey was conducted through the questionnaire technique and covered the international sport federations, national associations and Olympic committees as well as the governmental sport organizations. The survey aimed to map out the relationships between states and organizations and to evaluate the role of sport in international relations. Unfortunately only 32 % of the recipients out of the total 1364 returned the questionnaire "with an uneven accuracy and geographical representation"; op. cit. 96, 100-103.

3. CONCEPTIONS OF SPORT WITH REGARD TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The contribution of sport to international relations is the main focus of this inquiry. There are various and controversial conceptions on the role of sport in this respect. They can be grouped into the following three main categories: 1) sport as peace movement, 2) sport as regulated conflict and 3) sport as dialectical system balanced by associative and conflicting elements.

3.1. Sport as peace movement

The Coubertinian conception of international sport as peace movement is a corner stone of the Olympic ideology well recognized in the quoted Olympic Charter (see p. 4).

Sport is conceived as a common language fostering international understanding between athletes. This idealistic conception is often taken for granted and is mostly cherished in festive addresses. The glorification of sport as the world's biggest peace movement lends common legitimacy to sport but ignores the fact, well evident in the history of international sport, that sport can also be conducive to international unrest, even hostilities.

The conception of sport as peace movement can be used either as a <u>label belief</u> by sport organizations legitimazing their affairs in the field or as an <u>operative</u> belief with the genuine goal function. 1)

Many philosophical theories of sport are also obviously coloured by this idealistic conception of sport as gentlemanly conduct and noble pursuit of excellence. The most authoritative proponent of this conception has been, however, the Nobel laureate Konrad Lorenz with his catharsis-hypothesis on the aggression relish in and through sport. Briefly, Lorenz conceives the aggressive instincts of man as a heightened level of physical energy that should be reduced to restore bodily equilibrium and that as a discharging channel sport is most appropriate. 2)

The research instigated by Lorenz's propositions has not lent clear support for the catharsis - function of sport and e.g. Carolyn Sherif, a recognized scholar of conflict phenomenon, disputes the hypothesis in a straightforward manner:

"...there is a substantial body of research evidence that the successful execution of aggressive actions, far from reducing subsequent aggression, is the best

This fruitful distinction between the label, or "nonoperative", and the "operative" beliefs is introduced by Nigel Harris in his book "Belief in Society. The Problem of Ideology". London, 1966, 232-233.

²⁾ Lorenz Konrad, On Aggression. New York, 1967, 237-244.

way to increase the frequency of aggressive responses ...

On the basis of the evidence, ... it is high time to eliminate the justification of sports on the basis of catharsis. This myth has been used to justify sports as a social mechanism for draining aggression in everyone from unruly individuals to neighbourhood gangs of juveniles to citizen and professional soldiers. Sports have beneficial social functions, but the catharsis is not the reason. Sports research should look elsewhere."

3.2. Sport as regulated conflict

Conflict of interest is an inherent element of any competition since the inclusive pursuit of victory in a contest ends, as a rule, in an exclusive reward: by the very definition there can be only one winner, others are losers. For that reason a contest is easily conceived by rival parties as an encounter process: one against another rather than one with another. This dictum on competition as a zero-sum -game holds strictly true, however, only if all participants are really striving for a victory and only for victory as in ball games. The conflict of interest is not so accentuated in those sports in which many athletes are competing as individual

Sherif, C.W., Intergroup Conflict and Competition: Social-Psychological Analysis. In: Grupe, Ommo (ed.), Sport in the Modern World - Chances and Problems. Berlin, 1973, 61.

contestants, since they are not pursuing victory exclusively but are seeking success defined in more relative terms. To be the second best, e.g. in track and field, might mean a great success but in a ball games it stands for a loser.

In her brilliant address in the Olympic Congress in Munich 1972 Carolyn Sherif referred to the famous field experiments of Muzafer Sherif on the inter-group competition with the main hypothesis well supported by empirical facts:

"... competitively structured activities between groups occurring repeatedly over time, focussed almost exclusively toward important goals desired by members of both groups, but that could only attained by one group, were sufficient condition for conflict to develop into outright hostility." 1)

The inherent conflict of interests in competition tends to spill over from participants proper to spectators in the audience particularly in bilateral games with two opposing parties. By identifying with partisan teams spectators face a vicarious contest of their own with in-group and out-group formations and sentiments. With a heightened ethnocentrism in-groups are prone to provoke antagonism and even hostilities towards others

¹⁾ Sherif, C.W., op. cit., 64.

in the audience and particularly towards fans of the rival team. $^{1)}$

The conflict of interest in international sport is accentuated if and when the high-loaded extrinsic political and nationalistic interests are combined with the sportive pursuits for success. If this happens sport is transformed into the domain of cold war:

"Those who believe that sport symbolizes peace or functions as a communication media between the nations have misunderstood the matter completely. The international happenings, let us say in soccer, have the function of a sublimated war."

Illustratively enough the British observers P. Goodhart and C. Chataway entittled their critical appraisal of international sport with "War Without Weapons" (London, 1968).

It is obvious that extrinsic political and nationalistic interests have been accentuated in international sport

¹⁾ The strong in-group versus out-group formations used to be very accentuated in the annual contests between Sweden and Finland in track and field with such serious consequences that this very popular contest was in the 1930s cancelled for many years; Heinilä, Kalevi, Notes on the inter-group conflicts in international sport. In: International Review of Sport Sociology, vol. 1, 1966, 174-182.

Natan, Alex, Sport und Gesellschaft oder die Erbsünden des Sports. In: Natan, Alex (Hrsg.), Sport - kritisch. Bern und Stuttgart, 1972, 10.

making it more vulnerable to political exploitation and at the same time also to conflict. Sport can be used as a handy manifestation in cold war as well as a handy test for lukewarm relationships in "ping-pong diplomacy". 1)

The Hungarian worker expresses this conception of sport as regulated fight blatantly to an interviewer:

"I do not believe in great, empty slogans, besides I can see that there is too much politics forced into sports nowadays. But I can also see one more thing: as far as they are "killing" each other only on the sports-grounds and in stadiums there is peace, and I cannot wish for anything more. That is why I think it is so important to have the Olympic Games."²⁾

¹⁾ According to Paavo Seppänen the Olympics is highly saturated with politics in general and that of superpowers in particular; The Olympics: A Sociological Perspective. In: International Review for the Sociology of Sport, vol. 19, 2/1984, 113-117. The political functions of the international sport is well portrayed also by James H. Frey who distinguishes the following political roles of sports: 1) as a political instrument for ideological expression and propaganda, 2) as a forum for demonstrating "the physical, social, political or economic power" of one system over another and not only for foreigners but also for own citizens; The U.S. vs. Great Britain - Responses to the 1980 Boycott of the Olympic Games. In: Comparative Physical Education and Sport, vol. 6. no 3, 1984, 4-13.

Földesi, Tamásné and Krawczyk, Zbigniew, Values Connected to the Olympic Games in Budapest and in Warsaw; paper presented at the Olympic Congress in Eugene, U.S.A. July 19-26, 1984.

3.3. Dialectical conception on sport contest

Because of the inherent conflict of interest a competition is prone to disintegrations and disturbances. Accordingly Ernst Fürntratt argues blantly that if international sport has anything to do with promoting international relationships this happens not because of competition but rather in spite of it. 1)

Though conflictual elements are obvious in sport competition there are also integrative elements to keep the game going on. According to Günther Lüschen sport contest stands for interdependencies between conflict and integration. This "dialectical conception" comes close to Georg Simmel's 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".²⁾

Lüschen gives this contradictional pattern of a competition the label "dialectic". In competition all participants are bound in their striving for victory to the common rules of the game guaranteeing fair

Fürntratt, Ernst, Soziala Motive und Sozialisation.
 In: Bierhoff-Alfermann, Dorothee (Hrsg.), Soziale Einflüsse im Sport, Darmstadt, 1976, 76.

²⁾ Lüschen, Günther, Cooperation, association and contest. In: Journal of Conflict Resolution, vol. 14, 1/1970, 21-35.

competition and just results. If and when the contestants are fully committed to the common and equal conditions in competition - and mostly they are - these associative elements are usually capable of maintaining the pattern and the integration of the contest despite the conflictual elements inherent in competition. But this balance between the associatiative and conflictual elements is not a matter of course but rather sensitive to disturbances as implied in the Declaration on Sport by the International Council of Sport and Physical Education in 1964:

"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."

Lüschen is also well aware of the sensitivity of this important balance:

"There is no question that modern sport has definite limits in the amount of aggressiveness and conflict that can be controlled by <u>association</u>. If conflicts between two systems at large are too strong, if a conflict potential between parties has gradually been built up, then the <u>association</u> of the sport contest is often too weak for an efficient control of such conflict."

Lüschen, Günther, The System of Sport: Problem of Methodology, Conflict and Social Stratification. In: Lüschen, Günther R.F. and Sage, George H. (eds.) Handbook of Social Science of Sport. Champaign, Illinois, 1981, 203. See also Lüschen, Günther, At the Edge of Human and Social Existence: The Regularities and Contradictions of Top-Athletics. In: 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, 136-142.

In his philosophical analysis Frans de Wachter comes close to Lüschen's dialectical conception on sport with the associative fairness as the basic condition for the regulation of conflictual forces involved. Accordingly "fairness" designates

- the respect for the game-constitutive rules "which make the game as game";
- 2. the respect for decisions, "not on the basis of their truth, but on the basis of the legitimacy of the authority" e.g. referee and umpire, and
- 3. the acceptance of opposition and rivarly, since "without a looser there is neither no winner"¹⁾

The persistence of sport competition is not only a matter of balance between the associative and conflictual elements in the internal system of sport but is influenced also by many sport-extrinsic factors which from the external environment are impinged upon the sport with their integrative and or disintegrative functions. The field experiment conducted by Muzafer Sherif referred to above demonstrated that the intergroup competition with their conflictual aftermaths could be settled by the superordinate goal associating the rival parties with the

¹⁾ de Wachter, Frans, Are Sports a Factor for Peace? In: Lenk, Hans (Hrsg.), Aktuelle Probleme der Sportphilosophie, Kongressbericht des Workshop über Sportphilosophie, Schriftenreihe des Bundesinstitut für Sportwissenschaft Band 46, Schorndorf, 1983, 255-267. According to de Wachter the rules of a contest constitute not only the competitive but also the cooperative modality for conceiving the opponent in contest; Spielregeln und ethische Problematik; In: Lenk, Hans (Hrsg.), op. cit. 278-294.

joint enterprise. But for being effective as an associative agent a superordinate goal should be "compelling and highly appealing to members of two or more groups in conflict and cannot be attained by the resources and energies of the groups separately". 1)

Similarly Carolyn Sherif argues that the maintenance of cooperative give-and-take between communities and between nations should be a superordinate goal for sport, safe-quarding its cooperative institutions and regulating competition between teams. But in this connection she also points out, rightly as I can see, that sport not representing the dominant interests in nations' affairs, has severe limits in this respect:

"Sports do provide a model for cooperative institutionalization and regulation of potential intergroup conflict. The limitations of the model are related to the undeniable fact that, while sport is important in the real life of people, it is certainly not the dominant concern of the larger communities and nations of which sport teams are parts. As a result, the cooperative intergroup model for regulating competition is potentially threatened by dissolution whenever more important divisions become focal for the larger units". 2)

Sherift, Muzafer, Superordinate goals in the reduction of intergroup conflict. In: American Journal of Sociology 63/1958, 349-356.

²⁾ Sherif, Carolyn, op. cit. 68.

The boycotts of the Olympic Games in 1980 and 1984 indicate how right Carolyn Sherif was with her arguments in 1972 in the Olympic Congress. 1) For a good reason also IOC is anxiously supervising any give-and-take programs in sport between the superpowers. 2)

In the past the integration of sport competition was based perhaps primarily on the balance of the associative and conflictual elements internal to sport. With recent trends this vital integration, the persistence of international sport, tends to depend more and more on the factors external to sport, particularly on the imbalance of the associative interests over the conflictual interests.

4. CONCEPTIONS OF MASS MEDIA ON INTERNATIONAL SPORT

Conceptions of international sport vary and this variation is portrayed also by mass media while transmitting these

This is also vividly illustrated by J. Riordan with the British case in 1980; Great Britain and the 1980 Olympics: A Victory for Olympism. In: Ilmarinen, Maaret (ed.), Sport and International Understanding. Proceedings of the Congress held in Helsinki, July 7-10, 1980. Berlin, 1984, 138-144.

²⁾ In the presence of President of IOC the NOCs of U.S.A. and USSR signed on the 15th September 1985 in Indianapolis a memorandum of sport cooperation with the extensive exchange program well recognized by mass media all over the world; Olympic Review no 216/1985, 608-609.

conceptions to public at large. Élite sport and big events of international sport have gained their universal significance mainly from mass media serving the vicarious consumer interest of the public in sport. The mutual interests of élite sport, mass media and the public at large are so intimately interwoven with each other that this trinity is perhaps the most powerful determinant of the development of sport:

ÉLITE SPORT

MASS MEDIA

PUBLIC AT LARGE

Sport as mass entertainment is given a high consideration whenever big sport events are organized. It is quite significant, that e.g. IOC has appointed three separate commissions - Radio, TV and Press - to take care of interest in the Olympic Games by the public as consumers. This service of public interest is besides a profitable business for IOC which, according to Peter McIntosh, has within ten years changes from debtor to creditor drawing considerable income from payments for television rights. 2)

The transmission of international sport events by mass media to public does not happen in some peculiar vacuum

¹⁾ It is equally significant that there is no commission to take care of the common good interest of the Olympic Games in and through mass communication.

P.C. McIntosh, International Communication, Sport and International Understanding. In: Ilmarinen, Maaret (ed.), op. cit. 282.

but is as a rule, colored and contaminated with lots of sport-extrinsic meanings and connotations assigned by sport journalists and commentators. Referring to research findings in BRD Wulf Preising points out that the evaluation and the programming of sport events by sport journalists is more directed towards their commercial value and entertainment than towards their idealistic value as sport. And it is not only the content of the message of mass media but also the cultural value system which through interpretation can shape the meaning of the message on sport, e.g. with reference to international understanding. 1)

In countries such as in Scandinavia where people are highly sport-minded it is sport programs and sport columns which sell the media almost best. For this reason the wants and interests of the factual or potential consumers are given a high priority while reporting and interpreting the sport news. And these wants and interests of the public are not only sport-specific but often also interwoven with diverse sport-extrinsic interests. On the other hand mass media in other countries with different cultural or political orders might have different conceptions of international sport. These conceptions have their associative or conflictual functions as far as the

Preising, Wulf W., Mass Media, Sport and International Understanding. In: FIEP Bulletin, vol. 55, no 2, 1985, 15-18.

mission of sport for international relationships is concerned. This significant mission of sport journalism was surprisingly well recognized by journalists themselves in "the guiding principles for sport press" as early as 1924 at The First International Congress of The Sport Press in Paris:

"... Sport journalists consider it their main task to foster and further all progressive and educational efforts in the service of understanding and peace among nations... Despite the self-evident love of every man for his native land, journalists look upon themselves as pioneers of a cultural cooperation which finds its expression in sporting competition..."

It is also noteworthy to recall that the pros and cons of international sport with respect to international understanding were well recognized in the First UNESCO Conference on Sport, Work, Culture in Helsinki in 1959:

"The fundamental character of sport is competitive. The element of competition can, however, be exaggerated and the contribution of sports to international understanding may be weakened. International competition may aggravate the nationalistic sentiment of the sportmen and especially that of the spectators. Commercial aspects can be motives for the organizers of a sports event or for the reporters of press and radio to agitate such a nationalistic sentiment in the spectators. Display of flags and playing of national anthems may further contribute to this result. Political aspirations or interventions in participation in sports events can also be a motive for friction between the participants.

The negative nationalistic elements in competition can be subdued and the positive characteristics contributing to international understanding strengthened in several ways. The key to the question is to understand and also to make the spectators understand that all competitors are partners in a common enterprise. Without a spirit of fair play and comradeship there will be no game..."

5. COMMITTEE ON "MASS MEDIA, SPORT AND INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING"

It was not until 1971 when the more systematic evaluation of role of mass media in sport with reference to the international relationship was organized. For that particular purpose the International Council of Sport and Physical Education (ICSPE) organized in Paris a seminar under a contract with UNESCO. In its conclusions the seminar stated among other things as follows:

"Mass media have very great opportunities for promoting international understanding through education. In presenting news and features they may raise the standards of sportmanship in their public... The role of the mass media in promoting international under-

Report of the working group of Sport and International Understanding by Hannu Kärkkäinen; in Sport, Work, Culture, Official Report of the Organizing Committee, Helsinki, 1960, 187.

standing through sport is of paramount importance. It demands the highest standards of conduct and thorough professional training."

1)

Soon after the seminar the subcommittee of "Mass Media, Sport, International Understanding" was appointed by ICSPE. The aims of the Committee were defined and specified later in 1981 as follows:

- to promote the contribution of the mass media in the field of sport and of sport journalism to the furtherance of peace and international understanding and to the struggle against racism, apartheid and incitement to war and conflict;
- to encourage the mass media to play an important part in educating young people in the spirit of peace, justice, freedom, mutual respect and understanding, with a view to promoting human rights and equality among people, nations and cultures in their social progress and
- to promote both at national and international level - co-operation between governmental and nongovernmental organizations in the field of physical education and sport and the mass media in order to protect and implement the high ideals of sport.

Mass media, Sport, International Understanding, ICSPE, Paris, June 1971, 5-6.

The Committee recognised that there was a dearth of scientific research in the field, evidenced also in Dr. J.D. Halloran's review of the literature and research. 1)

6. RESEARCH PROJECT ON SPORT AND INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

In order to promote research in a field which had been greatly neglected, the Committee 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. 2)

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/misunderstanding. This frame of reference is very much in accordance with the following statement of the Committee in 1973:

Dr. Halloran from the Centre for Mass Communication Research at the University of Leicester made this review at the request of ISCPE; Mass Media, Sport and International Understanding - A Summary of a Review of Literature and Research (1981), 56 p. (mimeographed)

²⁾ The ambiguities of the concept "international understanding has been well pointed out by Wulf W. Preising, op. cit., 10-13 and P.C. McIntosh, op. cit., 277-278.

"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."

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.

6.1. 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. Through knowing these inherent and contextual conditions in sport contests, covarying with their impacts

Mass Media, Sport, International Understanding; Publication of ISCPE, 1973.

upon the conceived international understanding/misunderstanding, it was assumed to be possible to deduce the real definition of the key term of "international understanding in sport".

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 conflictual or dissociative functions in terms of international relationships. 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 zero-sum game stands for "conflictual" function by prescription but the function of a referee can be either "associative" or "conflictual" by his "consideration".

Figure 3 presents those sport-intrinsic and -extrinsic factors grouped into the familiar frame of "main interests in international sport" which are supposed to be con-

ceptually related to the promotion of international understanding/misunderstanding:

Figure 3: The associative and conflictual elements in the context of international sport with respective items in the questionnaire $^{1)}$

	ASSOCIATIVE ELEMENTS (mutually inclusive)	CONFLICTUAL ELEMENTS (mutually exclusive)	
	Pattern maintenance	Meaning content	
Sport- intrinsic	-fair play and respect of rules -13equal terms -22justice in outcomes _7conception of rivals	-illegal means -3-6-37injustice in outcomes -7-31justice in rewards -2conception of rivals -41(4-5)-	
	-41(1-3)-	-upgrading demands of performance -1-5-27-	
	<u>Legitimation</u>	<u>Exploitation</u>	
Sport- extrinsic	-superordinate goals -14-21- -exchange programs in	-inequality in allocation of resources -25-29-32-35-36ethnocentrism -8-9-10-24-28-	
	sport -17-18-19-		
	-cultural exchange -12-16-20-34-38-	-commercial and political	
	-right to v ote -23-33-	exploitation -4-11-15-26-30-	
	-fair public interest -8-9-10-		

As an extension of the dialectical conception of contest in sport the various sport-intrinsic and -extrinsic

The numbers refer to the respective items in the questionnaire (see appendix). The underlined items are frased so that they can refer to associative or conflictual functions depending on their factual implications.

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.

Since the Committee has a particular interest in the role of mass media in sport, some exploration into this domain was attempted although the target group of the project, athletes, was not the most relevant subject for that purpose.

The First World Championships in Track and Field (FWCTF) were held in Helsinki with participants from 154 different countries. Track and field is one of the most popular spectator sports, at least in Europe, and the events of FWCTF had vast exposure in mass media to a worldwide public. Making use of the actuality of FWCTF the task of the project was to explore how the written mass media in different countries had portrayed the events in Helsinki in terms of meaning-contents related to international relationship according to athletes' conceptions. This exploration was carried out by the semantic differential

technic with 7-points scales of bipolar adjectives covering various aspects of sport contest. For evaluating the portrayal of FWCTF in mass media the respondents were also asked to describe their "personal overall opinion of the international competitions or matches" with the aid of the same bipolar adjectives.

6.2. The target group and the "ghost" sample

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 in 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, like 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 the 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. 1)

Following the Committee's suggestion, the sample of athletes from each country for the project was composed

¹⁾ Significantly enough also in policy matters of sport, athletes' opinions are taken more and more into due consideration. Thus in the Olympic Congress in Baden-Baden (1981) a group of athletes was 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.

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. (see instruction letter in appendix, p. 93). 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 master plan for the sample of athletes included the following countries invited to join the project:

- Western countries
 BRD*- England*- France*
- Socialist countries
 Cuba DDR*- Hungary USSR*
- 3. Scandinavian countries
 Finland*- Norway Sweden*

The countries most likely to be willing to joint the project were assumed to be those affiliated with the ICSPE and particularly with its subcommittee "Mass Media, Sport,

^{*)} marked countries affiliated with the Committee "Mass Media, Sport, International Understanding"

International Understanding" which commissioned the whole project. It was frustrating to notice that it is quite a different thing to pay lip-service to international cooperation in research in a Committee than to make any real contribution to the project unanimously approved. 1)

The final sample was composed of the following groups of athletes and soccer players.*)

Table 1: The final sample of athletes

	Soccer	(males)*)	Track and field					
	(n=91)		Female		Male	9	Total	
Country			(n=6	53)	(n=1	15)	(n=1	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	-		88	(5)	10%	(11)	98	(16)
	100%		100%		100%		100%	

^{*)} The Finnish sample of soccer players includes erroneously one female player excluded here

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

All the documents enclosed in the appendix were sent to the liaison persons in the countries listed in the master plan but the author failed even to get the "NO INTEREST" -answers at request on participation in the project.

sample. Because of the small number of respondents from France and BRD these two groups were combined in the analysis under the heading "West".

6.3. Method of collecting data

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.

Just to probe the respondents' experience of international spert and contacts they were asked about their affiliation with the national teams and their visits abroad. The portrayal of their international experience is described in table 2.

Table 2: International experience of athletes by nationality, discipline (soccer) and sex.

	Hungar.	Finns	West.	Soccer (males)	Females	s Males
	(n=124)	(n=100)	(n=45)	(n=92)	(n=64)	(n=206)
Belonging to						
national team	<u>n</u>					
<u>(91)</u>						
Yes, nowadays	67	65	73	56	70	67
Yes, in past	29	34	9	41	28	27
No	4	1	18	3	2	6
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of						
countries vis	sited					
(92) Median	14.9	14.9	15.0	17.4	12.7	15.4
Number of tim	nes					
abroad as ath	letes					
(93) Median	24.9	20.5	19.6	26.8	15.7	24.7

It can be noticed that there are not any major differences between Hungarians and Finns with regard to their international contacts. Deficiences of the samples from France and BRD are obvious with a rather high percentage not belonging to the national teams (18%). Soccer players seem to have most international experiences and female athletes least, as expected.

In countries joining in the project one liaison person affiliated with the Committee was supposed to take care

of collecting data according to the instructions (see appendix). 1) In any cross-cultural social research the language is one of the most intricate problems. Even in this project with the final dwarfish sample of athletes, conceptions on sport were expressed in four different languages in questionnaires and the fifth English version was used as a frame of reference for translation into other languages. For quaranteeing the reliability of measurements and the comparability of data due attention

¹⁾ The following persons assisted in collecting data from their countries with its various tasks listed in the instruction letter: Dr. Tamásné Földesi (Hungary), Mr. Jean-Francois Brisson (France), Dr. Werner Sonnenschein (BRD) and Dr. Kalevi Heinilä (Finland). I wish to express my thanks to these liaison persons for their contributions and particularly to Dr. Földesi from Budapest. Hungary was the only country which being not affiliated with the Committee "Mass Media, Sport and International Understanding" provided the full set of data for the analysis. Despite the distance the Finno-Ugrian understanding and cooperation is still vivid! I am also very grateful to the former Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Peter C. McIntosh and not only for his constructive critics but also for his thankless and 'impossible' task to translate the manuscript of the research report from my English into King's English. In this connection I thank also the Ministry of Education of Finland for the grant which enabled the author to take two months leave from the University for the research work and covered the costs of analysis of data. By the way all the costs of the data collection were covered by the participant countries.

was paid to the equivalence of the different versions of the questionnaire. 1)

7. THE MAIN RESULTS

7.1. Factors in sport conducive to international understanding

For probing those sport-intrinsic and -extrinsic factors and conditions which athletes conceive to be conducive to international relationship they were asked the following simple question:

"Do the following factors and circumstance's promote or oppose international understanding?"

¹⁾ As a pre-measure for the reliability of data particular attention was paid to the unambigiousness of items in the questionnaire. The liaison persons were advised to be most careful in preserving the meaning-content unchanged while translating from the English version into their native language. As a post-measure for the reliability each different linguistic version of the questionnaire was translated into Finnish by experts in the respective linguistic Departments of the University of Jyväskylä and these independent translations were finally compared by the author and his assistant with the original version in order to detect any changes of meaning in items. The only major defect noticed was that the order of the statements of sex of respondents was changed in the Hungarian version of the questionnaire! It is worth noting that though Hungarians and Finns are related as people their languages are so different that there are hardly any similar words with similar meanings.

And a five point scale was offered for their appraisal:

- () promote greatly
- () promote some degree
- () no significant/hard to tell
- () oppose some degree
- () oppose greatly

In order to clarify the complexity of various "factors and circumstances" in international sport assumed to be related to "international understanding" factor analysis with the varimax rotation was carried out. Those items marked with the asterisk in the table 14 (p. 105) were excluded from the factor analysis because of their skew distributions. The details of the factor analysis are reported in the appendix 3 (p. 104).

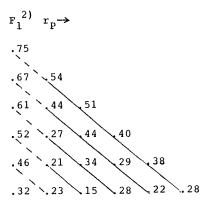
Out of the 26 different items the factor analysis extracted the following 6 factors as the basic explicants for the total variance of the items involved.

FACTOR I: "INEQUALITY OF TERMS"

Eigenvalue 3.28

% of variance 32.2

Variation in 1) training conditions (36)
Variation in state subsidy (35)
Suspicion on the use of doping (37)
Great gap in development of sport science (25)
Secrecies in training devices (29)
Children-stars qualified in int. sport (32)



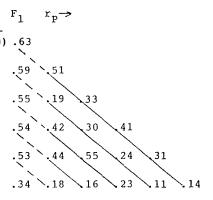
Figures in parenthesis refer to the respective item in the questionnaire; items have been abbreviated here

²⁾ F_1 = Factor loading; r_p = Pearson's product-moment coefficient

The items with the highest loadings in this factor designate the inequal conditions of sport at the national level and the exploitation of conditional advantages in pursuit of success in international competition. Being a fundamental premise of any meaningful competition it is significant to notice here that the concept equality/ inequality of terms is related also to "international understanding" as conceived by athletes.

FACTOR II: "ETHNOCENTRISM IN OLYMPICS" Eigenvalue 2.96 % of variance 29.1

Int. understanding in forth-coming Olympic Games in LA (40)
Int. understanding in past Olympic Games in Moscow (39)
Extraordinary hero-worship of winners (2)
Victory ceremonies with national symbols (28)
Intense competition with upgrading demands (1)
Joint games for amateurs and pros. (31)



The interpretation of the factor II is not as evident as of factor I. The peak items refer to the summer Olympic Games in Moscow and in Los Angeles and other items with high loadings to ethnocentrism in hero-worship of winners. The superpowers have their most significant responsibility for international peace and order in general but also in the domain of international sport. As the last Olympic boycotts have indicated, the measures of superpowers have impacts upon international friendship and understanding far beyond their boundaries to their satellite and allied countries. The superpowers have their high potency in the world as peace makers as well as trouble makers. Consequently their constructive contributions to international sport is of vital importance well recognized also by IOC.

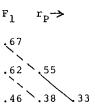
FACTOR III: "COMMERCIALISM"

Eigenvalue 1.50 % of variance 14.8

Commercial exploitation of athletes (30)

Commercialization of international sport (26)

Professional training of athletes (27)



The peak items denote explicitly the extrinsic exploitation of sport for commercial and professional interest. The intrusion of business and pecuniary interests into inter-

national sport have thus their concomitant impacts upon the function of sport in international relationship as conceived by athletes.

FACTOR IV: "NATIONAL SELF-INTERESTS"

Eigenvalue 0.89 % of variance 8.8

 $r_p \rightarrow$ Sport harnessed to foreign policy (4) Use of sport for national propaganda (11) Ignoring rules and fair play (6) 29 21 (Extraordinary heroworship of winners (2)) .18 34 34 Prohibition of anabolic steroids (13) 15 23 .19 Seriousness of . 29 .16 . 20 international sport (5) .34 \(\).16

The peak items here designate the submission of sport to the national self-interests implied here by "extraordinary hero-worship of winners" and by ignoring rules and gentlemanly conduct of game.

FACTOR V: "PREJUDICAL INTERFERENCE"

Eigenvalue 0.79 % of variance 7.8

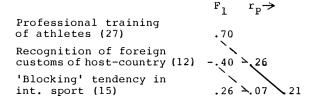
Reports of sport journalists (9) .77

Spectators' behavior (8) .53 .41

Decisions of umpires (7) .43 .26 .30

The peak items in this factor were phrased in the questionnaire in a neutral and open way permitting respondents to
take into account their own observations as to the actual
behavior of sport journalists, spectators and umpires
with relation to international understanding/misunderstanding. Obviously prejudiced interference in
occurrences at sport venues has its impacts upon the
international understanding as conceived by athletes.

FACTOR VI: "EGOISM"
Eigenvalue 0.76
% of variance 7.4



This factor with the peak item "professional training" already included in the factor III is not well articulated but remains as a residual factor explaining not more than 7.4% of the total variance and is left out from the further analysis.

The factor analysis of all the appropriate items assumed to be related "associatively" or "conflictually" to the international understanding in sport or within its sociopolitical context condensed this multivariate domain into

the few number of factors. If these factors are interpreted in terms of various interests affiliated with international sport (see figure 3 p. 29), they seem to represent mostly those mutually exclusive and "conflictual" interests either in the sport-intrinsic category of "meaning-content" - inequality of terms - or in the sport-extrinsic category of "exploitation" - ethnocentrism, commercialism, national self-interests and prejudical interference. Thus so far we know that these mutually exclusive sport-intrinsic and -extrinsic interests called "inequality of terms", "ethnocentrism in Olympics", "commercialism", "national self-interests" and "prejudical interference" are conceived by athletes to be related to international relationship in sport but the correlational analysis accomplished does not tell us whether these factors in sport are conceived to promote international understanding or to provoke misunderstanding. For this specification the item analysis is needed.

7.2. The item analysis

The following item analysis includes also those items which were excluded from the factor analysis because of the skew distributions of responses. These items are grouped according to the previous categories in the figure 3: The associative and conflictual elements in the context of international sport (p. 29). Table 14 in the

appendix presents all the items in order of their "associative-conflictual" contribution to the international relationship (see p.105).

Table 3: Items conducive to international understanding by athletes $(n=270)^{1)}$

	Int.	und	ersta	nding
Pattern maintenance	Pro	+	Opp	Total
Equality of women in int. sport (22)	70	28	2	100
<u>Legitimation</u>				
1. Superordinate goals				
Respect of human rights in sport (21) 94	5	1	100
Commitment to resolution of UN (14)	78	18	4	100
2. Exchange program in sport				
Joint training camps for athletes (19) 94	6	***	100
Exchange program for coaches (18)	91	8	1	100
Exchange program for "migrant"				
athletes (17)	80	17	3	100
3. Cultural exchange program				
Knowledge of foreign language (20)	96	3	1	100
Social contact-events for athletes (3	8) 92	8		100
Acquainting with foreign culture (34) 91	8	1	100
Pre-acquaintance with foreign				
customs (16)	73	23	4	100
Recognition of foreign customs (12)	56	33	11	100
4. Right in decision-making				
Athletes repr. in Int. Federations (3)	3) 83	16	1	100
Women repr. in Int. Federations (23)	57	40	3	100

¹⁾ These items were excluded from the factor analysis.

Pro = promote international understanding

 $[\]pm$ = no significance/hard to tell

Opp = oppose international understanding

The 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. Taking into account all items concerned in this inquiry (see table 14 in appendix) these categories considered here have the major "associative" function in balancing international sport against those "conflictual" elements exposed to the previous factor analysis but scrutinized here more closely item by item.

Table 4 presents the other side of coin in international sport, elements, which as conceived by athletes tend to jeopardize international understanding instead of promoting it.

Table 4: Factor-items conducive to international understanding by athletes (n=270/%)

	Int.	unde	ersta	nding
Factor I: Inequality of terms	Pro	<u>+</u>	0pp	Total
Variations in training conditions (36)	7	34	59	100
Variations in State subsidy (35)	7	33	60	100
Suspicion on the use of doping (37)	3	14	83	100
Great gap in development of sport science (2	25) 8	31	61	100
Secrecies in training devices (29)	3	30	67	100
Child-stars qualified in int. sport (32)	7	39	54	100
Factor II: Ethnocentrism in Olympics				
Int. understanding in forthcoming LA Games (4	0) 53	37	10	100
Int. understanding in past Moscow Games (39)	39	15	46	100
Extraordinary hero-worship of winners (2)	46	28	26	100
Victory ceremonies with national symbols (2	8) 75	18	7	100
Intense competition with upgrading demands (1	147	31	22	100
Joint games for amateurs and pros (31)	55	29	16	100
Factor III: Commercialism				
Commercial exploitation of athletes (30)	14	42	44	100
Commercialization of international sport (26)	18	33	49	100
Professional training of athletes (27)	31	55	14	100
Factor IV: National self-interest				
Sport harnessed to foreign policy (4)	22	19	59	100
Use of sport for national propaganda (11) 37	17	46	100
Ignoring rules and fair play (6)	5	8	87	100
Prohibition of anabolic steroids (13)	65	18	17	100
Seriousness of international sport (5)	17	32	[5]	100
Factor V: Prejudical interference				
Reports of sport journalists (9)	52	27	21	100
Spectators' behavior (8)	50	23	27	100
Decisions of umpires (7)	23	48	29	100
*International sport in TV (10)	80	16	4	100
*Unsportsman-like interference of audience (24	1) 2	6	92	100
*Use of violence in pursuit of success (3) 2	6	92	100
"Blocking" tendency in international sport (15) 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 heroworship" 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 ...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 selfinterests 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 (see intercorrelations of items in Factor IV, p. 42) and at the cost of international understanding! Prejudical 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% pro and only 4% against. The reason for the difference is obvious: reporting in press of a past

than reporting on TV for an audience which is eyewitnessing the actual events. As already pointed out these items were phrased in a neutral way to encompass

sport event is more prone to a prejudiced point of views

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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 "unsportsman-like 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 whereas 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 (see p. 8, 29). It was, however, unexpected that the interrelated

issues of the upgrading demands of performance, professional training and joint participation of amateurs and professionals were seen by more athletes to be 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/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?

7.3. Variation of athletes' conceptions

As already noticed there are a number of items conceived by athletes rather unanimously as "associative" or "conflictual" for international understanding but there are also items conceived differentially and finally items with a high percentage of athletes remaining uncertain whether the items have anything to do with international understanding. In particular, items concerning "commercialism" in international sport, professional training and inequalities of training conditions have evoked embarrasments amongst athletes.

The main interest is, however, focused here on the variations of athletes conceptions explored by the nationality of the athletes, by discipline, - soccer and track and field - and by sex. Only the items with the highest factor loadings are included in the analysis.

With regard to the nationality of athletes it is likely that athletes from socialist and capitalist countries have different conceptions e.g. of the role of business and politics in international sport in relation to international understanding. Because of the difference in configurations: soccer as team sport and track and field as individual sport, it is also likely that soccer players and athletes in track and field have some variant conceptions on issues in sport related to international understanding. And finally we explore here whether sex differentiates these conceptions, female athletes having softer and males harder conceptions of sport with relation to international understanding.

Table 5: Factor-items related to international understanding according to nationality, discipline and sex (Means) 1)

Factor-items	Soccer Finns (n=41)	(male) Hungar. (n=50)		field Hungar. (n≈49)		Track & Males	field Females (n=63)
		(11 50)	(50)	(,	(11 30)	1 (137	
I Inequality							
Variations in athletes' training conditions (36)	3.6	4.0	3.5	3.6	3.7	3.6	3.8
Variations in state subsidies (35)	3.6	3.8	3.7	3.6	3.6	3.6	3.8
Suspicions on doping use (37)	4.2	4.3	4.0	4.0	4.1	4.0	4.4
Gap between sport science development (25)	3.6	3.8	3.5	3.6	3.5	3.5	3.8
Secrecies in training devices (29)	3.5	3.8	3.6	4.0	3.7	3.8	4.1
II Ethnocentrism							
Exp. contribution of LA Olympic Games to int. und (40)	2.5	1.9	2.4	1.9	3.0	2.4	2.8
Contribution of Moscow Games to int. understanding (41)	3.8	1.6	3.7	2.3	3.7	3.2	3.1
Extraordinary hero-worship of winners (2)	2.7	2.2	2.8	2.7	3.2	2.9	2.9
Victory ceremonies with national symbols (28)	2.0	1.5	2.4	1.7	3.0	2.3	2.0
Intensifying competition with upgrading demands (1)	2.9	2.1	3.0	2.4	3.1	2.7	2.6
III Commercialism							
Commercial exploitation of athletes (30)	+ 2.7	4.1	3.1	3.7	3.6	3.5	3.5
Commercialization of international sport (26)	2.9	3.9	3.2	3.8	3.2	3.4	3.4
Professional training (27)	2.2	3.1	2.8	2.6	2.5	2.7	2.8
IV National self-interests	i						
Sport harnessed to foreign policy (4)	4.2	2.7	3.8	3.5	3.5	3.6	4.0
Use of sport for national propaganda (11)	3.9	2.3	3.6	2.7	3.6	3.2	3.3
Ignoring rules and fair play (6)	4.7	4.2	4.4	4.2	4.5	4.3	4.4
Prohibition of drugs and anabolic steroids (13)	1.6	2.9	2.7	2.0	1.9	2.2	2.0
V Prejudical interference							
Reports of sport journalist (9)	2.6	2.6	2.7	2.4	2.8	2.6	2.5
Spectators behavior (8)	2.5	2.8	2.5	2.7	2.8	2.6	2.6
Decisions of umpires (7)	3.0	3.0	3.2	2.9	3.2	3.1	3.0

¹⁾ Scale value <3 refers to <u>promoting</u> international understanding and >3 refers to <u>opposing</u> international understanding

At first sight the figures in the table portraying the conceptual varieties of international sport might seem confusing. There are, however, some regularities particularly with reference to the different conceptions of Finnish and Hungarian athletes. Because of the small number of athletes from France and BRD these two nationalities are combined into the residual category of "West" (n=30) in tabulation.

Inequality

- Nationality. All the means (>3) indicate that on average athletes conceive those inequalities reflected by items of factor I to oppose the international understanding - Hungarian athletes slightly more so than Finns.
- 2. Discipline. There is the weak tendency for soccer players to be more concerned than athletes in track and field, with "inequality" as a factor opposed to international understanding.
- 3. Sex. Females, all representing track and field, seem to be more convinced that these inequalities oppose international understanding than are their colleagues in track and field.

Ethnocentrism

1. Nationality. These inter-correlated items of Factor II are conceived on average by Finns and Hungarians alike to be conducive to international understanding but "Westerns" contrarywise. Hungarians have by far the most favourable conception of these items as promoting international under-

standing. The most conspicious items in this respect seem to be those concerning the contributions of the past Olympic Games in Moscow and the forthcoming Games in Los Angeles to international understanding as noticed in the following detailed tabulation in table 6.

Table 6: Athletes' conception on the Olympic Games in Moscow and Los Angeles (%/Mean)

	Soccer players					Athle	tes	in tr	ack &	field
i	Pro	<u>+</u>	Opp	Tota	1 x	Pro	<u>+</u> _	Opp	Tota	1 x
Olympic Games										
in Moscow (41)						•				
Hungarians (n=99)	86	6	8	100	1.6	69	10	21	100	2.3
Finns (n=77)	17	12	71	100	3.8	14	20	66	100	3.7
West (n=30)	-		-	_	-	13	23	64	100	3.7
Forthcoming Gam	nes									
in Los Angeles (4	1)									
Hungarians	64	34	2	100	1.9	[77]	21	2	100	1.9
Finns	46	49	5	100	2.5	53	44	3	100	2.4
West	-	_	_	-		30	40	30	100	3.0

The boycott of the Olympic Games in Moscow by US and many of US-allied countries has probably had its imprints upon Finnish and Western athletes' sceptical conceptions but not upon Hungarians' who have the most favourable notion of the Games in Moscow in promoting international understanding. Curiously, Hungarians are also the most optimistic in their prognosis as to the contribution of the forthcoming Olympic Games in Los Angeles to inter-

national understanding whereas Western athletes are the most pessimistic (and not without reason as we now know). By the way, Western athletes are also the most sceptical as to promoting international understanding through "extraordinary hero-worship of winners" and "victory ceremonies with national anthems and flags"!

2. Discipline. It is obvious with reference to common observations that team sports like soccer are more prone to instigate collective sentiments not only amongst participants but also in an audience. Accordingly it was expected that soccer players also have a more favourable stance toward "ethnocentrism" in promoting international understanding. Out of those 10 comparisons of the 5 items affiliated with "ethnocentrism" 7 comparisons support but 3 slightly contradict this expectation.

Commercialism

- 1. Nationality. It is well known that the representatives of socialist countries have been critical of the commercialization and professionalization of sport.

 Likewise also Hungarians conceive commercialism as detrimental to international understanding more than

 Finns do. The third item "professional training", differentiates these two groups in the same way in soccer but not any more in track and field.
- 2. Discipline. Professional or semi-professional players and teams govern the international common market in soccer. May be due to this fact Hungarian players with their glorious tradition in soccer have the most critical,

and Finnish players aspiring to that market, have the most favourable view of commercialism and professional training in promoting international understanding.

National self-interests

1. Nationality. The two main national groups also conceive the exploitation of sport for national interest in different ways in relation to international understanding: most Finns are sceptical and conceive this kind of exploitation as dysfunctional to international understanding whereas Hungarians conceive it as positive in general. This difference is well accentuated in the following proportional distribution of responses.

Table 7: Athletes' conception on nationalism in sport with regard to international understanding (%/Mean)

	Soccer players					Athle	tes	in tr	ack &	field
	Pro	+	Opp	Tota	1 x	Pro	<u>+</u>	Opp	Tota	1 x
Sport harnessed	<u>1</u>									
to foreign										
policy (4)										
Hungarians (n=99)	52	20	28	100	2.7	27	18	55	100	3.5
Finns (n=77)	5	19	76	100	4.2	14	22	64	100	3.8
Use of sport										
for national										
propaganda (11)	<u>) </u>									
Hungarians	66	14	20	100	2.3	52	21	27	100	2.7
Finns	12	20	68	100	3.9	19	25	56	100	3.6

pro = promote international understanding

 $[\]pm$ = hard to tell, no significance

opp = oppose international understanding

These differencies might reflect the different conceptions on "sport and politics" prevailing in these countries with their different political order. In socialist countries sport is not "a state within a state" but an undistinguished part of society and socialist way of life. In Scandinavian countries as in Western countries in general sport is traditionally conceived as a value itself and an autonomous field in society and any association of sport with political affairs has often caused opposition or at least embarrassment.

With the intensifying competition and upgrading demands of performance dubious means in pursuit of success tend to be enhanced. Eric Dunning argues likewise in dialectical terms:

"If the balance between seriousness and play shifts towards seriousness, the game becomes transformed from the "mock" fight into a real fight and dirty play is increased" 1)

Contrary to the moral antithesis "My country, right or wrong" all national categories adhere to the respect for rules and fair play and to the prohibition of dubious means as sport-intrinsic conditions for promoting international understanding.

2. Discipline. Finnish soccer players are on the average

Dunning, Eric, The Figurational Dynamics of Modern Sport. In: Sportwissenschaft 9 (4), 1979, 345.

most sceptical as to promoting international understanding by means of sport harnessed to foreign policy and national propaganda whereas Hungarian players are in this respect most optimistic. Furthermore Finnish soccer players also hold the view most strongly that rules and fair play are conditions for international understanding. However, the conceptions of athletes on these issues seem to be anchored, not so much in the sport discipline as in nationality with diverse sociopolitical conceptions on the societal role of sport.

3. Sex. Female athletes in track and field seem to be slightly more sceptical than their colleagues of the compatibility of national self-interests with international understanding in sport but also believe more strongly that rules and fair play are conditions for international understanding.

Prejudical interference

The nationality, sport discipline or sex of respondents do not make any significant difference to their views on international understanding when the prejudical interference of sport journalists, spectators and umpires are considered.

7.4. Mass media, sport and international understanding

As already stated the social significance of international sport in the contemporary world is first of all due to the

consumptive interest of the public in sport and to the global network of mass media feeding that interest. It was also noticed that sport journalism and spectator sport have a bipolar capacity either to promote or distort international understanding.

In his critical appraisal of Olympics Frederick C. Hatfield points out that in spite of the IOC's stated ideal competing athletes and especially their coaches and officials bring with them their ideologies, their nationalistic pride, their prejudices, their social learning, and very often their instructions regarding required conduct. 1)

Sport journalists and spectators alike assign these kinds of meanings to sports events and if exclusively ethnocentric they also have repercussions upon how these events are conceived in terms of international understanding. It is possible that contestants are prejudically conceived as "heroes and villains" according to these national and political preconceptions. In Western countries commercial mass media particularly take advantage of these preconceptions of the public at large in profit making and give the public its "heroes and villains" even at the cost of international understanding.

Hatfield, Frederick C., Ethnocentrism and Conflict in Olympic Competition: Parallels and Trends. In: Review of Sport and Leisure, vol I, 1976, 33.

In socialist countries these preconceptions molding the reports of sport journalists are first of all matters of official ideology. J.D. Halloran argues likewise that the media function differently in different societies with different policies, structures, relationships with other institutions, organizations and ways of operating. Consequently also "journalists from countries with different political regimes have different ideological and political conceptions of their professional mission ...".1)

7.5. Case study: FWCTF in Helsinki

The design of this project with athletes as the main target group is not favourable for exploring the role of mass media in international sport with reference to international understanding. When the project was at a planning stage the first world championship in track and field (FWCTF) was held in Helsinki (1983). This coincidence offered an opportunity to study how this big sport event was reported by mass media as conceived by athletes in those countries taking part in the research project. To provide some standard for evaluation, athletes were asked their "personal overall opinion of the international competitions and matches" by means of the semantic differential technic with bipolar adjectives. The same technic

¹⁾ Halloran, J.D. op. cit., 5, 18.

was used in athletes' description of mass media reporting the FWCTF-event in Helsinki and the whole rationale was as follows:

Factual event	Transmitted	b y	Conceived and
			reported by
FWCTF in Helsinki →	Mass media	in →	Athletes
	different		¥
	countries		Comparison
Int. competitions			7
and matches in		\rightarrow	Athletes
general			

Those bipolar adjectives used in the evaluations of international competition in general and the FWCTF-event in particular were chosen with the object of covering, hopefully, various "associative" and "conflictual" aspects of sport relevant to international understanding.

7.5.1. Factorial aspects of sport

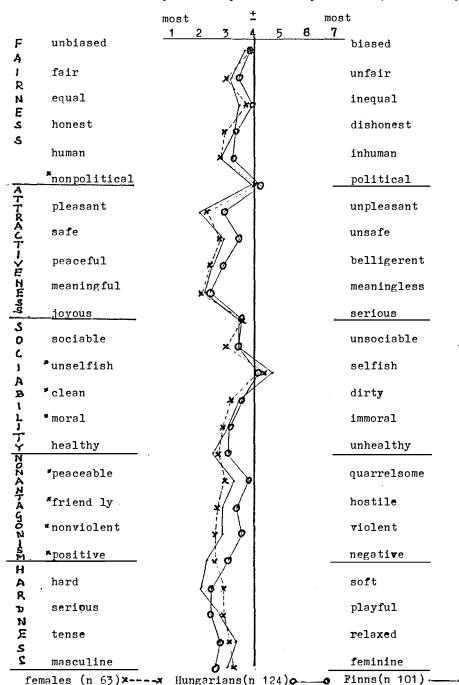
For specifying the factorial structure of "international competition" as conceived by athletes in terms of bipolar adjectives the factor analysis with the varimax rotation was carried out and the following factors were extracted:

```
Factor I: Fairness
Eigenvalue 6.69 % of variance 58.2
                                   F<sub>1</sub>
unbiased-biased (65)
                                   .69
fair-unfair (46)
equal-inequal (63)
honest-dishonest (57)
human-inhuman (62)
political-nonpolitical (43)
Factor II: Attractiveness
Eigenvalue \overline{1.69} % of variance 14.7
pleasant-unpleasant (55)
safe-unsafe (52)
peaceful-belligerent (54)
meaningful-meaningless (58)
joyous-serious (60)
Factor III: Sociability
Eigenvalue 1.21 % of variance 10.5
sociable-unsociable (50)
selfish-unselfish (48)
dirty-clean (64)
immoral-moral (56)
healthy-unhealthy (42)
Factor IV: Antagonism
Eigenvalue 0.77 \% of variance 6.7
quarrelsome-peaceable (45)
hostile-friendly (51)
violent-nonviolent (47)
negative-positive (53)
Factor V: Hardness
Eigenvalue 0.67 % of variance 5.8
hard-soft (50)
serious-playful (44)
tense-relaxed (61)
masculine-feminine (59)
Factor VI: Negativeness
Eigenvalue 0.47 % of variance 4.1
(negative-positive) (53)
                                  -.32 × 32
(healthy-unhealthy) (42)
```

The semantic factor structure of international competition turned out to be rather well differentiated. For clarifying this structure further the residual factor VI with only two significant items was excluded from the analysis and these two items of "negative-positive" and "healthy-unhealthy" were reassociated with the second best factors of V and III respectively.

The athletes' portrayal of international competition described in terms of bipolar adjectives regrouped by the factor analysis is illustrated by scale means in the figure 4. Some scales (marked with asteriks) have been reversed to fit the headings of the respective factors.

Figure 4. Athletes' conceptions on international competition by nationality and sex (scale mean)



The distribution of the scale means indicates that they all are located in the left side except the scale means of "unpolitical-political" and "unselfish-selfish". Considering the affective-evaluative meanings of the adjectives of the left side it can be seen that the majority of them have a positive meaning at least in Western societies. This means that athletes' overall conceptions of international competition are positive in evaluative terms. This is at least partly due to some halo-effect: athletes engaged in international sport have already positive preconceptions of sport and this holistic 'attitude tends to imprint athletes' overall evaluations. The main exceptions to this overall positive evaluation concern in the first place the bipolar adjectives of "nonplitical-political", "unselfish-selfish" with scale means close to the neutral point of 4 (4.1/4.4) and the adjectives associated with the factor "hardness". From the intercorrelation matrix (omitted) it was seen that the scales "nonpolitical-political" and "unselfishselfish" are positively related to scales like "fairunfair", "honest-dishonest", "clean-dirty" and "moralimmoral" which all have rather unambiguous positive meaning-content. The most ambivalent scales as far as their affective-evaluative meaning are concerned are those associated with the factor "hardness". Typically items of "hardness" are insignificantly correlated with other items except the peak scale of "hard-soft" correlated with "pleasant-unpleasant" (r = .32) and with "meaningfulmeaningless" (r = .32).

In passing it can be noticed that Finns tend to have on the average the more positive conception on international competition than Hungarians and female athletes the most positive. The main focus of the project is, however, "sport and international understanding". From that point of view it is postulated here that the positive polars of adjectives associated with factors "fairness", "attractiveness", "sociability" and "non-antagonism" are functionally, and their opposite counterparts dysfunctionally, related to international understanding. This dialectical postulation is well supported by previous findings on those factors and conditions in international sport conducive to international understanding as conceived by athletes. The transformation of bipolar scales of the factor "hardness" into the dialectical conception of sport competition with its "associative" and "conflictual" elements is problematic. Taking into account that the factor "hardness" as an overall scale is negatively correlated - as seen later in p. 71 - with all other factor scales, the soft-polars of the items involved namely "soft", "playlike", "relaxed" and "feminine" are supposed to have "associative", and their counterparts "hard", "serious", "tense" and "masculine" respectively "conflictual", impacts upon "international understanding". Since the scale means tend to conceal the dialectical character of sport competition the distributions of athletes' responses have been transformed into the "associative" and "conflictual" categories in table 8.

Table 8: Athletes dialectical conceptions on international competition according to nationality (%)

Associative	Conflictual	Finn	s (n	=101) H	lungar	. (n	=124)	Total	(n=	270)
V	• •	Ass.	±	Confl.	Ass.	<u>+</u>	Confl.	Ass.	±	Confl,
<u>Fairness</u>										
unbiased	biased	47	20	33	36	36	28	41	27	32
fair	unfair	71	7	22	55	25	20	64	16	20
equal	inequal	54	23	23	36	38	26	42	31	27
honest	dishonest	70	6	24	59	26	15	66	16	18
human	inhuman	82	4	14	61	19	20	69	14	17
nonpolitic	political	47	17	36	26	31	43	34	22	4 4
Attractivenes	<u>ss</u>									
pleasant	unpleasant	96	2	2	71	19	10	84	10	6
safe	unsafe	80	12	8	58	24	18	66	21	13
peaceful	belligerent	83	7	10	74	14	12	79	10	11
meaningful	meaningless	92	3	5	82	16	2	85	10	5
joyous	serious	65	7	28	56	20	24	56	15	29
Sociability										
sociable	unsociable	55	28	17	56	25	19	58	24	18
unselfish	selfish	20	25	55	30	29	41	24	27	49
clean	dirty	55	26	19	47	39	14	52	34	14
moral	immoral	60	30	10	58	29	13	60	28	12
healthy	unhealthy	90	4	6	67	18	15	77	12	11
Non-antagoni	sm .									
peaceable	quarrelsome	62	20	18	40	27	[33]	55	21	24
friendly	hostile	79	11	10	54	30	16	67	20	1,3
nonviolent	violent	68	19	13	49	26	25	60	21	19
positive	negative	90	5	5	62	27	11	77	15	8
Softness (har	rdness)									*
soft	hard	1	6	93	3	15	82	5	11	84
playlike	serious	12	3	85	8	11	81	10	6	8 4
relaxed	tense	21	17	62	9	14	77)	15	14	71
feminine	masculine	1	37	62	-	28	72	1	38	61

Though a majority of athletes perceive that "associative" qualities prevail in international competition there are quite a few who, particularly with regard to the aspects of "fairness" and "non-antagonism", have "conflictual" conceptions prevailing. Both aspects have an apparent relevance to the relationship of sport and international understanding.

"Hardness" as a qualitative aspect of competition is a more controversial issue in its relationship to international understanding. In table 8 scale points of "hardness" have been tentatively interpreted as "conflictual" and their counterparts of "softness" respectively as "associative". Undoubtedly there is an increasing amount of evidence that with the upgrading demands and increasing investments in pursuit of success international sport has become more vulnerable to conflicts and "illegitimate moves" as Günther Lüschen points out:

"Events in which the material, social, or ideal stakes are high and in which the uncertainty of outcome is at a peak are prone to a high amount of illegitimate moves on the part of the contestant as well as on the part of their coaches and supporters." 1)

In passing it is interesting to notice that a majority of athletes conceive international competition as "masculine" but also that there are a rather high percentage of

¹⁾ Günther Lüschen (1981), op. cit., 139.

embarrassed athletes who cannot make this distinction, almost half of them female athletes (46 %, see appendix 6 p. 107).

Particularly with regard to "non-antagonism" Hungarians tend to have a more common antagonistic-conflictual conception of international competition than Finns, whereas Finns outnumber Hungarians curiously in perceiving it as "dishonest" (24 % vs. 15 %) and "selfish" (55 % vs. 41 %). This difference in opinions might be due to the notorious drug abuses of some Finnish athletes.

For any comparative analysis of athletes' conceptions the analysis of factor scales or factor scores are for a parsimonious reason preferable to item analysis.

Accordingly the single bipolar scales of adjectives were combined into the Likert-type of scales simply by summing up the item scores ranging from 1 to 7. The intercorrelations of these sum scales turned out to be rather substantial partly for technical reasons. 1)

Pearson's correlation coefficient is sensitive to the variance of scores and to few extreme cases. Since the range of scales is wide (see ranges in the parenthesis) the variance tends to be high and consequently also r's. Because of the explorative interest of the project, distributions were not normalized in order to get more reliable measurements for the interrelations of scales.

Table 9: The intercorrelations of the factor scales of athletes' conceptions of international competition in sport (n=270).

Factor scale	Fairness	Attract.	Sociabil.	Non-antag.
Fairness (6-42)	***			
Attractiveness (5-35	5) .52	. –		
Sociability (5~35)	.68	.52	-	
Non-antagonism (5-35	5) .54	.52	.58	-
Hardness (4-28)	22	10	18	33

Halo-effects have their share in these correlations. The holistic preconceptions of international competition imprint all qualitative aspects of sport to some extent but imprint least those aspects associated with factor "hardness" as seen in the lowest r's. It is well known that man seeks for some consonance in his/her conceptualization of any object in question. In their pursuit of consistent conceptions of international competitions athletes seem to have most difficulties in fitting the hard aspects of high performance sport with the positively conceived aspects of "fairness", "attractiveness", "sociability" and "non-antagonism". Some dissonance is evident in these conceptions. 1)

¹⁾ These obvious dissonances in athletes' conceptions of international sport are of great interest for further elaborations but are not relevant here from the focal point of sport and international understanding. It can be argued that the whole system of international sport consists of dissonant elements making it vulnerable to conflict and disturbances; see e.g. Frederick C. Hatfield, op. cit. and C. Roger Rees, The Olympic Dilemma: Applying the Contact Theory and Beyond. Unpublished, 1984.

7.5.2. World Championship mirrored by mass media

The main aim of the analysis here was to explore how the first World Championship in track and field held in Helsinki 1983 was mirrored by mass media in different countries taking part in the research project according to athletes' reports. The open question "how" was specified by means of the same bipolar adjectives used above in athletes' opinion on international competition in general. Comparing the conceptions of FWCTF mirrored by mass media with the common conceptions of athletes of international competition we can make at least a tentative evaluation of the relative functional success of FWCTF as far as the promotion of friendship and international understanding are concerned.

The item analysis by terms of the differences in scale means indicates (see table 16 in the appendix, p. 108) that FWCTF has been mirrored by mass media in those countries involved with the research project more "associatively" than is characteristic for international competition in general as conceived by athletes. This inference is valid if comparisons are made separately within each national group, discipline or sex group. By far the most positive evaluations are made, as expected, by Finns with self-interests involved and also by females with their "soft" dispositions.

The comparison of the two conceptions can be made more parimoniously by means of factor scales constructed as has been done in table 10.

Table 10: Athletes' conceptions of international competition compared with conceptions of mass media of FWCTF in Helsinki by means of factor scales 1)

			Track and field								
	S o c c	e r (males)	Males S					Sample			
	Finns (n=41)	Hungar. (n=50)	Finns (n=36)	Hungar. (n=49)			Hungar. (n=25)	Total (n≖63)			
Fairness in general	18.1	23.6	22.3	21.0	21.6	19.1	19.9	19.8			
Fairness in FWCTF	14.6	21.5	14.1	18.7	17.3	12.9	18.9	16.5			
Attractiveness in general	12.3	16.4	13.0	14.1	14.0	12.3	11.9	12.7			
Attractiveness in FWCTF	10.4	14.7	10.6	11.4	11.6	8.9	11.0	10.7			
Sociability in general	15.6	17.8	18.5	17.2	17.5	16.2	15.2	15.8			
Sociability in FWCTF	14.3	15.8	14.3	12.6	13.7	11.9	12.3	12.6			
Non-antagonism in general	11.7	15.1	11.0	12.9	11.6	10.0	11.3	10.5			
Non-antagonism in FWCTF	7.9	13.7	7.4	10.9	9.2	6.5	10.5	8.6			
Hardness in general	10.0	9.8	11.3	9.5	10.8	12.2	11.1	11.7			
Hardness in FWCTF	12.7	12.0	13.3	11.2	12.6	15.5	11.7	13.3			

The lower the mean the closer a conception is to heading of scale.

Since scales used are next to an ordinal type of scale only "more-or-less" comparisons are appropriate along the same scale but due to differences in their constructions any comparisons between scales are inappropriate.

The observations made at the item level hold true also at the scale level as a matter of course. Thus female athletes

Obs. Due to the differences in construction means are not comparable between different scales.

²⁾ Sample total includes also the Westerns.

in track and field have more positive conceptions of international competition in general and of FWCTF in particular than their male colleagues. This is quite a curious fact especially with reference to FWCTF which represents the common object of evaluation both for male and female athletes. Is it a matter of different choice with regard to the message of the mass media or a matter of different frame of reference - female athletes evaluating primarily in softer terms of female athletics with a relatively lower level of demand?

In the scale analysis (see table 10) all categories of respondents conceive FWCTF as portrayed by mass media more "associative" and "less hard" than they conceive international competition in general. Finns representing the host country have the most positive conceptions of reflections of FECTF in mass media - rightly or wrongly so, nobody can prove without the extensive content analysis of FWCTF-reports in Finnish mass media.

As already stated the design of the research project is not appropriate to the solid study of the role of mass media in sport in promoting (or provoking) international understanding. All conclusions here are very tentative.

In combining the observations of the item and scale analysis here it seems that the First World Championship in Track and Field held in Helsinki 1983 has been guite a

success in disseminating an "associative-positive"
message in mass media in various countries according to
athletes and these positive aspects have been mirrored
by mass media consistently more than athletes conceive
them to be associated with international competition in
general. As most of these qualities like "fairness",
"sociability" and "non-antagonism" are in all likelyhood
conducively related to international understanding, international sport events, if properly organized in proper
social context, seem to have a capacity for promoting
international goodwill beyond the boundaries of events.

A country hosting a big international event usually does its utmost to have some noticeable success in front of the home audience. Finns did their best in this respect in 1952 when they hosted the Olympic Games in Helsinki but with rather modest results. But the Games in Helsinki are recognized as one of the most successful as far as fair sporting atmosphere and sportsmanship is concerned. Once again Finns did not have any great success in FWCTF in 1983 but in terms of international goodwill the Games seem to have been executed successfully. The most tentative lesson from this Finnish case study looks like this: - what a host country looses in medals, it can win in promoting international goodwill and understanding! The contrary proposion is equally plausible: what a host country wins in medals, it is prone to lose in international goodwill. Winning and success tend to feed

ethnocentrism and antagonism towards others and in doing so it might distort the spirit of the common good and "distributive justice" vital for mutual respect and understanding. The First European Championship in track and field in Athen in 1982 was also a great success in terms of international goodwill but like the Finns in Helsinki the Greeks were also modest in their success in competition. Are the countries with modest chances of success more suitable sites for great international events as far as the promotion of international friendship and understanding is concerned? Big countries have also big expectations of success in medals, consequently also proneness to ethnocentrism at the cost of fairness and goodwill?

7.6. Conceptions of rivals

Alien people are usually met with prejudice and even if they represent different countries with different cultural-political systems, prejudical treatment of them is more probable but if, in addition, they pursue any mutually exclusive goals like victory in sport they may be conceived as enemies to be beaten at all costs instead of as partners and rivals in fair contests. These two distinctive conceptions of rivals in contest are related to the dialectical conception of sport: the former is akin to "conflictual" and the latter to "associative"

elements and functions in contests. It has been noticed earlier that "suspicions among athletes with respect to doping and drug abuse in international sport" is conceived by athletes as highly opposed to international understanding.

The various conceptions which athletes have of their rivals in international sport were explored by the following question in the questionnaire:

"Which of the following options comes closest to the conceptions you have of foreign athletes?"

Table 11: Athletes' conceptions of foreign athletes according to nationality, discipline and sex (%)

Foreign athletes conceived	Finns (n=101)	-	West (n=45)		Track&field (n=111)		Male (n=206)
 as participants among others 	9	5	6	3	9	8	6
as sportfriends with shared interest	8	13	27	3	19	19	12
3. as honest co-competitors	47_64	46_64	36_69	45_51	43_71	48_75	44_62
as tough opponents	9	34	9	34	13	14	22
5. as opponents to be beaten like "enemies"	1322	2_36	9	9_43	5_18	2_16	7_29
unclassified 1)	14	_	22	6	11	9	9
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

^{1) &}quot;Unclassified" concists of multiple answers

The first three categories of rivals in table 11 are called as "partner-conception" akin to the "associative" conception of contest and the two other categories as "adversary"-conception akin to the "conflictual" conception. The partner-conception seems to prevail over the adversary-conception among athletes particularly among female athletes and in track and field. The results are highly tentative. It is, however, plausible that conceptions of rivals and rival parties are partly sport-specific and causally related to sport discipline: soccer as a contact team sport is prone to cultivate an adversary-conception of rival parties whereas track and field as a non-contact individual sport is more prone to cultivate the partner-conceptions. It is worth noticing here that Westerns in the table all represent track and field.

From the focal point of the research project the crucial question remains: are these different conceptions of rivals related in any consistent way to those aspects in international sport conducive to international understanding and integration of contest? The consistent pattern of observations in table 12 gives some affirmative answer to this question.

Table 12: Athletes' conceptions of international competition (by scale means) and friendship-ties as related to partner- and adversary_conceptions of rivals according to nationality 1)

Conception										
on int. sport	Fi	nns	Hung	arians	Wes	terns				
	Partn.	Advers.	Partn.	Advers.	Partn.	Advers.				
	(n=64)	(n=22)	(n=78)	(n=43)	(n=30)	(n=4)				
Fairness	19.5	21.0	21.0	23.8	21.9	27.0				
Attractiveness	12.4	13.7	14.4	15.1	14.9	17.5				
Sociability	16.8	17.2	16.6	18.0	16.4	18.8				
Non-antagonism	10.8	12.5	13.3	14.2	10.1	15.0				
Hardness	11.5	9.7	10.4	9.4	11.8	11.8				
Number of foreign friendship-ties										
Median	0.67	0.35	3.4	2.9	5.8	0.8				
% of no friends	48 %	59 %	22 %	34 %	21 %	67 %				

Though the differences in conceptions inferred from the scale means between athletes with partner- and adversary-conceptions of rivals in international sport are not big within national categories they are consistent and athletes with partner-conceptions tend to have an associative-positive overall opinion of international competition more commonly than athletes with adversary-conceptions. Consistent with this finding is also the fact that former athletes have made "good friends" with more foreign athletes than have athletes with adversary-conceptions.

The smaller the scale mean, the more close the conception to the heading of scale.

This is indicated by medians of friendship-ties and percentages of those athletes with no foreign friends. 1)

The way in which athletes conceive their rival foreign partners is also significant as far as the role of international sport in promoting international goodwill and understanding is concerned, through the evidences above remain indirect and tentative. More rigorous research with a more appropriate design for that specific purpose is needed.

. 7.7. Foreign friendship-ties

According to conventional belief international sport facilitates friendship-ties amongst contestants. No doubt there is some truth in this but is is also evident that there are lots of sport-intrinsic as well as sport-extrinsic constraints on this facilitation. As noticed, a large majority of athletes conceives that social contacts and exchange programs between athletes are conducive to international understanding (see p. 45). In this explorative survey it was possible to probe only superficially international sport as a facilitator of friendship between athletes representing different countries by means of the following question:

The mean is not appropriate here because of its sensitivity to extreme cases; some athletes have more than 30 "good foreign friends".

"How may foreign athletes/football players have you made good friends with?"

Table 13: Number of foreign friendship-ties according to nationality, discipline and sex (%)

Number of friendship-ties	Finns (n=97)	Hung. (n=118)	West (n=37)	Soccer male (n=92)	Track&field male (n=105)	Female (n=56)	Male (n=196)
No friends	51	26	25	50	20	37	34
1-5 friends	31	44	29	34	4 4	28	40
6-10 friends	9	15	24	4	20	18	13
11- friends	9	15	22	12	16	17	13
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Median	0.49	2.85	5.13	0.50	4.4	2.36	2.32

In general it can be said that appr. 1/3 of athletes who have taken part in international sport lack any "good friend" -ties with their foreign colleagues in sport. On the other hand over 10 % have more than 10 "good foreign" friends, some have even more than 30 friends. Finns tend to have least friendship-ties and soccer players clearly less than athletes in track and field. In accordance with their fewer friendship-ties soccer players conceive their rivals as adversaries more often than athletes in track and field as was earlier noticed. This curious difference might be due to different in-group vs. out-group formations in these sport disciplines?

8. 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. 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, the 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 system; the more extensive and more covert part of 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 allocation 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.

Figure 5: Factors and conditions related to international understanding

Associative
 Conflictual

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

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

Conducive to promote international understanding are

Conducive to oppose international understanding are

- 1. those sport-extrinsic conditions and contexts meant for common good of all parties;
- 1. those sport-extrinsic conditions and contexts meant for advantage of some but not all parties;
- ditions promoting culturalpolitical tolerance and pluralism in sport;
- 2. those socio-cultural con- 2. those socio-cultural conditions prone to culturalpolitical discrimination and segregation of "aliens" in sport;
- ditions meant for common good of all contestants with regard to competition as a proper test of sporting supremacy;
- 3. those sport-intrinsic con- 3. those sport-intrinsic conditions giving unfair advantage to some parties and distorting a competition as a proper test of sporting supremacy;
- 4. conception of rivals as "partners" in contest;
- 4. conceptions of rivals as "adversaries" in contest;
- 5. hero-worship of winners and victory ceremonies with national symbols.
- 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 a 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 get 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 programs for athletes and coaches as conductive 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. Frederick C. Hatfield argues blantly in this respect:

"Countries of the world have, from the beginning of the modern Olympics, recognized the political and ideological advantages of having their athletes win in Olympics. They have, correspondingly, recognized the social disadvantage in being represented by losers. Much international animosity has been directly attributed to this belief. In fact, as vested interests of the State become greater through subsidization practices, the greater is their implication in subsequent victories or defeats. This vicious cycle perpetuates and attenuates chauvinism more than perhaps any other single factor."

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.²⁾

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

¹⁾ Hatfield op. cit. 39.

²⁾ The author conceived this dilemma in 1964 as follows:

[&]quot;Victories and success feed patriotism in sport but they can promote also international "goodwill" provided that success is achieved by strictly following the rules of the game and fair play and that the swollen 'national ego' achieved by success does not mitigate goodwill. If the goal of representative sport is to maximize national interests even at the cost of sportsmanship and fair play, sport inevitably minimizes "goodwill" and is not in accordance with the best interests of a country"; Ideological and Instrumental Model for Decisionmaking in Sport Policy (in Finnish), Research Reports of the Department of Socioloty, University of Helsinki, 43/1964, 46.

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. 1)

The design of the inquiry was far from appropriate for the study of the role of the mass media in sport with regard to international understanding. Some preliminary probes were, however, conducted and the potency of the mass media

¹⁾ Significantly enough this phenomenon is known even in China, which not long ago once again joined the international sport family and Olympic movement with ideals "Friendship first". Alarmed by violent interferences of spectators Chinese authorities have undertaken a campaign for spectators' enlightenment with regard to fair attitudes towards sport with good results as was recognized in 1985 during the First FIFA U-16 World Tournament for the Kodak Cup with 16 participating countries; See China Sport, no 10, 1985, 14-15; no 11, 1985, 16.

was well recognized by athletes. Making use of the First World Championship in Track and Field held in Helsinki, athletes were asked to say how the mass media in their countries have portrayed that world-wide event in terms of bipolar adjectives chosen with reference to the dialectical frame of the inquiry. The main conclusion was that the mass media in those countries taking part in the project have portrayed the FWCTF in general in more positive terms and more favourable for international understanding than athletes conceive international sport in general. It was concluded tentatively that sport events and the mass media reporting and interpreting these events still have a capacity to promote international goodwill and understanding. Mass media, besides serving the proper national interest in international sport, seem also to have a very significant role in promoting the international common good in sport.

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 international 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 is badly needed with proper design and properly commissioned. Due to the deficiences 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 Olympic movement. Is it not the primary interest of IOC to initiate, sponsor and commission such an extensive, international research project?

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

Faculty of Physical and Health Education Jyväskylä Finland



Appendix 1.
Kalevi Heinilä
20.10.1983

ICSPE-PROJECT: SPORT AND INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE LIAISON PERSONS

1. Survey design

This project sponsored by the ICSPE-subcommittee "Sport, Mass Media and International Understanding" pursues to explore those various conditions of international competition which conceived by athletes and soccer players seem to be conducive to promoting international understanding or misunderstanding in sport. Because of the Project's explorative character and the scarce resources available it has been necessary to find out the most practical ways for collecting data from different countries while safequarding the survey's scientific purpose. In that pursuit the following instructions need to be strictly followed; any actions may seriously jeopardise the comparability of collected data.

According to the preliminary notification at least the following countries are likely to take part in the project: Cuba, DDR, England, France, Norway, Sweden, and Finland.

In each participating country there is a liaison man - usually affiliated with ICSPE-business - who is in charge of collecting the national data with adequate measures specified in this instruction. After the data has been collected, the liaison man is to send the filled questionnaires to the project leader, professor Kalevi Heinilä, for further analysis to the following address:

Professor Kalevi Heinilä Department of Sociology of Sport University of Jyväskylä Seminaarinkatu 15 SF-40100 Jyväskylä 10 Finland

2. The sample of athletes

The sample from each country is to be composed of the 50 male and/or 25 female athletes in track and field and/or 50 soccer players (males) selected according to the following criteria:

- Only the athletes and players with the <u>amateur</u> status are qualified in the project.
- They are chosen to the sample in the order (=how many times) of their experience taking into account their participation as representatives of their countries in bi-or multilateral international competitions or tournaments during the last 6 years (since 1978). If more than 6 years have elapsed since taking part in international competition the athlete/player is not qualified for the sample. In soccer also the players under 21 years old are qualified if they have the adequate international experience in soccer.
- The preparing of <u>an order list</u> of the athletes/players with international experience, including their contemporary addresses necessitates <u>a good</u> collaboration with the respective national sport federation.
- If there are some drop-outs and all athletes/players do not return the questionnaire (envelopes with postage paid should be sent with), an extra questionnaire is to be sent to the next ones in the list in order to keep the number of athletes/players in the sample as close to 50 (25 female athletes) as possible.

3. Questionnaire

Each liaison person will be sent an English version of the questionnaire to serve as a model for the translation of their national version.

- It is of utmost importance to pay attention to the equivalence of the meaning of questions in the translation but also to preserve the same order of the questions and the same format in the national questionnaires!
- For the reliability of the answers the questionnaires are introduced to the athletes/players and and no signatures are requested nor permitted.

4. Time schedule

The English version of the questionnaire with the instruction letter will be sent to the liaison persons in November 1983. All filled questionnaires are expected to be returned to Dr. Heinilä by the 15th of January 1984.

- 95 - 3.

5. Costs

Because of the limited resources available for the project, each country is supposed to cover the costs due to translation, duplication and mailing of the questionnaires. The Ministry of Education in Finland is supposed to finance the analysis.

6. National analyses

Separate national analyses are permitted if there is an interest in some countries for that. All the liaison persons will be sent the frequency tables of the national data for their use. In request also the questionnaires will be returned. If these data are used in any publications the appropriate reference is, hopefully, noted: Kalevi Heinilä, "Sport and international understanding" (ICSSPE-project 1983).

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

Faculty of Physical and Health Education Jyväskylä Finland

Jyväskylä, Oct. 26, 1983

Dear Colleague,

The subcommittee "Sport, Mass Media and International Understanding" of ICSPE (since 1983 ICSSPE) pursues to promote international understanding in and through sport. So far our knowledge of the role of international sport in this respect is rather vague. The Committee already has made proposals to start research in this field. The enclosed plan for the project exemplyfies that.

At the London meeting in 1982 the Committee was introduced to this project and the suggestions for the revision were taken into account in a later planning process. It should be noted that the International Olympic Committee (IOC) has been fully informed also of the project.

Since the project is cross-national it is of vital importance that athletes from different countries would be involved in the inquiry. Because of the scarce research resources of ICSPE, this is possible only if there are people affiliated with the ICSPE business in different countries who as a liaison person are willing to collect the data through the questionnaire technique according to the enclosed instructions but are also willing somehow to take care of rather modest costs of those tasks. Hopefully there is willingness for cooperation in this common interest!

Based on the previous conversation it was obvious that you would be interested in this kind of research cooperation and in the respective tasks of a liaison person. I hope that you are still interested despite the postponement of the research untill this fall. In that purpose I am sending the enclosed instruction letter and the 'official' English questionnaire. I hope for your approval and expect your kind answer by return mail. If would fine if the liaison person could take measures according to instructions immediately and schedule the data so that in all participant countries the filled questionnaires would be returned me by the 15th of January 1984.

If needed, I am naturally willing to send further instructions, should there be any difficulties in the interpretation or missing information.

Yours sincerely

Au

Kalevi Heinilä

prof., Dr.



Sport and International Understanding

An important innovation at the 1981 Baden-Baden Olympic Congress was the inclusion, for the first time at such a congress, of sessions in which sportsmen, on their own, discussed major sporting issues, later their spokesmen presented uncensored conclusions to the Congress. It was no suprise that they had strong views, for example on drug abuse, but this process of consultation needs to be extended in the numbers of sportsmen consulted and the topics covered. Kalevi Heinilä, member of the Mass Media Committee of ICSPE, has decides to attempt such a survey of sportsmens' views of "international understanding". As President of ICSPE, I commend this endeavour to you and look forward to studying its findings. I hope those approached will spare the time for this useful contribution to one of the most confused and confusing of sporting problems.

Roger Bannister President of ICSPE (1982) (since 1983 ICSSPE)

I has been said that sport is the universal language understood all over the world. Sport may contribute to friendship and to understanding across borders but it can also raise disputes, even international conflicts. This inquiry sponsored by The International Council of Sport and Physical Education (UNESCO) intends to explore how top athletes with international experience perceive international sport in this respect. The respondents in this pilot study include football players and athletes in track and field.

Dear Athlete. If you consider your own personal experience, how do you appraise various factors and circumstances in sport with respect to international understanding? The method to answer is simple: circle one option, out of five possible alternatives, which comes closest to your own opinion. We are interested to know your personal opinion and not what others might think or in general is thought about these matters.

Example of response method:

Carrying Olympic flame as torchrelay from Olympos across various countries to the Olympic City.

(In this example, the respondent considers that the Olympic torch-relay contributes some degree to int. understanding.)

		+2 Promote greatly							
	Do the following factors and	:	+1	Pron	pte	some degree			
	circumstances promote or oppose	:	:	±0		significance/hard to te	211		
	international understanding?	•	•	- :	-1	Oppose some degree			
	*	:			:	-2 Oppose greatly			
		•	•	. •	:	•			
1.	The intensifying of international competition with upgrading demands	+2	+1	±0	-1	- 2			
2.	Extraordinary heroworship of winners in big sport events	+2	+1	<u>+</u> 0	-1	-2			
3.	Use of violence in pursuit of success	+2	+1	<u>+</u> 0	-1	-2			
4.	Representative sport harnessed to the official foreign policy of country	+2	+1	±0	-1	~2			
5.	Seriousness of contemporary international sport with vanishing play spirit	+2	+1	±0	-1	-2			
6.	Ignoring rules and conventions of fair play in sport	+2	+1	<u>+</u> 0	-1	-2			
7.	Decisions of unpires and jurys	+2	+1	±0	-1	-2			
8.	Behavior of spectators in international sport	+2	+1	- 0	-1	-2			
9.	Reports of sport journalists	+2	+1	±0	-1	-2			
10.	Presentation of international Sport on ${\tt TV}$	+2	+1	<u>+</u> 0	-1	-2			
11.	Use of international sport for national propaganda	+2	+1	<u>+</u> 0	-1	-2			
12.	Recognition of national customs and social systems in host -country: "When in Rome, do as the Romans do".	+2	+1	<u>+</u> 0	- 1	-2			
13.	Absolute prohibition of the use of drugs and anabolic steroids	+2	+1	<u>+</u> 0	-1	-2			
14.	Commitment in international sport to the resolutions and principles of the United Nations	+2	+1	±0	-1	-2			
15.	'Blocking' tendency in international sport: e.g. socialistic vs. non- socialistic countries, developing vs. developed countries etc.	+2	+1	- 0	- 1	-2			
16.	Acquaintance with circumstances and customs of the host-country before the departure to tour	+2	+1	<u>+</u> 0	-1	-2			
17.	Increase of exchange programs for "migrant athletes" from various countriés	+2	+1	<u>+</u> 0	-1	-2			
18.	Increase of exchange programs for coaches from various countries	+2	+1	<u>+</u> 0	-1	-2			

	- 99	- +2_	Pron	юtе	grea	atly 3.
		•	+1	Pron	pte	some degree
		:	8	±0	No s	significance/hard to tell
		4	:	<u>.</u>		Oppose some degree
			•	•	÷	-2 Oppose greatly
		•		•	•	2 oppose greatry
19.	Joint international training camps for foreign athletes	+2	+1	<u>+</u> 0	- 1	-2
20.	Knowledge of foreign language	+2	+1	±0	-1	-2
21.	Respect of universal human rights in sport	+2	+1	<u>+</u> 0	-1	-2
22.	Greater equality for women in international sport $% \left(1\right) =\left(1\right) \left($	+2	+1	±0	- 1	-2
23.	Increase of women representation in international federations	+2	+1	<u>+</u> 0	-1	-2
24.	Unsportsman-like interference with foreign athletes by audience of host-country	+2	+1	±0	-1	-2
25.	The great gap between countries in the development of sport science	+2	+1	- 0	-1	-2
26.	Expansive commercialization of international sports	+2	+1	<u>+</u> 0	-1	-2
27.	Professional and year-around training of athletes	+2	+1	<u>+</u> 0	-1	-2
28.	Victory ceremonies in international sports with national anthems and flags	+2	+1	±0	-1	-2 .
29.	Concealing the newest training devices from foreign partners	+2	+1	±0	-1	-2
30.	Exploitation of athletes for commercial purpose in international sports	+2	+1	<u>+</u> 0	-1	-2
31.	Joint international games for amateurs and professionals	+2	+1	<u>+</u> 0	-1	-2
32.	Qualifying children-stars (under 15 years) as national representatives in tough international sports	+2	+1	±0	-1	-2
	Increase of athletes representation in international federations	+2	+1	±0	-1	-2
34.	Opportunity for foreign athletes to get acquainted with culture and living in the host-country during tournament	+2	+1	±0	-1	-2
35.	Great variation in state subsidy for representative sport in various countries	+2	+1	±0	-1	-2
36.	Great variation in athletes' training conditions in various countries	+2	+1	<u>+</u> 0	- 1	-2

41. Which of the following options comes closest to the conception you have of foreign athletes. Mark an X by your choice.

> 1. They are just participants among others.....() They are sportfriends with shared interest in the same sport...()

> 3. They are co-competitors pursuing honestly for victory.....() 4. They are tough opponents prone to use all kind of means.....(

> 5. They are opponents to be beaten like "enemies".....()

How would you describe in terms of pairs of adjectives listed below your personal experiences on international competitions or matches. You can choose out of 7 alternatives (indicated by numbers 1...7) the one that best corresponds to your opinion of the overall characteristics of international competitions or matches and circle 🔿 the respective number. The numbers refer to the various degrees of quality defined by adjectives.

If, for example, the pair of adjectives is "pleasant-unpleasant" the 7 alternatives for your choice would be graded as follows:

1 most pleasant

very pleasantpleasant rather than unpleasant

4 equally pleasant and unpleasant or difficult to say (don't know)

5 unpleasant rather than pleasant

6 very unpleasant

most unpleasant

If you are asked your opinion, let us say, about disco-music in terms of the pair of adjectives and if you consider it to be "very pleasant" you should circle the respective number in a way indicated below. But if you find it "equally pleasant and unpleasant" or "difficult to decide", you should choose number 4 and circle it:

Example: How would you describe the disco-music? pleasant 1 (2) 3 4 5 6 7 unpleasant - 101 - 5.

But in our inquiry we are not concerned about disco-music but about the international competitions or matches in sport:

Your personal overall opinion of the international competitions or matches

Make one choice on each pair and circle () that number.

don't								
	most	very		know		very	most	
42. healthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unhealthy
43. political	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	nonpolitical
44. serious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	playlike
45. quarrelsome	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	peaceable
46. fair	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unfair
47. violent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	nonviolent
48. selfish	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unselfish
49. hard	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	soft
50. sociable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unsociable
51. hostile	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	friendly
52. safe	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unsafe
53. negative	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	positive
54. peaceful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	belligerent
55. pleasant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unpleasant
56. immoral	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	moral
57. honest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	dishonest
58. meaningful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	meaningless
59. masculine	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	feminine
60. joyous	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	serious
61. tense	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	relaxed
62. human	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	inhuman
63. equal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	inequal
64. dirty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	clean
65. unbiased	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	biased

Please, be sure you checked every pair of adjectives.

The first world championship in track and field was held last summer in Helsinki. How did the mass media of your country portray, in your opinion, the World Championship in Helsinki in terms of the same adjectives as above?

Portray of the mass media on the World Championship in Helsinki:

Make one choice on each pair and circle () that number

	CIICI		criac	HUMBEL				
				don't				
	most	very		know		most	very	
66. healthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unhealthy
67. political	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	nonpolitical
68. serious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	playlike
69. quarrelsome	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	peaceable
70. fair	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unfair
71. violent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	nonviolent
72. selfish	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unselfish
73. hard	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	soft
74. sociable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unsociable
75. hostile	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	friendly
76. safe	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unsafe
77. negative	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	positive
78. peaceful	1	2	3	1	5	6	7	belligerent
79. pleasant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unpleasant
80. immoral	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	moral
81. honest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	dishonest
82. meaningful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	meaningless
83. masculine	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	feminine
84. joyous	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	serious
85. tense	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	relaxed
86. human	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	inhuman
87. equal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	inequal
88. dirty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	clean
89. unbiased	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	biased

Please, be sure you checked every pair of adjectives.

- 103 **- 7.**

Last	cly , some facts concerning your background and sport experience.	
90.	What is your major sport?	
	Mark x 1. football() 2. track and field() 3. other, which one()	
91.	Do you belong to the national team of your country?	
	Mark x Yes, nowadays() I have belonged in past() No, I do not belong()	
92.	How many different countries have you visited as an athlete or for some other purpose?	countries
93.	How many times have you travelled abroad to different countries as a track and field athlete or a football player?	times
94.	How many foreign athletes/football players have you made good friends with?	number of foreign
95.	Your age: years 96. Your sex: female male	
	nks for your co-operation. Please <u>check</u> once again that you have items in this questionnaire. Best wishes to your sport-career!	e answered all
For	your comments:	

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Factors conducive to international understanding

Varimax rotated factor matrix

Item in questionnaire	FACTOR 1 Inequality of terms	FACTOR 2 Ethnocentrism	FACTOR 3 Commercialism	FACTOR 4 National self-interest	FACTOR 5 Prejudical interference	FACTOR 6 Egoism	COMMUNALITY (Factor matrix)
X1	080	.534	.177	.315	.179	.084	.461
X2	024	.545	.349	.418	.191	- .099	.640
X4	.036	.196	 102	.591	.084	044	.408
x5	 075	.175	.107	.336	.143	.106	.192
X6	.187	 117	.128	.468	.141	.035	.305
X7	- .117	.065	- .028	.193	.428	027	.240
X8	.063	.097	.232	.032	.532	.117	.364
X9	.131	.185	 033	 062	.765	083	.649
X11	.075	.224	- .125	.580	.206	032	.451
X12	 073	 015	 013	006	.189	 396	.198
X13	.003	 176	.043	 392	.198	.039	.227
X15	.261	043	.027	.236	.140	.261	.214
X25	.524	 052	.005	048	.015	.090	.288 🚓
X26	.206	.005	.617	.016	.040	.174	.455
X27	.054	.030	.354	 115	.313	.698	.727
X28	080	.541	.003	.171	.220	016	.377
X29	.463	.098	.286	060	026	107	.322
X30	.304	011	.671	 138	.082	.061	.573
X31	.035	.337	.149	 026	 097	211	.192
X32	.321	 123	.239	016	040	032	.178
X35	.672	002	.109	.135	.014	.100	.492
X36	.749	046	.117	.014	046	007	.579
X37	.614	.033	.206	.172	.079	.091	.464
X39	049	.591	487	.225	134	.122	.674
X40	.015	.630	 116	.082	.136	.070	.440
X41	114	064	230	 097	009	024	.440 .080

Appendix.

Table 14: Various elements in international sport ordered by their conceived contributions to international understanding (n=270/%)

	Pro	±	Opp
*Knowledge of foreign language (20)	96	3	1
*Joint training camps for athletes (19)	94	6	0
*Respect of human rights in sport (21)	94	5	1
*Social contact-events for atheltes (38)	92	8	0
*Acquainting with foreign culture (34)	91	8	1
*Exchange program for coaches (18)	91	8	1
*Athletes repr. in Int. Federations (33)	83	16	1
*Exchange program for "migrant" athletes (17)	80	17	3
*International sport on TV (10)	80	16	4
*Commitment to resolutions of UN (14)	78	18	4
Victory ceremonies with national symbols (28)	75	18	7
*Pre-acquaintance with foreign customs (16)	73	23	4
*Equality of women in int. sport (22)	70	28	2
Prohibition of anabolic steroids (13)	65	18	17
*Women repr. in Int. Federations (23)	57	40	3
Recognition of foreign customs (12)	56	33	11
Joint games for amaterus and pros (31)	55	29	16
Int. understanding and forthcoming Games in LA (40)	53	37	10
Reports of sport journalists (9)	52	27	21
Spectators behavior (8)	50	23	27
Intense competition with upgrading demands (1)	47	31	22
Extraordinary hero-worship of winners (2)	46	28	26
Int. understanding and Games in Moscow (39)	39	15	46
Use of sport for national propaganda (11)	37	17	46
Professional training of athletes (27)	31	55	14
Decisions of umpires (7)	23	48	29
Sport harnessed to foreign policy (4)	22	19	59
Commercialization of int. sport (26)	18	33	49
Seriousness of international sport (5)	17	32	51
Commercial exploitation of athletes (30)	14	42	44
Great gap in development of sport science (25)	8	31	61
Child-stars qualified in int. sport (32)	7	39	54
Variations in training conditions (36)	7	34	59
Variations in state subsidy (35)	7	33	60
Ignoring rules and fair play (6)	5	8	87
Secrecies in training devices (29)	3	30	67
"Blocking" tendency in int. sport (15)	3	20	77
Suspicion on the use of doping (37)	3	14	83
*Use of violence in pursuit of success (3)	3	5	9 2
*Unsportsman-like interference of audience (24)	2	6	92

Athletes' conception on international sport

Varimax rotated factor matrix

Item in questionnaire	FACTOR 1 Fairness	FACTOR 2 Attractiveness	FACTOR 3 Sociability	FACTOR 4 Non-antagonism	FACTOR 5 Hardness	FACTOR 6 Negativeness	COMMUNALITY (Factor matrix)
X42	.316	.187	.306	095	.049	 319	.342
X43	411	031	057	.327	.159	.127	.321
X44	021	052	.002	.075	.574	009	.339
X45	302	049	174	.712	.156	.156	.680
X46	.632	.102	.295	220	 033	 231	.600
X47	198	246	141	.530	.197	.019	.440
X48	218	070	470	.138	.191	 073	.334
X49	.023	.251	 155	.003	.633	242	.546
X50	.176	.327	.616	 115	089	006	.539
X51	134	296	 361	.536	.066	.278	.604
X52	.091	- 653	.199	 259	139	007	.561
X53	092	 279	064	.226	016	.650	.565
X54	.159	.565	.228	337	.038	007	.512
X55	.190	.747	.089	162	.106	267	.710
X56	295	085	471	.242	 167	.278	.479
X57	.590	.179	.447	048	.056	218	.633
X58	.313	.460	018	.066	.276	 195	.428
X59	.001	129	 073	.256	.257	.057	.157
X60	.131	.349	.074	001	 105	 103	.166
X61	166	117	.099	.264	.510	.171	.410
X62	.564	.259	.233	060	 131	260	.527
X63	.590	.280	.187	079	027	.049	.471
X64	436	061	 479	.235	 115	.247	.553
X65	.691	.178	.079	 226	- .050	.125	.585

ppendix !

Table 15: Athletes' dialectical conceptions on international competition by sex (%)

		Female athletes (n=64)				Male athletes (n=2				
<u>Associative</u>	Conflictual	Ass.	±	Confl.		1	Ass.	±	Confl.	
Fairness						1_				
unbiased	biased	43	27	30	100		41	27	32	100
fair	unfair	72	16	12	100		62	16	22	100
equal	inequal	47	31	12	100		40	31	29	100
honest	dishonest	76	16	8	100		63	16	11	100
human	inhuman	80	11	9	100		66	15	19	100
nonpolitical	political	42	19	39	100		31	23	46	100
Attractiveness										
pleasant	unpleasant	87	5	8	100		82	12	6	100
safe	unsafe	76	19	5	100		63	21	16	100
peaceful	belligerent	86	3	11	100		77	12	11	100
meaningful	meaningless	94	5	1	100		83	11	6	100
joyous	serious	55	20	25	100		56	13	31	100
Sociability										
sociable	unsociable	74	15	11	100		54	26	20	100
unselfish	selfish	31	19	50	100		22	30	48	100
clean	dirty	59	31	10	100		49	35	16	100
moral	immoral	63	31	6	100		60	27	13	100
healthy	unhealthy	83	9	8	100		75	13	12	100
Non-antagonism										
peaceable	quarrelsome	72	14	14	100		49	24	27	100
friendly	hostile	81	9	10	100		63	23	14	100
nonviolent	violent	78	16	6	100		55	22	23	100
positive	negative	81	8	11	100		76	17	7	100
Softness (hardne	ss)									
soft	hard	10	17	73	100		3	9	88	100
playlike	seriour	13	10	77	100		10	5	85	100
relaxed	tense	17	20	63	100		15	12	73	100
feminine	masculine	3	46	51	100		-	36	64	100

Table 16: Athletes' conceptions of international competition related to the portrayal of FWCTF by mass media according to nationality (scale mean) 1)

	Finns (n=101) Hunga:	cians (n=124)	Western	ns (n=	45)	Total	n=270)
	Common FWCTF	Diff. Common	FWCTF	Diff.	Common	FWCTF	Diff.	Common	FWCTF	Diff.
Fairness										
unbiased	3.6 2.3	1.3 3.8	3.1	0.7	3.8	3.7	0.1	3.8	2.9	0.9
fair	3.1 2.2	0.9 3.4	2.6	0.8	2.9	3.0	-0.1	3.2	2.5	0.7
equal	3.4 2.6	0.8 3.9	3.3	0.6	4.2	3.7	0.5	3.8	3.1	0.7
honest	3,2 2.2	1.0 3.3	2.7	0.6	2.9	2.6	0.3	3.2	2.5	0.7
human	2.7 2.4	0.3 3.2	2.7	0.5	3.0	2.7	0.3	3.0	2.6	0.4
nonpolitical	3.8 2.4	1.4 4.2	3.7	0.5	4.7	3.5	1.2	4.1	3.2	0.9
	Mean diff.	<u>0.95</u> Mean	diff.	0.61	Mean	diff.	0.41	Mean	diff.	0.71
Attractiveness	10									
pleasant	1.9 1.8	0.1 2.8	2.6	0.2	2.2	2.0	0.2	2.4	2.2	0.2
safe	, 2.8 2.0	0.8 3.4	2.7	0.7	3.2	2.8	0.4	3.1	2.5	0.6
peaceful	2.4 1.6	0.8 2.8	2.3	0.5	2.6	2.3	0.3	2.6	2.0	0.6
meaningful	2.1 2.0	0.1 2.3	2.0	0.3	2.6	2.2	0.4	2.2	2.0	0.2
joyous	3.4 2.7	0.7 3.5	3.0	0.5	4.3	4.0	0.3	3.6	3.1	0.5
	Mean diff.	0.5 Mean	diff.	0.44	Mean	diff.	0.32	Mean	diff.	0.42
Sociability										
sociable	3.4 3.0	0.4 3.4	2.5	0.9	3.1	3.2	-0.1	3.3	2.8	0.5
unselfish	4.6 3.6	1.0 4.1	3.2	0.9	4.6	3.4	1.2	4.4	3.4	1.0
clean	3.4 2.3	1.1 3.5	2.9	0.6	3.0	2.7	0.3	3.4	2.5	0.9
moral	3.0 2.6	0.4 3.1	2.8	0.3	2.9	2.6	0.3	3.1	2.7	0.4
healthy	2.4 2.2	0.1 3.0	2.5	0.5	2.9	2.5	0.4	2.7	2.4	0.3
neartny	Mean diff.		diff.	0.64		diff.	0.22		diff.	0.62
		<u>0702</u>		<u> </u>			<u> </u>		u 1111.	<u> </u>
Non-antagonism										
peaceable	3.2 2.1	1.1 3.8	3.4	0.4	2.9	2.6	0.3	3.5	2.8	0.7
friendly	2.8 1.7	1.1 3.3	2.8	0.5	2.8	2.2	0.6	3.0	2.3	0.7
nonviolent	2.8 1.8	1.0 3.5	3.0	0.5	2.7	2.1	0.6	3.1	2.4	0.7
positive	2.2 1.7	0.5 3.0	2.7	0.3	2.1	1.9	0.2	2.5	2.2	0.3
	Mean diff.	<u>0.9</u> Mean	diff.	0.4	Mean	diff.	0.4	Mean	diff.	0.6
Hardness										
hard	2.0 2.7	0.7 2.4	3.0	0.6	2.9	3.7	0.8	2.4	3.0	0.6
serious	2.7 3.6	0.9 2.4	2.6	0.2	2.4	2.3	-0.1	2.5	2.9	0.4
tense	3.3 4.0	0.7 2.7	3.3	0.6	3.2	3.8	0.6	3.0	3.7	0.7
masculine	3.0 3.3	0.3 2.5	2.7	0.2	3.7	3.6	-0.1	2.9	3.1	0.2
	Mean diff.	0.65 Mea	n diff.	0.4	Mean	diff.	0.3	Mean	diff.	0.5

The lower the mean, the more close the conception to the polar adjective indicated.

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