

1. **UNIT TITLE:** Cultural Studies II
 2. **LEVEL:** II
 3. **ALLOCATION (HRS):** 60
 4. **PRE-REQUISITE STUDY MODULE:** Foundation Course
-

5. **INTRODUCTION:**

This unit examines in greater depth the emergence of popular cultural forms and practices in British and international societies. It seeks to explain the importance of popular culture as a site for popular resistance and examine the role that sport has played in this movement.

6. **LEARNING OUTCOMES:**

On completion the students will be able to:

- (i) Articulate the significance of sport as an element of popular culture and political practice.
- (ii) Understand the significance of nationalism and identity in British sport and society.
- (iii) Critically analyse sport through cross-cultural study.

7. **CONTENT:**

Cultural theory - sport as a site for popular resistance - detailed study and analysis - examination of theorists and "schools" of thought - Leavis, Gramscian, Frankfurt and Birmingham structures.
Sport and national identity. A socio-cultural analysis of sport in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales and selected Commonwealth States.
The development and acculturation of selected sports and sporting heroes in Modern Britain.

8. **METHODS OF PRESENTATION:**

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9. **INDICATIVE READING:**

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CULTURAL STUDIES

Thursday 6 February 1992

Middle Class Responses to Working Class Leisure: Some Notes

1. Peter McIntosh, Sport in Society (1987)

Types of sport in 19th century and development of organised structure (60). Role of aristocracy and their patronage.(62) McIntosh uses Matthew Arnold's characterisation of society into Barbarians, Philistines and Populace.

At the end of the century the pattern of sport was predominantly Philistine. The middle classes had produced their own team games... their own form of track and field athletics, their own swimming competitions, and their own racquet game of lawn tennis. (64)

Focussed on growing towns and cities. Philistines initially restricted access of Populace to these games but "did at last welcome them provided that the Populace would conform to their etiquette and conduct in play"(65).

Sport and the changing character of the public school - impact of middle class public schools. Growth of organised games linked to this. Example of developments at Rugby School and Arnold's work. Development elsewhere of athleticism. During second half of 19th century, cult of athleticism spread (69). Significance of muscular Christianity: see for example work of Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes. Role of the Church in spreading sport.

Extension of sport to masses linked to economic changes 1870-1890 when changes in working practices reduced working hours.

Potential of sport for hygiene and character building.

2. Alan Tomlinson (1988) 'Good Times, Bad Times and the Politics of Leisure' in H Cantelon et al Leisure, Sport and Working Class Cultures.

"when we speak of working class culture we can no longer treat 'culture' as some peripheral music-making or worship marked off from the more influential spheres of the 'political' or the 'economic'. Rather to speak of working class culture is to speak of the relation between these spheres, and of the ways in which these spheres are joined together to make a distinctive way of life."(42)

3. William Baker (1979) 'The Leisure Revolution in Victorian England', Journal of Sport History.

Until comparatively recently 'leisure' ignored by historians of 19th century Britain. Although aristocracy relatively stable, "the Victorian masses - middle class as well as working class folk - had their attitudes and life styles turned upside down"(79).

Authors to follow for their account of Victorian leisure: R W Malcolmson, Helen Meller, John Myerscough & John Lowerson, Peter Bailey.

Rational recreations and improvement as omnipresent voices?

Late 19th century growth of leisure industry. The rise of a football industry at centre stage.

Significance of understanding the Victorian story: "the roots of our own recreational practices and beliefs about leisure" are here.

4. Peter Bailey (1978) Leisure and Class in Victorian England

Impact of rational recreation and athleticism. One commentator concluded that:

the suburban middle class made organised games rank among England's leading contributions to world culture" (124).

Time lag between middle class involvement and working class uptake. Public school phenomenon, restrictive practices of governing bodies, amateur ethic.

New athleticism mediated by church and friendly societies.

SPORTS SOCIOLOGY 1
Wednesday 5 February 1992

The Origins of Organised Sport

1. Introduction

Last week we discussed how leisure might be defined. One of the points I was hoping to draw out was that any definition would have to say something about the relationship of leisure to work. I mentioned that the flow of experience might be a way of defining an activity. I also suggested that we should be alert to patriarchal influences in the definition of leisure.

At the end of last week's session, I suggested that the link between leisure and this week's talk is how Britain as the first 'sporting nation' developed cultural forms of activity that have been characterised as leisure and re-creation. Organised sport appeared here first in the 19th century. I suggested that to get a sense of what happened in the 19th century you might have a look at:

Peter McIntosh _____ Sport in Society (1987 or 1963 editions)
The British Journal of Sports History.
E Dunning and K Sheard Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players.

My hope, as ever, is that by browsing and doing a small amount of reading you develop an active interest in your own learning.

By the end of today's meeting I want to have given account of how the origins of organised sport:

1. Established Britain as 'the first sporting nation'.
2. Created social relationships in sport with regard to:
 - (i) what constitutes sport
 - (ii) conventions about who may play: an amateur ethic
 - (iii) gendered sport
3. Provides a model for the processes of objectification, rationalisation and bureaucratisation.
4. Can be used as an example of a developmental account linked to the civilising process.

In addition to the references I recommended last week, one very good source of information about this period is Peter Bailey's Leisure and Class in Victorian England (1978). He suggests that the early 19th century witnessed a break up of 'pre-industrial' culture and that traditional recreation was left in wreckage from which:

Another culture formed, better adapted to the milieu of a modern industrial society and by the last quarter of the century the British working class were settled into a new way of life. (1978:2)

2. Nineteenth Century Sport

Peter McIntosh (1963, 1987) is an influential figure in the historical study of sport in Britain. His book Sport in Society has been used as a sourcebook for many courses since it was first published in 1963.

HE SUGGESTS THAT:

- * Aristocratic enjoyment of sport (field sports)
- * Hunting, shooting and angling were exclusive activities
- * Golf and cricket organised under patronage
- * Crowd pulling sports were horse racing, prize-fighting and pedestrianism.
- * Popular activities were spontaneous often linked to fairs but also included mob football.
- * "It is probably not without significance that the sports which survived were those enjoying patronage of the aristocracy". (see for example Jockey Club, MCC and R&A)
- * In the 19th century sports proliferated and were organised. Barbarians, Philistines and Populace were keys to understanding development.
- * By end of century sport essentially Philistine in character (middle class)
- * Process of extending sport: role of public schools and universities.
- * Missionary zeal and muscular Christianity. Origins of soccer clubs
- * Working class involvement in sport linked to working conditions

3. Athleticism and Rational Recreation

Much of the debate about sport in the 1990s is embedded in the social and cultural roots of sport. I would like to conclude today's talk with mention of:

- * athleticism and rational recreation as ideologies
- * amateurism
- * the invisibility of women in 19 century sport
- * exclusive sport and the concept of game

4. Next Week

I want to look at the links between sport and schooling. Can you try to find some source material for this: try curriculum history.

CULTURAL STUDIES II
Lecture One
Thursday, 3 October 1991

1. Introduction

During this year, our task is to develop an understanding of the distinctiveness of cultural studies. One way of starting is to discuss the course description.

Have a look at the handout and make a note of any terms that strike you as requiring explanation.

I wonder if you share with me a desire to sort out what the following terms might mean:

emergence of cultural forms

popular culture as a site for popular resistance

socio-cultural analysis

acculturation

One important task will be to consider how cultural studies differs from sociology.

2. Our experience of culture

I thought it might be interesting to think about the concept of culture by relating it to our own experience. Could you spend five minutes or so thinking about:

1. Your background: your home, your family, your educational experience, your sporting experience.
2. Your present tastes, interests and hobbies.
3. Your aspirations/hopes for the future.

Perhaps you could now share your thoughts with someone else and discuss them. You might want to ask questions about someone else's experience.

3. Developing some concepts: society and culture

Now unlikely that you will be encouraged to think of sport as an isolated activity. Writers like Jenny Hargreaves(1982) and Alan Tomlinson (1982) were alerting us to the cultural significance of sport almost a decade ago and identifying how cultural studies might help.

For next week, have a look at the kind of articles contained in Jennifer Hargreaves' (1982) Sport, Culture and Ideology and if possible look at Alan Tomlinson's (1982) article attached to these notes.

Both authors encourage us to locate sport in a wider context.

Jennifer Hargreaves (1982:16) suggests that:

It is difficult to treat as problematic something which is taken-for-granted as manifestly apparent and to identify the hidden ways in which sport embodies social anatanagonisms and may be biased and partial.

Alan Tomlinson (1982:51) notes that:

Sport cannot be seen as something set apart from other spheres of social life. A sports theory set apart from central sociological questions will be a dislocated theory, a theory of human practice out of context. Such a 'theory' fails to make the link between particularised milieu and wider public context, between biography and history.

Both would agree that in order to critically analyse our lived experience of sport we must:

... situate the sports activity as a cultural form in a particular context of wider influences or determinants.
(Tomlinson 1982:53)

What we will have to come to terms with is the language used by cultural theorists. Perhaps as we go on we will develop a shared vocabulary.

CULTURAL STUDIES II

Spring Term 1992

Meeting One: Thursday, 9 January 1992

1. Introduction

Now that an assignment for the course is out of the way perhaps we can relax and really start to explore cultural studies in the context of sport and leisure.

Do you remember when we first met back in October. I included the following elements in a handout. With regard to the course outline, I wondered if you shared with me a desire to sort out what the following terms mean:

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Do you recall our first attempts to develop the concepts of society and culture?

I suggested that:

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(Tomlinson 1982:53)

As a means of coming to terms with is the language used by cultural theorists we explored some of the work of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham before briefly discussing the significance of critical theory (see notes for 5 December attached to these notes).

In this the Spring Term, I would like us to develop a cultural studies approach to sport and leisure that is sensitive to a range of perspectives on culture. In their discussion of a critical approach to educational research, Wifred Carr and Stephen Kimmis (1986:41) suggest that teachers build educational theory through critical reflection on their own practical knowledge. I would like to encourage us to do the same for sport and leisure in a range of cultural contexts.

Fundamental to this approach is the assertion that:

Sport and leisure are historically located, social, political and problematic.

Thus the content of our course can become a fascinating area of enquiry! During the term we will need to look at:

the relationship between sport, leisure and culture

the mobilisation of national identity in sport

But in order that you have a sense of ownership of the course I suggest that we work round themes to which you bring evidence of reading and critical reflection.

Try to have a look at the recommended reading in your original course outline. But please try to browse widely!

The themes I suggest are:

16 & 23 January: The development of working class patterns of leisure.

30 Jan & 6 Feb: Middle Class responses to working class leisure.

13 & 20 February: Gender and access to sport and leisure.

27 Feb & 5 March: The body in culture

12 & 19 March: Nationalism and the role of the state

26 March & 2 Apr: Own choice of theme.

The learning outcomes of the course are couched in terms of articulating, understanding and analysing. I hope that by engaging you in your own learning we can develop the kind of critical thinking that Carr and Kemmis (1986:113) note when they suggest that:

theory informs and transforms practice by informing and transforming the ways in which practice is experienced and understood.

What I am suggesting will take some work on your part. But this seems preferable to me talking at you!

I hope you enjoy the term.

Keith Lyons
8 January 1992



'Ere we go . . . The Chief Boggin, Arthur Clarke (left), and the Lord of the Hood, Phillip Coggon (right), lead participants across the fields as the game gets under way PHOTOGRAPH: DENIS THORPE

Beer and scrummages keep ancient tradition on its toes

Martin Wainwright finds old-time rural spirit alive and kicking at the Haxey Hood Game

OLDE England proved as resilient as ever yesterday, as the Haxey Hood Game once again confounded obituarists of old-fashioned rural life.

Several thousand people scrummaged through the streets of Haxey, a straggling farming village above the Humber, in a Twelfth Night tradition going back to 1213 AD.

Gloom-mongers might point to the dispenser of tropical fruit-flavoured condoms in the gents of the Loco, one of the village's four pubs, as a symptom of modern decay.

But the beery scene in the bar told a different story, as before start of play, the Lord of the Hood, the Fool and the Chief Boggin led thunderous choruses of To Be A Farmer's

Boy. "This all began when the local landowner's wife, Lady de Mowbray, was out riding and lost her hood in a field full of farm labourers," said Phillip Coggon, a market gardener who was elected Lord of the Hood (or general organiser) last year.

"They fought to return it to her and she enjoyed the scene so much that she ordered the village to repeat the event every January 6 as a game."

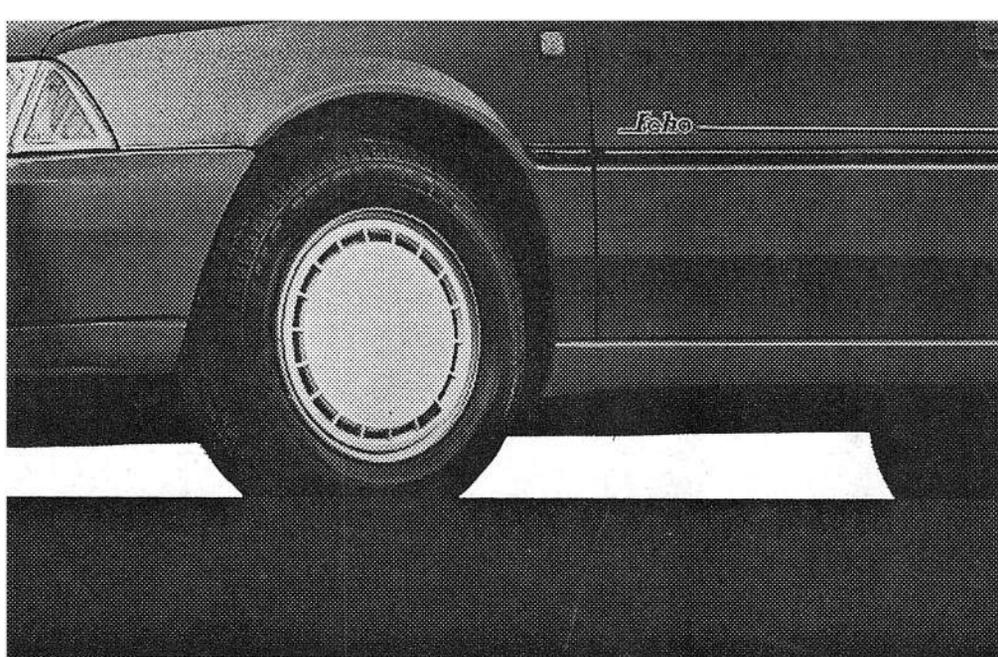
Celebration of this unabashed use of the class system — only interrupted during the first world war — has seldom been bigger than in this year's game. In an informal brand of inter-village rivalry, mud-covered scrummagers from several communities fight for the leather hood across local fields as well as through the streets.

"They've got it all three miles to Owston Ferry in the past," said a retired photographer from the local Epworth Bell newspaper, back to see the event as a bystander. "One year, one of them chucked it on to a lorry and they had to run after it for miles."

Lady de Mowbray's role was yesterday taken, incongruously, by the Transport and General Workers' Union, which sponsored the chaotic proceedings.

Another modern touch was added by the Fool, Mick Andrews, in his traditional speech on the church mounting block before the Boggins (or hood throwers) tried to set fire to his trousers. "This year, please don't leave any cans or bottles in the fields," he said, as the scrum or "sway" headed off into the dusk.

The event raises several hundred pounds for charity — and a lot more for beer.



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CULTURAL STUDIES II
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CULTURAL STUDIES II

Spring Term 1992

Meeting Two: Thursday, 16 January 1992

1. Introduction

Today's meeting may not even take place! What I hope your reading has stimulated in today's topic is an interest in economic and social history, literature and political economy!

I am particularly interested in how:

an industrial labour market and labour force emerged

urbanisation took place

standards of living were debated

lived experiences of work, leisure and re-creation were recorded

These kind of interests should encourage me to seek out a range of sources.

Since Britain experienced the first industrial revolution, Marxist historians and political economists have been keen to explore how labour and capital were formed.

See, for example, Friedrich Engel's Conditions of the Working Class in England as a 19th century analysis of life in and around Manchester.

Two recognised 20th century historians of the period are Eric Hobsbawm and E P Thompson.

If we are to use the term 'class' to differentiate any social formation then Karl Marx should be required reading.

2. The Working Class

Given what we know about the social conditions of an industrialising, urbanising nation state, it sometimes seems inadequate to discuss leisure as a concept. But cultural studies perspectives encourage us to contrast objective material circumstances with the space claimed by people for creative cultural activity.

I would like to talk about:

1. the concept of culture
2. some examples of recreation
3. 19th century education

Next week, can we continue this theme and try to look at the range of working class experience in the nineteenth century?

to authority it has of course been repeatedly challenged, and *critic* in the most common form of this specialized sense – as a reviewer of plays, films, books and so on – has acquired an understandable derogatory sense. But this cannot be resolved by distinctions of status between *critic* and *reviewer*. What is at issue is not only the association between criticism and fault-finding but the more basic association between criticism and judgment as apparently general and natural processes. As a term for the social or professional generalization of the processes of reception of any but especially the more formal kinds of COMMUNICATION (q.v.), criticism is ideological not only in the sense that it assumes the position of the *consumer* but also in the sense that it masks this position by a succession of abstractions of its real terms of response (as *judgment, taste, cultivation, discrimination, sensibility, disinterested, qualified, rigorous* and so on). This then actively prevents that understanding of response which does not assume the habit (or right or duty) of judgment. The continuing sense of criticism as fault-finding is the most useful linguistic influence against the confidence of this habit, but there are also signs, in the occasional rejection of criticism as a definition of conscious response, of a more significant rejection of the habit itself. The point would then be, not to find some other term to replace it, while continuing the same kind of activity, but to get rid of the habit, which depends, fundamentally, on the abstraction of response from its real situation and circumstances: the elevation to judgment, and to an apparently general process, when what always needs to be understood is the specificity of the response, which is not a judgment but a practice, in active and complex relations with the situation and conditions of the practice, and, necessarily, with all other practices.

See AESTHETIC, CONSUMER, SENSIBILITY, TASTE

CULTURE

Culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language. This is so partly because of its intricate historical development, in several European languages, but mainly because it has now come to be used for important concepts in

several distinct intellectual disciplines and in several distinct and incompatible systems of thought.

The *fw* is *cultura*, L, from *rw colere*, L. *Colere* had a range of meanings: inhabit, cultivate, protect, honour with worship. Some of these meanings eventually separated, though still with occasional overlapping, in the derived nouns. Thus 'inhabit' developed through *colonus*, L to *colony*. 'Honour with worship' developed through *cultus*, L to *cult*. *Cultura* took on the main meaning of cultivation or tending, though with subsidiary medieval meanings of honour and worship (cf. in English culture as 'worship' in Caxton (1483)). The French forms of *cultura* were *culture*, OF, which has since developed its own specialized meaning, and later *culture*, which by eC15 had passed into English. The primary meaning was then in husbandry, the tending of natural growth.

Culture in all its early uses was a noun of process: the tending of something, basically crops or animals. The subsidiary *culter* – ploughshare, had travelled by a different linguistic route, from *culter*, L – ploughshare, *culter*, OF, to the variant English spellings *culter*, *colter*, *coultter* and as late as eC17 culture (Webster, *Duchess of Malff*, III, ii: 'hot burning cultures'). This provided a further basis for the important next stage of meaning, by metaphor. From eC16 the tending of natural growth was extended to a process of human development, and this, alongside the original meaning in husbandry, was the main sense until IC18 and eC19. Thus More: 'to the culture and profit of their minds'; Bacon: 'the culture and manurance of minds' (1605); Hobbes: 'a culture understanding' (1759). At various points in this development two crucial changes occurred: first, a degree of habituation to the metaphor, which made the sense of human tending direct; second, an extension of particular processes to a general process, which the word could abstractly carry. It is of course from the latter development that the independent noun culture began its complicated modern history, but the process of change is so intricate, and the latencies of meaning are at times so close, that it is not possible to give any definite date. Culture as an independent noun, an abstract process or the product of such a process, is not important before IC18 and is not common before mC19. But the early stages of this development were not sudden. There is an interesting use in Milton, in the second (revised) edition of *The Reason and Easie Way to Establish a Free Common-*

wealth (1660): 'spread much more Knowledge and Civility, yea, Religion, through all parts of the Land, by communicating the natural heat of Government and Culture more distributively to all extreme parts, which now lie num and neglected.' Here the metaphorical sense ('natural heat') still appears to be present, and *civility* (cf. CIVILIZATION) is still written where in C19 we would normally expect *culture*. Yet we can also read 'government and culture' in a quite modern sense. Milton, from the tenor of his whole argument, is writing about a general social process, and this is a definite stage of development. In C18 England this general process acquired definite class associations though *cultivation* and *cultivated* were more commonly used for this. But there is a letter of 1730 (Bishop of Kilgall, to Mrs Clayton; cit Plumb, *England in the Eighteenth Century*) which has this clear sense: 'it has not been customary for persons of either birth or culture to breed up their children to the Church. Akenside (*Pleasures of Imagination*, 1744) wrote: '... nor purple state nor culture can bestow'. Wordsworth wrote 'where grace of culture hath been utterly unknown' (1805), and Jane Austen (*Emma*, 1816) 'every advantage of discipline and culture'.

It is thus clear that *culture* was developing in English towards some of its modern senses before the decisive effects of a new social and intellectual movement. But to follow the development through this movement, in IC18 and eC19, we have to look also at developments in other languages and especially in German.

In French, until C18, *culture* was always accompanied by a grammatical form indicating the matter being cultivated, as in the English usage already noted. Its occasional use as an independent noun dates from mC18, rather later than similar occasional uses in English. The independent noun *civilization* also emerged in mC18; its relationship to *culture* has since been very complicated (cf. CIVILIZATION and discussion below). There was at this point an important development in German: the word was borrowed from French, spelled first (IC18) *Kultur* and from IC19 *Kultur*. Its main use was still as a synonym for *civilization*: first in the abstract sense of a general process of becoming 'civilized' or 'cultivated'; second, in the sense which had already been established for *civilization* by the historians of the Enlightenment, in the popular C18 form of the universal histories, as a description of the secular process of human development. There was then a decisive change of use in Herder.

In his unfinished *Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind* (1784-91) he wrote of *Cultur*: 'nothing is more indeterminate than this word, and nothing more deceptive than its application to all nations and periods'. He attacked the assumption of the universal histories that 'civilization' or 'culture' - the historical self-development of humanity - was what we would now call a unilinear process, leading to the high and dominant point of C18 European culture. Indeed he attacked what he called European subjugation and domination of the four quarters of the globe, and wrote:

Men of all the quarters of the globe, who have perished over the ages, you have not lived solely to manure the earth with your ashes, so that at the end of time your posterity should be made happy by European culture. The very thought of a superior European culture is a blatant insult to the majesty of Nature.

It is then necessary, he argued, in a decisive innovation, to speak of 'cultures' in the plural: the specific and variable cultures of different nations and periods, but also the specific and variable cultures of social and economic groups within a nation. This sense, which has become common in C20 anthropology and sociology, and by extension in general use, remained comparatively isolated, however, in all European languages until at earliest mC19 and was not fully established until eC20.

What mainly happened in eC19, under the influence of Herder and many other writers of the Romantic movement, in Germany, England and France, was a social and historical application of an alternative idea of human development: alternative, that is, to the ideas now centred on 'civilization' and 'progress'. This application was exceptionally complicated. It was used to emphasize national and traditional cultures, including the new concept of folk-culture. It was used to attack what was seen as the 'MECHANICAL' (q.v.) character of the new civilization then emerging: both for its abstract rationalism and for the 'inhumanity' of current industrial development. It was used to distinguish between 'human' and 'material' development. Politically, as so often in this period, it veered between radicalism and reaction and very often, in the confusion of major social change, fused elements of both. (It should also be noted, though it adds to the real complication, that the same kind of distinction, especially between 'material' and 'spiritual' development, was

made by von Humboldt and others, until as late as 1900, with a reversal of the terms, culture being material and *civilization* spiritual. In general, however, the opposite distinction was dominant.)

The complexity of the modern development of the word, and of its modern usage, can then be appreciated. We can easily distinguish the sense which depends on a literal continuity of physical process as now in 'sugar-beet culture' or, in the specialized physical application in bacteriology since the 1880s, 'germ culture'. But once we go beyond the physical reference, we have to recognize three broad active categories of usage. The sources of two of these we have already discussed: (i) the independent and abstract noun which describes a general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development, from C18; (ii) the independent noun, whether used generally or specifically, which indicates a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period or a group, from Herder and C19. But we have also to recognize (iii) the independent and abstract noun which describes the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity. This seems often now the most widespread use: culture is music, literature, painting and sculpture, theatre and film. A Ministry of Culture refers to these specific activities, sometimes with the addition of philosophy, scholarship, history. This use, (iii), is in fact relatively late. It is difficult to date precisely because it is in origin an applied form of sense (i): the idea of a general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development was applied and effectively transferred to the works and practices which represent and sustain it. In English (i) and (iii) are still close; at times, for internal reasons, they are indistinguishable as in Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy* (1867); while sense (ii) was decisively introduced into English by Tylor, *Primitive Culture* (1870). The decisive development of sense (iii) in English was in IC19 and eC20.

Faced by this complex and still active history of the word, it is easy to react by selecting one 'true' or 'proper' or 'scientific' sense and dismissing other senses as loose or confused. There is evidence of this reaction even in the excellent study by Kroeber and Kluckhohn, *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*, where usage in North American anthropology is in effect taken as a norm. It is clear that, within a discipline, conceptual usage has to be clarified. But in general it is the range and overlap of meanings that is significant. The complex of senses indicates a complex argument about the relations between general human

development and a particular way of life, and between both and the works and practices of art and intelligence. Within this complex argument there are fundamentally opposed as well as effectively overlapping positions; there are also, understandably, many unresolved questions and confused answers. But these arguments and questions cannot be resolved by reducing the complexity of actual usage. This point is relevant also to uses of forms of the word in languages other than English, where there is considerable variation. Even within English, 'social anthropology' is normally used in Britain where 'cultural anthropology' would be used in North America. The anthropological use is common in the German, Scandinavian and Slavonic language groups, but it is distinctly subordinate to the senses of art and learning, or of a general process of human development, in Italian and French. Between languages as within a language, the range and complexity of sense and reference indicate both difference of intellectual position and some blurring or overlapping. These variations, of whatever kind, necessarily involve alternative views of the activities, relationships and processes which this complex word indicates. The complexity, that is to say, is not finally in the word but in the problems which its variations of use significantly indicate.

It is necessary to look also at some associated and derived words. *Cultivation* and *cultivated* went through the same metaphorical extension from a physical to a social or educational sense in C17, and were especially significant words in C18. Coleridge, making a classical eC19 distinction between civilization and culture, wrote (1830): 'the permanent distinction, and occasional contrast, between cultivation and civilization'. The noun in this sense has effectively disappeared but the adjective is still quite common, especially in relation to manners and tastes. The important adjective *cultural* appears to date from the 1870s; it became common by the 1890s. The word is only available, in its modern sense, when the independent noun, in the artistic and intellectual or anthropological senses, has become familiar. Hostility to the word *culture* in English appears to date from the controversy around Arnold's views. It gathered force in IC19 and eC20, in association with a comparable hostility to *aesthete* and AESTHETIC (q.v.). Its association with class distinction produced the mime-word *cultchahd*. There was also an area of hostility associated with anti-German feeling, during and after the 1914-18 War, in relation to propaganda about *Kultur*. The central area of hostility

has lasted, and one element of it has been emphasized by the recent American phrase *culture-vulture*. It is significant that virtually all the hostility (with the sole exception of the temporary anti-German association) has been connected with uses involving claims to superior knowledge (cf. the noun INTELLECTUAL), refinement (*culchah*) and distinctions between 'high' art (culture) and popular art and entertainment. It thus records a real social and history and a very difficult and confused phase of social and cultural development. It is interesting that the steadily extending social and anthropological use of *culture* and *cultural* and such formations as *sub-culture* (the culture of a distinguishable smaller group) has, except in certain areas (notably popular entertainment), either by-passed or effectively diminished the hostility and its associated unease and embarrassment.

See AESTHETIC, ART, CIVILIZATION, HUMANITY, SCIENCE

D

DEMOCRACY

Democracy is a very old word but its meanings have always been complex. It came into English in C16, from fw *democratic*, F. *democratie*, ml. - a translation of *demokratia*, Gk, from fw *demokratia* - people, *kratos* - rule. It was defined by Elyot, with specific reference to the Greek instance, in 1531: 'an other publique weal was amonge the Atheniensis, where equalitie was of astate among the people . . . This manner of governance was called in greke *Democrattia*, in latine, *Popularis potentia*, in englishe the rule of the communitie.' It is at once evident from Greek uses that everything depends on the senses given to *people* and to *rule*. Ascribed and doubtful early examples range from obeying 'no master but the law' (? Solon) to 'of the people, by the people, for the people' (? Cleon). More certain examples

compare 'the insolence of a despot' with 'the insolence of the unbridled commonalty' (cit. Herodotus) or define a government as democracy 'because its administration is in the hands, not of the few, but of the many'; also, 'all that is opposed to despotic power, has the name of democracy' (cit. Thucydides). Aristotle (*Politics*, IV, 4) wrote: 'a democracy is a state where the freemen and the poor, being in the majority, are invested with the power of the state'. Yet much depends here on what is meant by 'invested with power': whether it is ultimate sovereignty or, at the other extreme, practical and unshared rule. Plato made Socrates say (in *Republic*, VIII, 10) that 'democracy comes into being after the poor have conquered their opponents, slaughtering some and banishing some, while to the remainder they give an equal share of freedom and power'.

This range of uses, near the roots of the term, makes any simple derivation impossible. It can, however, be said at once that several of these uses - and especially those which indicate a form of popular class rule - are at some distance from any orthodox modern 'Western' definition of democracy. Indeed the emergence of that orthodox definition, which has its own uncertainties, is what needs to be traced. 'Democracy' is now often traced back to medieval precedents and given a Greek authority. But the fact is that, with only occasional exceptions, democracy, in the records that we have, was until C19 a strongly unfavourable term, and it is only since IC19 and eC20 that a majority of political parties and tendencies have united in declaring their belief in it. This is the most striking historical fact.

Aquinas defined democracy as popular power, where the ordinary people, by force of numbers, governed - oppressed - the rich; the whole people acting like a tyrant. This strong class sense remained the predominant meaning until IC18 and eC19, and was still active in mC19 argument. Thus: 'Democracie, when the multitude have government', Fleming (1576) (for the class sense of *multitude* see *MASSSES*); 'democratic, where free and poore men being the greater number, are lords of the estate' (1586); 'democracy . . . nothing else than the power of the multitude', Filmer, *Patriarcha* (1680). To this definition of the people as the *multitude* there was added a common sense of the consequent type of *rule*: a democracy was a state in which all had the right to rule and did actually rule; it was even contrasted (e.g. by Spinoza) with a state in which there was rule by repre-

N. ELIAS

'The Genesis of Sport as a Sociological Problem'

in E. DUNNINGS (ed) The Sociology of Sport, London, Cass, 1970, pp. 88-115.

The game contests of classical antiquity, which are often represented as the great paradigm of sport, had a number of features and grew up under conditions which were very different from those of our game-contests. (94).

Levels of physical violence? Control of means of violence (95). Theory of civilising processes (95).

"The customary levels of violence used and permitted in the game contests of societies at different stages of development thus illuminate a much wider and very fundamental problem." (95).

Cf. Wrestling. Fate of Antiochia of Phigalia in 564 B.C. (98).

N.B. Wrestling's sports wrestling's 'agon' (99).

"The fluctuating level of civilisation in game-contests must remain incomprehensible if we do not connect it at least with the general level of socially permitted violence, of the organisation of violence-control and with the corresponding conscience formation in given societies." (106).

Cultural Studies
Summer Term 1992

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Your handouts will be useful sources of notes for revision and I hope you will be able to use some of the references and follow up with your own reading.

I hope that today we could use Karl's visit to America as a good way of identifying what cultural studies might do in respect of sport and leisure.

In thinking about how to describe another culture we should be encouraged to think about:

process of observation

assumptions/expectations

learning about/negotiating behaviour

accomplishing social interaction

remembering

Developing a Critical Theory of Cultural Studies

5 December 1991

Introduction

So far this term, I have encouraged you to think about a particularly British approach to cultural studies through the work of the Centre for Cultural Studies at Birmingham. I want to introduce today another perspective on cultural studies.

In the course outline, this perspective is described as 'critical theory'.

Raman Selden (1985:34) describes critical theory as:

a wide-ranging form of social analysis which included Marxian and Freudian elements.

The term critical theory is associated with a number of theorists who worked at the Institute for Social Research founded in Germany in the 1920s. These theorists were exiled from Nazi Germany in 1933 and took up residence in the United States until 1950.

Their work, not surprisingly, is affected by their experience of both cultures. Raman Selden (1985:34) notes that:

Their analysis of modern culture was influenced by the experience of fascism which had achieved total dominance at every level of social existence in Germany. In America they saw a similar 'one-dimensional' quality in the mass culture and the permeation of every aspect of life by commercialism.

Names associated with critical theory include Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer and Herbert Marcuse. As a group these individuals are also referred to as the Frankfurt School since the Institute for Social Research was founded in Frankfurt in 1923 and returned there in 1950. It is interesting to note that Adorno and Horkheimer rarely used the term 'Frankfurt School' to characterise their work.

The term 'critical theory' was coined by Max Horkheimer in 1937. In his account of the foundations of the Frankfurt School of Social Research, Zoltan Tar (1984:9) suggests that critical theory's maxim was that the thrust towards a rational society is innate in every person. Critical theory incorporated Freudian psychoanalytic theory with its Marxian critique of western capitalism in a quest for a comprehensive and general theory of contemporary capitalist society.

Zoltan Tar's (1984:6) chronology of developments at the Institute for Social Research is in three periods:

1. 1924 - 1930 Foundation by Grunberg and orthodox Marxism
2. 1931 - 1950s Max Horkheimer and a pessimistic philosophy of culture
3. 1951 - 1969 Theodor Adorno and development of theory of society as social totality

The legacy of this critical theory can be characterised as a cultural analysis that is humanistic, sensitive to the problems of 20th century culture and that promotes interdisciplinary work.

One of the particular interests of critical theorists was art and literature. Both offered a challenge to totalitarian society and a way of resisting it. Max Horkheimer suggested for example that:

the masses reject the avant-garde because it disturbs their unthinking and automatic acquiescence in their manipulation by the social system: by making down-trodden humans shockingly aware of their own despair, the work of art announces a freedom which makes them fume. (quoted in Raman Selden 1984:34)

2. Implications for Sport and Leisure?

Critical theorists point out that despite the catastrophes and degradations of the twentieth century we persist in behaving as if nothing has changed. Critical theory draws upon a dialectical view of society which views development as a resolution of contradictions in society. How do you retain autonomy in a totalitarian society that imprints the individual with a one-dimensional character?

John Hoberman (1984) in Sport and Political Ideology has discussed the contribution of 'critical theory' to understanding sport.

- * a disdain for the body enables a critical view of the cultural and political significance of the body but also limits understanding of sport
- * challenges the narcissistic view of the body (particularly during Nazi era): exuberant vitality as preparing corpses!
- * sport as vacuous emotion and a critique of physical dexterity

* sports belong to the realm of unfreedom no matter where they are organized

John Hoberman (1984:248) asks if the above views (mainly expressed by Theodor Adorno) are more jaundiced than critical?

CULTURAL STUDIES II

Spring Term 1992

Meeting One: Thursday, 9 January 1992

1. Introduction

Now that an assignment for the course is out of the way perhaps we can relax and really start to explore cultural studies in the context of sport and leisure.

Do you remember when we first met back in October. I included the following elements in a handout. With regard to the course outline, I wondered if you shared with me a desire to sort out what the following terms mean:

emergence of cultural forms

popular culture as a site for popular resistance

socio-cultural analysis

acculturation

Do you recall our first attempts to develop the concepts of society and culture?

I suggested that:

It is now unlikely that you will be encouraged to think of sport as an isolated activity. Writers like Jenny Hargreaves(1982) and Alan Tomlinson (1982) were alerting us to the cultural significance of sport almost a decade ago and identifying how cultural studies might help.

And I encouraged you to have a look at the kind of articles contained in Jennifer Hargreaves' (1982) Sport, Culture and Ideology and at Alan Tomlinson's (1982). Both authors encourage us to locate sport in a wider context.

Jennifer Hargreaves (1982:16), for example, suggests that:

It is difficult to treat as problematic something which is taken-for-granted as manifestly apparent and to identify the hidden ways in which sport embodies social anatagonisms and may be biased and partial.

Alan Tomlinson (1982:51) notes that:

Sport cannot be seen as something set apart from other spheres of social life. A sports theory set apart from central sociological questions will be a dislocated theory, a theory of human practice out of context. Such a 'theory' fails to make the link between particularised milieu and wider public context, between biography and history.

Both would agree that in order to critically analyse our lived experience of sport we must:

... situate the sports activity as a cultural form in a particular context of wider influences or determinants.
(Tomlinson 1982:53)

As a means of coming to terms with is the language used by cultural theorists we explored some of the work of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham before briefly discussing the significance of critical theory (see notes for 5 December attached to these notes).

In this the Spring Term, I would like us to develop a cultural studies approach to sport and leisure that is sensitive to a range of perspectives on culture. In their discussion of a critical approach to educational research, Wifred Carr and Stephen Kimmis (1986:41) suggest that teachers build educational theory through critical reflection on their own practical knowledge. I would like to encourage us to do the same for sport and leisure in a range of cultural contexts.

Fundamental to this approach is the assertion that:

Sport and leisure are historically located, social, political and problematic.

Thus the content of our course can become a fascinating area of enquiry! During the term we will need to look at:

the relationship between sport, leisure and culture

the mobilisation of national identity in sport

But in order that you have a sense of ownership of the course I suggest that we work round themes to which you bring evidence of reading and critical reflection.

Try to have a look at the recommended reading in your original course outline. But please try to browse widely!

The themes I suggest are:

16 & 23 January: The development of working class patterns of leisure.

30 Jan & 6 Feb: Middle Class responses to working class leisure.

13 & 20 February: Gender and access to sport and leisure.

27 Feb & 5 March: The body in culture

12 & 19 March: Nationalism and the role of the state

26 March & 2 Apr: Own choice of theme.

The learning outcomes of the course are couched in terms of articulating, understanding and analysing. I hope that by engaging you in your own learning we can develop the kind of critical thinking that Carr and Kemmis (1986:113) note when they suggest that:

theory informs and transforms practice by informing and transforming the ways in which practice is experienced and understood.

What I am suggesting will take some work on your part. But this seems preferable to me talking at you!

I hope you enjoy the term.

Keith Lyons
8 January 1992

CULTURAL STUDIES
Thursday 20 February 1992

1. Introduction

In the remaining time this term, I would like to discuss:

- 20 February: Gender and access to sport and leisure.
27 Feb & 5 March: The body in culture
12 & 19 March: Nationalism and the role of the state
26 March & 2 Apr: Own choice of theme.

As ever, I hope our meetings can be suggestive about the distinctiveness of cultural studies. The topics chosen inform any thorough-going cultural analysis. By drawing them out as topics we can consider them as foreground material.

In today's topic, we address a fundamental issue in cultural studies: gendered cultural practice and the cultural space to be creative and to resist dominant (hegemonic?) patriarchy.

2. Gender, Access, Sport and Leisure

In a copy of a Year Two Sociology of Sport handout on the Female Athlete (attached here) I discuss the impact of gender on sport and leisure. A quote that summarises my own feelings about gender are encapsulated by Margaret Talbot:

Not only do fewer women than men play sport, but women play less often, and across a narrower range of sports. Class, age, education, marriage and children all have more marked effects on women's participation than on men's. Responsibilities for child care, shortage of free time, lack of personal transport and money, and low levels of self confidence are all reasons why women are less able than men to pursue sporting interests. (Coaching Focus, 1986)

It might be helpful to distinguish sex and gender:

Sex is the biological basis for male and female status
Gender is the cultural construction of social expectations

We ought also to recognise that the debate about sport and gender can be at two levels.

Opportunity debates about involvement here focus on increasing participation rates, access to resources, the profile of women's sport but does not necessarily ask questions about the nature of sport itself.

Power and the critique of the 'maleness' of sport. This kind of argument questions the whole edifice of sport and a re-visioning of sport.

A feminist critique of the cultural forms of sport is evident in the writings of Jenny Hargreaves and in Nancy Theberge's (1985) article in Quest. She suggests that:

women's sporting practice can challenge gender inequality by challenging sexual stereotypes and patriarchal control of women's bodies. (1985:202)

I think the argument here is about using conspicuous examples of gendered sport to get at the invisible control (external and internal) experienced by women.

In Cultural Studies I think we can discuss the visible examples of this control? We can also pursue some thematic issues arising. There are increasing numbers of feminist accounts of sport now to challenge myths about female involvement. But myths are social constructions and have the force of history and culture behind them. I think we have to unpick this history and culture link.

Feminism is an approach that desires women to exercise more power and achieve greater autonomy. There are a range of 'feminisms' that you might one day want to follow up. Mary Boutilier and Lucinda SanGiovanni (1983) stimulated considerable debate with their book The Sporting Woman. In it they discuss four strands of feminism and how each of these has its own framework for understanding female involvement in sport.

There is now an immense literature linked to feminism and women's studies. Jennifer Hargreaves has been influential in sharing some of this literature. Other influential figures in this country have been Margaret Talbot and Rosemary Deem. My own thinking has been stimulated by:

1. The rootedness of present practice in ideologies nurtured by nineteenth century life.
2. Cultural divisions of labour.
3. Contrary examples of female success (see for example, Sheila Fletcher's account of the PE profession in Women First).
4. Feminist cultural studies.

I hope that your reading and thinking about the impact of class in the nineteenth century will have given a feel for the the access that socio-economic status afforded to sport and leisure. We should be sensitive to differences within gender as well as between gender.

But it would be an oversight not to recognise the gendered barriers to participation. The Journal Of Sport History provides innumerable examples of these barriers. The interest in finding out more about women's experience has encouraged a great deal of empirical research in the past twenty years. Christine Griffin, Rachel Dixey are two good examples. More recently Quest (Autumn 1991) has provided an interesting case study of bodybuilding.

Cultural Studies
Summer Term 1992

Thursday, 30 April 1992

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I hope that today we could use Karl's visit to America as a good way of identifying what cultural studies might do in respect of sport and leisure.

In thinking about how to describe another culture we should be encouraged to think about:

process of observation

assumptions/expectations

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accomplishing social interaction

remembering

CULTURAL STUDIES
Thursday 26 March 1992

The Nation State and Nationalism II

1. Introduction

Last week I tried to give an overview of some of the issues raised for cultural studies by the nation state and nationalism. The current election in Britain, events surrounding the Commonwealth of Independent States and even the television pictures of celebrations in Pakistan following Pakistan's cricket team's victory in the world cup can provide immediate examples of some of the issues raised.

This week I would like to invite you to think about how overdetermined life chances are in the nation state. I would like to suggest that we should think about understanding cultural practices in the context of:

- * an historical-structural model of development of world system
- * the specific history of the state and its effect on social and cultural processes

We ought to be aware also of trends identified by A D Smith in The Ethnic Revival (1981). He reports and discusses the "modern renaissance of ethnic solidarity and sentiment that takes its cue from a highly charged romantic nationalism" (1981:xii). He suggests that:

Ethnic nationalism has striven to turn the ethnic group into that more abstract and politicised category, the 'nation', and then to establish the latter as the sole criterion for statehood. (1981:xii)

By raising questions about the macrostructure of the state in the context of what Smith terms 'polyethnicity' we should get closer to understanding the dynamic qualities of cultural practices.

Nationalism seeks to attain and maintain the autonomy, unity and identity of a social group. It does so by either establishing a territory or/and a community of culture. Smith (1981:184) suggests that:

the central aim of the modern ethnic revival is to subordinate social and political action to cultural imperatives and to turn the state into a vehicle of historic community, in the name of ethnic nationalism and its unrelenting quest for autonomy, unity and identity.

What is of particular interest to us is how cultural practices linked to sport and leisure are situated in this process. A good example of a discussion of the ideological component of the state can be found in John Hoberman's Sport and Ideology. Other names associated with this kind of work are John Hargreaves, Richard Gruneau and Hart Cantelon.

2. The Popular and the Political

The rootedness of cultural forms in state formations requires us to have a sense of the links between popular culture and political structures. In his discussion of these links, Richard Gruneau (1988:23) suggests that:

the contents of popular culture and the fixed subjects of that culture can only be understood historically against the background of various social struggles, negotiations and compromises.

Such understanding requires:

- * historical scholarship
- * accommodation and compromise

At the end of last week's notes I suggested we might have a look at how identity is mobilised in Britain. In particular, I thought we might have a look at how race is defined and used to mobilise groups.

How does Britain deal with 'polyethnicity'?

- * isolation : ethnic community stays aloof
- * accommodation: adjustments are made through participation
- * communalism : control in those regions where group is demographic majority
- * autonomism : a federal solution
- * separatism : the goal of ethnonational self-determination
- * irredentism : fragmented community seeks reunification

The cultural forms of sport and leisure in these strategies should provide interesting examples of popular culture as reproduction or transformation. As indications of this kind of work see:

- | | | |
|----------------------|--------|--|
| Hart Cantelon (ed) | (1988) | Leisure, Sport & Working Class Cultures (Garamond Press, Toronto) |
| Richard Gruneau (ed) | (1988) | Popular Cultures and Political Practices (Garamond Press, Toronto) |

CULTURAL STUDIES
Thursday 20 February 1992

1. Introduction

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Feminism is an approach that desires women to exercise more power and achieve greater autonomy. There are a range of 'feminisms' that you might one day want to follow up. Mary Boutilier and Lucinda SanGiovanni (1983) stimulated considerable debate with their book The Sporting Woman. In it they discuss four strands of feminism and how each of these has its own framework for understanding female involvement in sport.

There is now an immense literature linked to feminism and women's studies. Jennifer Hargreaves has been influential in sharing some of this literature. Other influential figures in this country have been Margaret Talbot and Rosemary Deem. My own thinking has been stimulated by:

1. The rootedness of present practice in ideologies nurtured by nineteenth century life.
2. Cultural divisions of labour.
3. Contrary examples of female success (see for example, Sheila Fletcher's account of the PE profession in Women First).
4. Feminist cultural studies.

I hope that your reading and thinking about the impact of class in the nineteenth century will have given a feel for the the access that socio-economic status afforded to sport and leisure. We should be sensitive to differences within gender as well as between gender.

But it would be an oversight not to recognise the gendered barriers to participation. The Journal Of Sport History provides innumerable examples of these barriers. The interest in finding out more about women's experience has encouraged a great deal of empirical research in the past twenty years. Christine Griffin, Rachel Dixey are two good examples. More recently Quest (Autumn 1991) has provided an interesting case study of bodybuilding.

CULTURAL STUDIES
Thursday 19 March 1992

The Nation State and Nationalism

1. Introduction

At some stage, cultural studies has to address issues related to the state. Implicit in many of our conversations about hegemony and modes of production are theories of and about the nation state. John Hargreaves (1986) and his analysis of sport, power and culture is an example of an attempt to theorise about the state as a social formation.

We live in a world system of nation states. Such states have established two monopolies within territorial limits:

- * the use of physical force
- * the generation of resources - a tax system.

States by their definition: maintain order; protect individuals from outside attack; prevent violence by private individuals; and enforce a legal structure. At the present time, the general election provides an excellent opportunity to examine the claims of political parties to the work of the state. Given that you are studying in Wales, you might be aware that one of the election issues is devolution and whether Wales should have its own assembly. Some politicians are opposed to this and cite the significance of the Act of Union between England and Wales.

The state structure we have today has developed historically out of feudalism and royal absolutism. One interesting question about this process is what structures limit the modern nation state from exceeding its authority. An even more challenging question is who exercises state power?

In his discussion of the modern state, Fred Block (1980:230) suggests that:

each social formation determines the particular ways in which state power will be exercised within that society and social formations will vary in degree to which the exercise of state power is constrained by class power.

In an influential study of The Modern World System, Immanuel Wallerstein (1974:335) suggests that:

A strong state is a partially autonomous entity in the sense that it has a margin of action available to it wherein it reflects the compromises of multiple interests, even if the bounds of these margins are set by the existence of some groups of primordial strength.

Although this may seem a long way from what you construe cultural studies to be, it is a central problem that we ought to try to get to grips with! Just who in our society has the final say? Who confers legitimacy on these people and who do they mobilise our participation?

If we can ask these kinds of questions we are engaging in what Charles Tilly (1975) regarded as 'hard questions'. We are asking, for example, what structural alternatives are possible? Why do we have one particular form of state?

2. Popular Culture and Political Power

The links we can make between the preceding arguments and cultural studies are exemplified in Fred Inglis's book Popular Culture and Political Power (1988). It is the kind of book I hope you will try to read! Early on (page 3), Inglis posits that:

there is much to be said for holding to some general axiom that mostly political power will indeed seek to dominate the harmless play of the people either to ensure their further subjugation, or to extort a little more of their surplus value, or both.

Later on he suggests (1988:221):

we might say of Britain that she constructs a state by constructing a network of safe homes; the more discreetly and genially authoritative the government, the safer the homes; and the more prosperous and happy the homes, the more popular the government. Where the government is popular, the state is secure.

Although his argument is difficult to follow, what I think Fred Inglis proposes is that cultures have symbolising actions. And these actions are significant. He cites the British interest in the Royal Family as an example of this. Although we may view the processions and self display of the Royal Family as anachronistic, Inglis suggests that each performance does something: it is a performative text, "the occasion is a crux of what politics is" (1988:223). "It gives form and force to the political emotions of the society concerned." An example of this is how we tend to imagine state power in the bodies of other people. With regard to power "we usually think of it as what they have got and we haven't." (1988:224)

Cultural Studies should concern itself with decoding narratives. In these notes I have tried to indicate how we might start addressing the links between nation state and culture. For next week I wonder if we can look at how Britain (whatever that may be) mobilises images of nationalism and deals with ethnic differences.

You might want to have a look at John Hoberman's book Sport and Political Ideology as general background reading.

See also:

Husbands, C (ed) (1987) Race in Britain

Jarvie, G (ed) (1991) Race and Sport

If you have the chance:

Hill, D (1989) Out of his Skin: the John Barnes Phenomenon

BA SHMS 1991-92
REVISION SEMINARS

Year Two
Cultural Studies

During our two terms together I have tried to indicate what distinguishes Cultural Studies as a form of enquiry in Movement Studies.

In the examination, you will have a choice of THREE questions from seven topics. The topics reflect the work we have covered to date.

1. What characterises 'cultural studies'?
2. What kind of perspective does cultural studies bring to the study of leisure?
3. How can the concept of 'class' enable us to understand nineteenth century leisure and sport in Britain.
4. What can cultural studies tell us about the body?
5. The concept of 'hegemony'.
6. Popular culture, creativity and resistance?
7. National identity.

In the last two terms we have discussed the following:

CULTURAL STUDIES II
Lecture One
Thursday, 3 October 1991

During this year, our task is to develop an understanding of the distinctiveness of cultural studies. One way of starting is to discuss the course description. Have a look at the handout and make a note of any terms that strike you as requiring explanation. I wonder if you share with me a desire to sort out what the following terms might mean:

emergence of cultural forms

popular culture as a site for popular resistance

socio-cultural analysis

acculturation

One important task will be to consider how cultural studies differs from sociology.

Our experience of culture

I thought it might be interesting to think about the concept of culture by relating it to our own experience. Could you spend five minutes or so thinking about:

1. Your background: your home, your family, your educational experience, your sporting experience.
2. Your present tastes, interests and hobbies.
3. Your aspirations/hopes for the future.

Perhaps you could now share your thoughts with someone else and discuss them. You might want to ask questions about someone else's experience.

Developing some concepts: society and culture

It is now unlikely that you will be encouraged to think of sport as an isolated activity. Writers like Jenny Hargreaves(1982) and Alan Tomlinson (1982) were alerting us to the cultural significance of sport almost a decade ago and identifying how cultural studies might help.

For next week, have a look at the kind of articles contained in Jennifer Hargreaves' (1982) Sport, Culture and Ideology and if possible look at Alan Tomlinson's (1982) article attached to these notes. Both authors encourage us to locate sport in a wider context.

Jennifer Hargreaves (1982:16) suggests that:

It is difficult to treat as problematic something which is taken-for-granted as manifestly apparent and to identify the hidden ways in which sport embodies social antagonisms and may be biased and partial.

Alan Tomlinson (1982:51) notes that:

Sport cannot be seen as something set apart from other spheres of social life. A sports theory set apart from central sociological questions will be a dislocated theory, a theory of human practice out of context. Such a 'theory' fails to make the link between particularised milieu and wider public context, between biography and history.

Both would agree that in order to critically analyse our lived experience of sport we must:

... situate the sports activity as a cultural form in a particular context of wider influences or determinants.
(Tomlinson 1982:53)

What we will have to come to terms with is the language used by cultural theorists. Perhaps as we go on we will develop a shared vocabulary.

CULTURAL STUDIES II

Spring Term 1992

Meeting One: Thursday, 9 January 1992

Now that an assignment for the course is out of the way perhaps we can relax and really start to explore cultural studies in the context of sport and leisure. Do you remember when we first met back in October. I included the following elements in a handout. With regard to the course outline, I wondered if you shared with me a desire to sort out what the following terms mean:

emergence of cultural forms

popular culture as a site for popular resistance

socio-cultural analysis

acculturation

Do you recall our first attempts to develop the concepts of society and culture?

I suggested that:

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Both would agree that in order to critically analyse our lived experience of sport we must:

... situate the sports activity as a cultural form in a

particular context of wider influences or determinants.
(Tomlinson 1982:53)

As a means of coming to terms with is the language used by cultural theorists we explored some of the work of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham before briefly discussing the significance of critical theory (see notes for 5 December attached to these notes).

In this the Spring Term, I would like us to develop a cultural studies approach to sport and leisure that is sensitive to a range of perspectives on culture. In their discussion of a critical approach to educational research, Wifred Carr and Stephen Kemmis (1986:41) suggest that teachers build educational theory through critical reflection on their own practical knowledge. I would like to encourage us to do the same for sport and leisure in a range of cultural contexts.

Fundamental to this approach is the assertion that:

Sport and leisure are historically located, social, political and problematic.

Thus the content of our course can become a fascinating area of enquiry! During the term we will need to look at:

the relationship between sport, leisure and culture

the mobilisation of national identity in sport

But in order that you have a sense of ownership of the course I suggest that we work round themes to which you bring evidence of reading and critical reflection. Try to have a look at the recommended reading in your original course outline. But please try to browse widely!

The themes I suggest are:

16 & 23 January:	The development of working class patterns of leisure.
30 Jan & 6 Feb:	Middle Class responses to working class leisure.
13 & 20 February:	Gender and access to sport and leisure.
27 Feb & 5 March:	The body in culture
12 & 19 March:	Nationalism and the role of the state
26 March & 2 Apr:	Own choice of theme.

The learning outcomes of the course are couched in terms of articulating, understanding and analysing. I hope that by engaging you in your own learning we can develop the kind of critical thinking that Carr and Kemmis (1986:113) note when they suggest that:

theory informs and transforms practice by informing and transforming the ways in which practice is experienced and understood.

Developing a Critical Theory of Cultural Studies
5 December 1991

Introduction

So far this term, I have encouraged you to think about a particularly British approach to cultural studies through the work of the Centre for Cultural Studies at Birmingham. I want to introduce today another perspective on cultural studies. In the course outline, this perspective is described as 'critical theory'.

Raman Selden (1985:34) describes critical theory as:

a wide-ranging form of social analysis which included Marxian and Freudian elements.

The term critical theory is associated with a number of theorists who worked at the Institute for Social Research founded in Germany in the 1920s. These theorists were exiled from Nazi Germany in 1933 and took up residence in the United States until 1950. Their work, not surprisingly, is affected by their experience of both cultures. Raman Selden (1985:34) notes that:

Their analysis of modern culture was influenced by the experience of fascism which had achieved total dominance at every level of social existence in Germany. In America they saw a similar 'one-dimensional' quality in the mass culture and the permeation of every aspect of life by commercialism.

Names associated with critical theory include Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer and Herbert Marcuse. As a group these individuals are also referred to as the Frankfurt School since the Institute for Social Research was founded in Frankfurt in 1923 and returned there in 1950. It is interesting to note that Adorno and Horkheimer rarely used the term 'Frankfurt School' to characterise their work.

The term 'critical theory' was coined by Max Horkheimer in 1937. In his account of the foundations of the Frankfurt School of Social Research, Zoltan Tar (1984:9) suggests that critical theory's maxim was that the thrust towards a rational society is innate in every person. Critical theory incorporated Freudian psychoanalytic theory with its Marxian critique of western capitalism in a quest for a comprehensive and general theory of contemporary capitalist society.

Zoltan Tar's (1984:6) chronology of developments at the Institute for Social Research is in three periods:

1. 1924 - 1930 Foundation by Grunberg and orthodox Marxism
2. 1931 - 1950s Max Horkheimer and a pessimistic philosophy of culture
3. 1951 - 1969 Theodor Adorno and development of theory of society as social totality

The legacy of this critical theory can be characterised as a cultural analysis that is humanistic, sensitive to the problems of 20th century culture and that promotes interdisciplinary work.

One of the particular interests of critical theorists was art and literature. Both offered a challenge to totalitarian society and a way of resisting it. Max Horkheimer suggested for example that:

the masses reject the avant-garde because it disturbs their unthinking and automatic acquiescence in their manipulation by the social system: by making down-trodden humans shockingly aware of their own despair, the work of art announces a freedom which makes them fume. (quoted in Raman Selden 1984:34)

2. Implications for Sport and Leisure?

Critical theorists point out that despite the catastrophes and degradations of the twentieth century we persist in behaving as if nothing has changed. Critical theory draws upon a dialectical view of society which views development as a resolution of contradictions in society. How do you retain autonomy in a totalitarian society that imprisons the individual with a one-dimensional character?

John Hoberman (1984) in Sport and Political Ideology has discussed the contribution of 'critical theory' to understanding sport.

- * a disdain for the body enables a critical view of the cultural and political significance of the body but also limits understanding of sport
- * challenges the narcissistic view of the body (particularly during Nazi era): exuberant vitality as preparing corpses!
- * sport as vacuous emotion and a critique of physical dexterity
- * sports belong to the realm of unfreedom no matter where they are organized

John Hoberman (1984:248) asks if the above views (mainly expressed by Theodor Adorno) are more jaundiced than critical?

CULTURAL STUDIES II

Spring Term 1992

Meeting Two: Thursday, 16 January 1992

What I hope your reading has stimulated in today's topic is an interest in economic and social history, literature and political economy!

I am particularly interested in how:

an industrial labour market and labour force emerged

urbanisation took place

standards of living were debated

lived experiences of work, leisure and re-creation were recorded

These kind of interests should encourage me to seek out a range of sources. Since Britain experienced the first industrial revolution, Marxist historians and political economist have been keen to explore how labour and capital were formed.

See, for example, Friedrich Engel's Conditions of the Working Class in England as a 19th century analysis of life in and around Manchester.

Two recognised 20th century historians of the period are Eric Hobsbawm and E P Thompson.

If we are to use the term 'class' to differentiate any social formation then Karl Marx should be required reading.

2. The Working Class

Given what we know about the social conditions of an industrialising, urbanising nation state, it sometimes seems inadequate to discuss leisure as a concept. But cultural studies perspectives encourage us to contrast objective material circumstances with the space claimed by people for creative cultural activity.

I would like to talk about:

1. the concept of culture
2. some examples of recreation
3. 19th century education

Next week, can we continue this theme and try to look at the range of working class experience in the nineteenth century?

CULTURAL STUDIES

Thursday 6 February 1992

Middle Class Responses to Working Class Leisure: Some Notes

1. Peter McIntosh, Sport in Society (1987)

Types of sport in 19th century and development of organised structure (60). Role of aristocracy and their patronage.(62) McIntosh uses Matthew Arnold's characterisation of society into Barbarians, Philistines and Populace.

At the end of the century the pattern of sport was predominantly Philistine. The middle classes had produced their own team games... their own form of track and field athletics, their own swimming competitions, and their own racquet game of lawn tennis. (64)

Focussed on growing towns and cities. Philistines initially restricted access of Populace to these games but "did at last welcome them provided that the Populace would conform to their etiquette and conduct in play"(65).

Sport and the changing character of the public school - impact of middle class public schools. Growth of organised games linked to this. Example of developments at Rugby School and Arnold's work. Development elsewhere of athleticism. During second half of 19th century, cult of athleticism spread (69). Significance of muscular Christianity: see for example work of Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes. Role of the Church in spreading sport.

Extension of sport to masses linked to economic changes 1870-1890 when changes in working practices reduced working hours.

Potential of sport for hygiene and character building.

2. Alan Tomlinson (1988) 'Good Times, Bad Times and the Politics of Leisure' in H Cantelon et al Leisure, Sport and Working Class Cultures.

"when we speak of working class culture we can no longer treat 'culture' as some peripheral music-making or worship marked off from the more influential spheres of the 'political' or the 'economic'. Rather to speak of working class culture is to speak of the relation between these spheres, and of the ways in which these spheres are joined together to make a distinctive way of life."(42)

3. William Baker (1979) 'The Leisure Revolution in Victorian England', Journal of Sport History.

Until comparatively recently 'leisure' ignored by historians of 19th century Britain. Although aristocracy relatively stable, "the Victorian masses - middle class as well as working class folk - had their attitudes and life styles turned upside down"(79).

Authors to follow for their account of Victorian leisure: R W Malcolmson, Helen Meller, John Myerscough & John Lowerson, Peter Bailey.

Rational recreations and improvement as omnipresent voices?

Late 19th century growth of leisure industry. The rise of a football industry at centre stage.

Significance of understanding the Victorian story: "the roots of our own recreational practices and beliefs about leisure" are here.

4. Peter Bailey (1978) Leisure and Class in Victorian England

Impact of rational recreation and athleticism. One commentator concluded that:

the suburban middle class made organised games rank among England's leading contributions to world culture" (124).

Time lag between middle class involvement and working class uptake. Public school phenomenon, restrictive practices of governing bodies, amateur ethic.

New athleticism mediated by church and friendly societies.

CULTURAL STUDIES

Thursday 20 February 1992

In the remaining time this term, I would like to discuss:

20 February: Gender and access to sport and leisure.
27 Feb & 5 March: The body in culture
12 & 19 March: Nationalism and the role of the state

As ever, I hope our meetings can be suggestive about the distinctiveness of cultural studies. The topics chosen inform any thorough-going cultural analysis. By drawing them out as topics we can consider them as foreground material.

In today's topic, we address a fundamental issue in cultural studies: gendered cultural practice and the cultural space to be creative and to resist dominant (hegemonic?) patriarchy.

2. Gender, Access, Sport and Leisure

In a copy of a Year Two Sociology of Sport handout on the Female Athlete (attached here) I discuss the impact of gender on sport and leisure. A quote that summarises my own feelings about gender are encapsulated by Margaret Talbot:

Not only do fewer women than men play sport, but women play less often, and across a narrower range of sports. Class, age, education, marriage and children all have more marked

effects on women's participation than on men's. Responsibilities for child care, shortage of free time, lack of personal transport and money, and low levels of self confidence are all reasons why women are less able than men to pursue sporting interests. (Coaching Focus, 1986)

It might be helpful to distinguish sex and gender:

Sex is the biological basis for male and female status
Gender is the cultural construction of social expectations

We ought also to recognise that the debate about sport and gender can be at two levels.

Opportunity debates about involvement here focus on increasing participation rates, access to resources, the profile of women's sport but does not necessarily ask questions about the nature of sport itself.

Power and the critique of the 'maleness' of sport. This kind of argument questions the whole edifice of sport and a re-visioning of sport.

A feminist critique of the cultural forms of sport is evident in the writings of Jenny Hargreaves and in Nancy Theberge's (1985) article in Quest. She suggests that:

women's sporting practice can challenge gender inequality by challenging sexual stereotypes and patriarchal control of women's bodies. (1985:202)

I think the argument here is about using conspicuous examples of gendered sport to get at the invisible control (external and internal) experienced by women.

In Cultural Studies I think we can discuss the visible examples of this control? We can also pursue some thematic issues arising. There are increasing numbers of feminist accounts of sport now to challenge myths about female involvement. But myths are social constructions and have the force of history and culture behind them. I think we have to unpick this history and culture link.

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1. The rootedness of present practice in ideologies nurtured by nineteenth century life.
2. Cultural divisions of labour.
3. Contrary examples of female success (see for example, Sheila Fletcher's account of the PE profession in Women First).
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I hope that your reading and thinking about the impact of class in the nineteenth century will have given a feel for the the access that socio-economic status afforded to sport and leisure. We should be sensitive to differences within gender as well as between gender. But it would be an oversight not to recognise the gendered barriers to participation. The Journal Of Sport History provides innumerable examples of these barriers. The interest in finding out more about women's experience has encouraged a great deal of empirical research in the past twenty years. Christine Griffin, Rachel Dixey are two good examples. More recently Quest (Autumn 1991) has provided an interesting case study of bodybuilding.

CULTURAL STUDIES

Sport, Body Image and Commodification

In today's discussion, I would like to treat body image in sport as a cultural studies problem. I would like to do so from the point of view of sport as a patriarchal value system embedded in a particular set of economic relationships. I want to draw your attention to:

1. links between sport and values
2. some ethnographic evidence about access to leisure
3. some recent literature on 'body culture'
4. the body in consumer culture
5. the politics of the body

I hope that whilst I outline some of the arguments about the above you will be able to relate them to your own experience.

The way we dress, the shapes of our bodies, our tastes and values are socially and culturally constructed. The course you are following here is setting an agenda for you about your-being-in-the-world. I want to draw your attention to a paradox in your course. It is highlighted by John Loy in Quest (43,1991,119): the body in sports science is viewed as a machine. Just think the kind of knowledge you have about the 'performance enhancement ethos' of biomechanics, exercise physiology, motor learning and sport psychology.

Until recently there has been little counter to this "atomistic, instrumental and mechanistic perspective". In the cultural studies course we ought to make an attempt to question these assumptions by developing an account of the body. You will find that the Quest journal has an interesting discussion of the body in sport.

CULTURAL STUDIES

Thursday 19 March 1992

The Nation State and Nationalism

1. Introduction

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Cultural Studies should concern itself with decoding narratives. In these notes I have tried to indicate how we might start addressing the links between nation state and culture. For next week I wonder if we can look at how Britain (whatever that may be) mobilises images of nationalism and deals with ethnic differences.

You might want to have a look at John Hoberman's book Sport and Political Ideology as general background reading.

See also:

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If you have the chance:

Hill, D (1989) Out of his Skin: the John Barnes Phenomenon

CULTURAL STUDIES
Thursday 26 March 1992

The Nation State and Nationalism II

1. Introduction

Last week I tried to give an overview of some of the issues raised for cultural studies by the nation state and nationalism. The current election in Britain, events surrounding the Commonwealth of Independent States and even the television pictures of celebrations in Pakistan following Pakistan's cricket team's victory in the world cup can provide immediate examples of some of the issues raised.

This week I would like to invite you to think about how overdetermined life chances are in the nation state. I would like to suggest that we should think about understanding cultural practices in the context of:

- * an historical-structural model of development of world system
- * the specific history of the state and its effect on social and cultural processes

We ought to be aware also of trends identified by A D Smith in The Ethnic Revival (1981). He reports and discusses the "modern renaissance of ethnic solidarity and sentiment that takes its cue from a highly charged romantic nationalism" (1981:xii). He suggests that:

Ethnic nationalism has striven to turn the ethnic group into that more abstract and politicised category, the 'nation', and then to establish the latter as the sole criterion for statehood. (1981:xii)

By raising questions about the macrostructure of the state in the context of what Smith terms 'polyethnicity' we should get closer to understanding the dynamic qualities of cultural practices.

Nationalism seeks to attain and maintain the autonomy, unity and identity of a social group. It does so by either establishing a territory or/and a community of culture. Smith (1981:184) suggests that:

the central aim of the modern ethnic revival is to subordinate social and political action to cultural imperatives and to turn the state into a vehicle of historic community, in the name of ethnic nationalism and its unrelenting quest for autonomy, unity and identity.

What is of particular interest to us is how cultural practices linked to sport and leisure are situated in this process. A good example of a discussion of the ideological component of the state can be found in John Hoberman's Sport and Ideology. Other names associated with this kind of work are John Hargreaves, Richard Gruneau and Hart Cantelon.

2. The Popular and the Political

The rootedness of cultural forms in state formations requires us to have a sense of the links between popular culture and political structures. In his discussion of these links, Richard Gruneau (1988:23) suggests that:

the contents of popular culture and the fixed subjects of that culture can only be understood historically against the background of various social struggles, negotiations and compromises.

Such understanding requires:

- * historical scholarship
- * accommodation and compromise

At the end of last week's notes I suggested we might have a look at how identity is mobilised in Britain. In particular, I thought we might have a look at how race is defined and used to mobilise groups.

How does Britain deal with 'polyethnicity'?

- * isolation : ethnic community stays aloof
- * accommodation: adjustments are made through participation
- * communalism : control in those regions where group is demographic majority
- * autonomism : a federal solution
- * separatism : the goal of ethnonational self-determination
- * irredentism : fragmented community seeks reunification

The cultural forms of sport and leisure in these strategies should provide interesting examples of popular culture as reproduction or transformation. As indications of this kind of work see:

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|----------------------|--------|--|
| Hart Cantelon (ed) | (1988) | Leisure, Sport & Working Class Cultures (Garamond Press, Toronto) |
| Richard Gruneau (ed) | (1988) | Popular Cultures and Political Practices (Garamond Press, Toronto) |