

## SPORT SOCIOLOGY I

SUMMER TERM 1992

Wednesday, 13 May 1992: THE END OF THE BEGINNING

Last week I attempted to refocus our attention on sociology of sport. In today's session I want to look at four specific topics:

1. What characterises a sociology of physical education and sport?
2. How the concept of gender gives us a chance to comment on participation in sport.
3. Some of the issues involved in ethnic background and racism in sport.
4. Leisure provision in the United Kingdom.

In addition to these notes, I will put a resource pack in the library to help with your revision.

### 1. Sociology of Sport and Physical Education

In your answers in the sociology exam you will have to direct your thoughts on the specifically sociological dimensions of our work.

Charles Jenkins (1991:6) in his Sport in Society course for the National Coaching Foundation Diploma argues that anyone looking at sport and society should recognise that:

Sport, even the apparently most solitary 'sport', is a social activity embedded in the culture and the social structure of society. What sport means to people, how they understand it, the values that surround it and the ways in which they experience it are part of the culture of their society. Both the culture and the structure of society have shaped sport and patterned people's participation.

For John Evans (1986:3) the sociology of physical education is a way of relating personal troubles to public issues. In his introduction to Physical Education, Sport and Schooling he points out that a common theme in the study of physical education and sport for sociologists is:

a common desire to understand how people interpret, negotiate, attach meaning to and construct the social and cultural worlds which they occupy.

His book is an attempt to "illuminate some of the problems and dilemmas which many Physical Education teachers and pupils now routinely experience". Both these references (Jenkins and Evans are good starting points). To push the boat out have a look at the introduction to Jennifer Hargreaves' book Sport, Culture and

Ideology (1982) and Alan Tomlinson's article 'Physical Education, sport and sociology' in NATFHE's Conference Report 1982.

#### PARTICIPATION IN SPORT

Once we can grasp this social dimension of sport, we should find all kind of issues to examine. In our course we focussed in part on participation. The patterning of participation in physical education and sport is linked to personal circumstances, social filters and opportunity structures. In this respect, Jenkins (1991:211) argues that:

for many sports, being young, male, well educated, middle class, a car owner, a member of sporting family, with sporting friends, all tend to increase the likelihood of sports participation.

We considered the impact of gender and race on participation in sport. Sex and Gender: women experience inequality in opportunities to participate in sport. Jennifer Hargreaves, for example, notes:

Without doubt, men possess greater cultural power than women ... sport is a unique feature of cultural life in which women are seriously disadvantaged and where sexism is fostered.

'Sex' is the biological division of males and females. Gender is the social construction of masculinity and femininity that then is used as a means of social differentiation. We might want to consider whether sports science actually stimulates gender inequality. In this context the way we study becomes just one further example of institutionalised patriarchy. As Jenkins (1991:295) points out men have access to a wider range of sporting opportunities than women, more men take part, spend more time participating and play a greater part in delivering sporting opportunities at every level and at every stage in the life cycle. The reporting of sport also underscores this gender imbalance.

Race and Ethnicity: Jenkins (1991:252) defines 'racism' as:

Practices and beliefs that restrict the opportunities in any area of living of individuals from a particular ethnic or racial group. This may be based on a belief that this group is morally, culturally, physically or intellectually inferior and leads to discriminatory practices or prejudiced attitudes.

He defines an 'ethnic group' as:

A group of people who share a common culture which differs in some ways from the culture of the majority of the host society or the dominant strata in a society.

Some commentators suggest that myths about race and ethnicity are socially constructed. One particularly strong myth is that of the natural superiority of the black athlete central to a biological account of sports participation. Such myths can be part of a process that institutionalises racism and leads to the growth of an underclass who are consigned to the lowest positions of the

occupational and class structure. Some argue that in Britain there is evidence of a 'new racism' in people's consciousness.

## 2. The Concept of Gender and Participation in Sport: The Female Athlete

Even to have a title The Female Athlete indicates a particular set of relationships in sport. I want to suggest that despite the access you enjoy to sport there are gender barriers to sporting involvement and that such involvement is framed within an ideology of patriarchal relationships.

### What is the Problem?

According to the Sports Council female participation in sport increased between the years 1962 and 1988 for both indoor and outdoor sports. ... But participation rates are still half those of males. Margaret Talbot writing in the NCF's Coaching Focus suggests that:

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.

### Sex, Gender, Opportunity and Power

We ought to distinguish immediately between '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.

There is a feminist critique of the sociology of sport through the example of 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. What do you think are the visible examples of this control? (I tend to think about the Olympic Games as an example of this.) Some writers argue that barriers to

female involvement in sport are mythologised. There are increasing numbers of feminist accounts of sport now to challenge these myths. But such **social constructions** have the force of history and culture behind them. As sociologists I think we are about unpicking this history and culture link. How do societies enable/disable involvement in sport? We ought to consider the sexual division of labour and domesticity expectations. Why should societies allocate specific roles to specific people? Can sport have a practice that goes beyond rhetoric?

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. Their work and that of other feminists invites us to question:

1. Imputed psychological characteristics of female athletes
2. Biological/physiological vulnerability
3. The social construction of roles and expectations

Do you think that sexism pervades sport? For a look at some of the British debates about gender in sport see Jennifer Hargreaves' book Sport, Culture and Ideology (1982) - the chapters by Willis and Griffin in particular. You might also have a look at Sheila Scrutton's chapter in John Evans (ed) Physical Education, Sport and Schooling (1986).

An article that links this topic and the next one is that by Bruce Carrington and Trevor Williams in John Evans (ed) Teachers, Teaching and Control in Physical Education (1988). It is entitled 'Patriarchy and Ethnicity: The link between school physical education and community leisure activities'.

### 3. Ethnic Background and Racism in Sport: The Black Athlete

I suggested that to have a lecture topic entitled The Female Athlete indicated a particular set of relationships in sport. The same applies to this topic. I want to suggest that despite the rhetoric of access to sport there are barriers to sporting involvement and that such involvement is framed within an ideology of racism. By this I mean to suggest that people's lived experience of sport is structured by skin colour and ethnic background. I would like to draw attention to evidence from three nation states: United Kingdom, United States of America and South Africa.

Societies are differentiated and ideologies legitimise this differentiation. Imagine having two characteristics that are used as a means of discrimination: the black female athlete. What are the sporting chances of such a person? The rhetoric of sport would suggest she has the same chances as anyone in society.

## What is the Problem?

Sports sociology tries to identify 'problems' in sport. Just as gender is a visible means of differentiating people so too is the colour of our skin. There are numbers of conspicuous examples of successful Afro-Caribbean athletes. What is interesting is that the success of these athletes is disproportionate to their relative numbers in the population. As sociologists how are we to explain this success?

1. Is it an example of innate ability?
2. Is it an example of racism?

Sport might be used as a means of perpetuating and reinforcing racial stereotypes and racial inequality rather than being the 'realm of freedom' that some claim. Ernest Cashmore in Black Sportsmen (1982) and Bruce Carrington (1988 in Evans (ed)) have both indicated the racist structure of sport in this country and are an interesting starting point for your reading.

But how do you account for black success? One author, Martin Kane, writing in Sports Illustrated in the 1960s accounted for such success in biological terms. He suggested that black athletes were superior because of physiological, psychological and historical factors. Compare this essentially biological account of the 'natural' qualities of black athletes with our discussion of the female athlete. Such biological accounts are socially constructed and then 'naturalised' by people's practice in sport. Bruce Carrington, for example, has talked about people being 'side-tracked' by racial stereotypes whilst other commentators point to the 'stacking' of black athletes in particular sports.

Ernest Cashmore in his study of Black Sportsmen (note the title) gives a detailed rebuttal to Martin Kane's arguments and you should have a look at this. In essence he argues that evidence of physiological and psychological superiority is selective and assumes an homogeneity amongst black athletes that ignores differences between such athletes. This is exactly the same kind of argument about female involvement in sport. What if educators, particularly physical educators, act on this biological argument? Bruce Carrington and Oliver Leaman have written about just this process. They suggest that schools can reproduce, often unwittingly, ethnic marginality. If blacks are channelled into sport you can imagine the implications of this for their employment prospects. Is it extreme to see such differentiation as a means of providing black gladiators?

Studies of racism in sport have pointed to:

1. Stacking - the over-representation of players in specific positions within teams
2. Centrality - levels of interaction with other team members that demand qualities of leadership, decision-making, intelligence, intra-team co-ordination - power and authority over playing strategy.

In America, research into baseball and football has indicated the existence of stacking. But soccer in the UK has also been

discussed as an example of stacking. For example, Maguire (1988) has suggested that in the 1985-1986 season, of the 111 black footballers in the Football League:

Less than one percent were goalkeepers  
51% were forwards

With regard to the centrality thesis, there appeared to be an underrepresentation of blacks in midfield positions. Do you think this holds for other sports in this country? For a discussion of some of these issues see Joe Maguire's chapter in Grant Jarvie (ed) Sport and Ethnicity (Falmer, 1988).

Think thematically about race and sport and discuss experience of sport in the UK, USA and South Africa. It may be that as a result of posing race and ethnicity as problems in the sociology of sport we confront our own stereotypical behaviour and expectations. It is evident, I think, that both race and gender structure access to and expectations of sport.

#### 4. Leisure Provision in the United Kingdom: Twentieth Century Structures of Sport in Britain

I tried to follow a developmental structure in planning your sociology course. I wanted to get us towards a disciplined account of participation in sport by looking at the historical roots of sport. We discussed the effect schooling might have on sports involvement. We also talked about twentieth century organisation of sport in Britain.

As sociologists, I want to encourage you to think about how and why organisations emerge, develop and persist. You might find the following references helpful:

I T Elvin	(1990)	<u>Sport and Physical Recreation</u> , Longmans
J F Coughlan	(1990)	<u>Sport and British Politics</u> , Falmer
D Howell	(1990)	<u>Made in Birmingham</u> , Queen Anne Press

One task we can accomplish is to get a sense of the structures of sport in Britain of which one commentator has written:

The organisation and administration of British sport is a complex, some would say fragmented structure, which has grown piecemeal since the middle of the 19th century.

There are three major sectors:

1. The voluntary
2. The public
3. The commercial

The Sports Council receives and channels government financed grants into sport and has a general co-ordinating function. Recently, see for example The Guardian 3 March 1992, the Sports Council has expressed concern about the funding of British sport. I would like to spend a short time identifying some of the features of the above sectors and discuss how sociology can question and make sense of organised sport. In particular, it will be interesting to consider how sport takes place within a nation state and how ideology mediates our experience of sport.

We have discussed very briefly the organisation of sport in the nineteenth century. I think this is a good point to take up

today's theme. In particular, I would like to discuss the importance to be attached to amateurism and voluntarism.

#### The Voluntary Sector

One estimate suggests there are 150,000 sports clubs in the UK, representing 6.5 million members in over 100 sports. These clubs are run by 500,000 voluntary officials. Do they concentrate on performance and excellence as well as promote mass involvement?

One way of responding to this question is to use your sociological expertise and undertake what we could call a modified ethnography. This should give us a micro-perspective on sport. However we may also want a macro-perspective and look at how clubs survive within current arrangements. How does government policy affect sport: a political economy of sport? For example, there is some concern that the uniform business rate and compulsory competitive tendering will recast the sporting map in the 1990s.

By relating the micro to the macro we might be able to consider how sports involvement has a social, economic and political cost. Who prioritises these? Since November 1990 and until the new Government was formed, the Minister for Sport (Robert Atkins) was located within the Department of Education and Science. Sport is now under the control of David Mellor in the Department of National Heritage. In March the Government announced funds of £55 million for Manchester's bid to host the Olympic Games in 2000. This will be overseen by the Secretary of State for the Environment (Michael Heseltine).

Individual clubs are linked in governing bodies of sport. Governing bodies have been encouraged by the Sports Council to promote and develop participation in sport. In 1988 the Sports Council allocated almost 20% of its funds for development officers. Some of these posts are jointly funded by local government.

There are also a number of composite sports bodies with which you ought to be acquainted: Central Council for Physical Education (CCPR), British Olympic Association (BOA) and the National Coaching Foundation (NCF).

#### Public sector involvement in Sport

I want to signal here the national and local role of government in sport. We live in a nation state that through its democratic constitution makes and enforces laws. The national government allocates funds to sport directly through the Sports Council and indirectly through the funding of local government. There is a fundamental tension here. Sports administrators want more funding for sport yet want to retain autonomy over its spending plans. Since such monies are raised by public taxation, governments have a mandate for stewardship over such monies. Once again The Guardian article 3 March 1992 is an illuminating account of this tension. For an interesting discussion of the concept of

recreational welfare see F Coalter Rational for Public Sector Investment in Leisure (Sports Council 1986).

The Sports Council

Rather than provide a detailed account of the Sports Council I placed some literature with lecture notes in the Library. In particular, you ought to have a look at Sport in the Community (1988). I also provided some historical context about the emergence of the Sports Council.

#### IN CONCLUSION

These notes are intended to focus your attention on topics for revision. It is probable you will write short essay type questions for sociology so remember to make key points concisely. GOOD LUCK (the more you revise the luckier you get!)

EXAMINATION QUESTIONS  
YEAR ONE  
SUMMER 1992

SOCIOLOGY

Consider the impact that gender has upon participation in sport.

Identify how you would go about investigating the social significance of ethnic background in participation patterns in physical education and sport.

What is sociologically significant about international sport?

What distinguishes the sociology of sport from the psychology of sport?



BA SHMS  
Year One  
Sport Sociology

Wednesday 6 May 1992

Some Notes to add to handout

1. What kind of events missed?
2. What would your list look like?
3. Sociology is as much about silence as visibility!

Significance of PERSPECTIVE in sociology. An orderly, persuasive account of our reality?

Difficulty for active sports people - how to make sport a sociological problem?

Distinguish taking and making problem.

Voluntarism of sport but determined cultural forms?

What autonomy do we have to select patterns of participation?

SPORT SOCIOLOGY II  
REVISION TOPICS

There will be EIGHT questions on the exam paper from which you will choose THREE to answer.

The topics covered will be:

Sociological Perspectives

Growing Up In and Through Sport

Physical Education and Sport at School

Feminist Perspectives in the Sociology of Sport

Race and Ethnicity

Media and Sport

Normal and Deviant Behaviour in Sport

Sport and the State

These are all areas we have covered during the course. In your revision try to think and write critically. The best kind of sociology is that which challenges the world we take for granted.

Try to read a range of material on your chosen topic - this will give your answer support.

Make sure you read the question paper carefully.

6/5/92

Fiona: Body Image.

Shy/Lefty.

M-mas: muscular.

W-ets: tall/lean

Women - with a height. Look good for when.

Extreme case: 'masculine' looks  
trespass into male space.

Angere: male ballet  
dancers.  
Companion dance: enhanced  
qualities.

highly public - trespass into male space

Physicality / dominance.

Gymnastic, cheer.

## SPORTS SOCIOLOGY 2: Revision Seminars

In our next two meetings, I want to review our work this year and prepare for the examination in June.

Introductory Lecture  
Wednesday, 2 October 1991

During our year together we will be trying to make some sense of the social context of sport. The course outline refers, in its introduction, to:

- social processes
- interpersonal and group level
- social institution

In the learning outcomes it refers to:

- micro social systems
- sport as a social institution

One of the interesting things about sociology is that it manages to use a particular kind of language to analyse social settings.

Sociology as a disciplined enquiry

After one year of your degree course you will be aware of a variety of scientific approaches to human movement studies. Sociology lays claim to being a science of society. We will discuss a number of sociological perspectives. Rather like political parties sociologists want to compete for your attention and vote. They sometimes seek to be complete accounts of social life and collect evidence in a particular kind of way.

What I would like to do is to enable us develop a sense of a range of perspectives available. Gaining a sense of perspectives should encourage us to read social settings actively.

For example, what do you think is the social significance of the Olympic Games?

You might have discussed:

1. The Greek roots of Olympism
2. The rise of the modern games
3. The significance of individual achievement
4. The role of nationalism
5. Commercialism and the role of the media
6. The content of the Olympic programme

Somewhere in your account you may have linked individuals with groups.

Recommended Reading:

Peter Berger            Invitation to Sociology (Two chapters:  
Society in Man; Man in Society).  
Peter McIntosh        Sport in Society.

John Evans (ed)      Physical Education, Sport and Schooling,  
pages 1-10.

SPORTS SOCIOLOGY 2  
6 November 1991

I regret that I am unable to attend today's lecture. In the time available to you this morning, please could you follow up last week's discussion about structural functionalism and come prepared to talk about ALTERNATIVE PERSPECTIVES next week. Please could you try to look at the kind of arguments presented in:

Eric Dunning	(1971)	<u>Sociology of Sport</u>
John Loy et al		<u>Sport, Culture and Society</u>
		<u>Sport and Social Systems</u>
Jennifer Hargreaves	(1982)	<u>Sport, Culture and Ideology</u>

These should be available in the Library. I recommend you have a look at John Hargreaves's chapter in the Sport, Culture and Ideology book (Chapter Two).

From my reading there seem to be at least FOUR candidates for perspectives in the sociology of sport:

Functionalism  
Interpretive/ Symbolic Interaction  
Configurational  
Marxism

Some of the leading contributors to these perspectives are: John Loy, Gerald Kenyon, Donald Ball, Barry McPherson, Gunther Luschen, Clive Ashworth, Eric Dunning, Norbert Elias, Joe Maguire, Nancy Theberge, Alan Tomlinson, Jennifer Hargreaves, John Hargreaves, Paul Willis, Paul Hoch, Jean-Marie Brohm, Richard Gruneau.

FOR NEXT WEEK CAN YOU TRY TO FIND OUT SOMETHING ABOUT THE PERSPECTIVES LISTED ABOVE AND SEE IF YOU CAN ATTACH SOME NAMES TO THE PERSPECTIVES? BE SELECTIVE IN YOUR READING AND TRY TO SHARE THE WORKLOAD THROUGH YOUR STUDY GROUP.

SPORTS SOCIOLOGY 2  
13 November 1991

I hope you were able to follow up last week's task in relation to structural functionalism and ALTERNATIVE PERSPECTIVES.

Did you get a sense of the kinds of arguments presented in:

Eric Dunning	Sociology of Sport (1971)
John Loy et al	Sport, Culture and Society
	Sport and Social Systems
Jennifer Hargreaves	Sport, Culture and Ideology (1982)

I recommended that you had a look at John Hargreaves's chapter in the Sport, Culture and Ideology book (Chapter Two).

I suggested that there seem to be FOUR candidates for perspectives in the sociology of sport:

Functionalism  
Interpretive/ Symbolic Interaction  
Configurational  
Marxism

I also mentioned that some of the leading contributors to these perspectives are: John Loy, Gerald Kenyon, Donald Ball, Barry McPherson, Gunther Luschen, Clive Ashworth, Eric Dunning, Norbert Elias, Joe Maguire, Nancy Theberge, Alan Tomlinson, Jennifer Hargreaves, John Hargreaves, Paul Willis, Paul Hoch, Jean-Marie Brohm, Richard Gruneau.

In today's discussion, I would like to tell you about a counter argument to the structural functional perspective and suggest that this critique has British, European and North American examples to offer.

## SPORT SOCIOLOGY II SPRING TERM 1992

I would like to take this opportunity to recap very briefly what the first term was about! I wanted to explore TWO very basic concepts last term:

- i) IDENTITY
- ii) PERSPECTIVE

Sociology offers perspectives on how identity is created, developed and maintained in society. Early sociologists of sport were criticised for restricting their sociological analysis to WITHIN sport and for failing to locate sport in a wider social and cultural context. (You may recall that this was the kind of criticism that Jenny Hargreaves and John Hargreaves made.)

We considered a number of perspectives last term and ended with a discussion of INTERPRETIVE PERSPECTIVES and the significance attached to MEANING. Some sociology textbooks talk about meaning as VERSTEHEN.

This term I want you to try to make critical use of your knowledge of perspectives (at this stage even knowing that there are different perspectives is important). I want us to explore:

- i) Participation in sport
- ii) Sport as a social institution
- iii) Some ethical issues raised by the sociological study of sport

By the end of the course I hope you will be aware of the sociological significance of sport in society. We will need to consider the importance of the following sociological terms:

- social processes
- social institutions
- social status
- social interaction
- social norms
- socialisation
- culture
- 'normal' behaviour
- 'deviant' behaviour

Do you remember Peter Berger saying that the sociologist is an inveterate snoop? What kind of snoop or detective you are in sociology depends on the tools you use. Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1971:14) in The Social Construction of Reality (Penguin University Books) suggest that:

The man in the street does not ordinarily trouble himself about what is real to him and about what he knows unless he is stopped short by some sort of problem. He takes his reality and his knowledge for granted. The sociologist cannot do this if only because of his systematic awareness of the fact that men in the street take quite different realities for granted as between one society and another.

They argue that 'reality' is socially constructed and that sociology must analyse the process in which this occurs.

#### A Programme for the Term

I hope the following programme will enable us to challenge some of the reality we take for granted:

- i) Growing Up In and Through Sport
- ii) Schooling and Social Differentiation
- iii) Sport, Body Image and Commodification
- iv) The Female Athlete
- v) The Black Athlete
- vi) Sport as Ritual
- vii) Sport and the Media
- viii) Folk Devils and Moral Panics
- ix) The Role of the State in Sport
- x) Sociological Perspectives Revisited
- xi) Sport as a socially constructed reality?

The essence of this year's sociology of sport course is:

to understand the micro social systems which help and hinder sports participation

to understand and explain the role and importance of sport as a social institution

to debate ethical and social issues surrounding sport

### The Female Athlete

Last week we discussed briefly the issue of sport, the body and commodification. In today's discussion I want to suggest that even to have a title The Female Athlete indicates a particular set of relationships in sport.

Back in October when we first met I mentioned that the sociological imagination was about linking private troubles and public issues. In today's topic I want to suggest that despite the access you enjoy to sport there are gender barriers to sporting involvement and that such involvement is framed within an ideology of patriarchal relationships.

#### 2. What is the Problem?

According to the Sports Council female participation in sport increased between the years 1962 and 1988 for both indoor and outdoor sports.

... But participation rates are still half those of males.

Margaret Talbot writing in the National Coaching Foundation's Coaching Focus suggests that:

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.

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We ought to distinguish immediately between '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. In Michael Young's phrase this is an example of TAKING not MAKING a problem.

If you are prepared to make sport a problem (one of those public issues of the sociological imagination) then your analysis might focus on:

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.

I have mentioned the possibilities of a feminist critique of the sociology of sport through the example of 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. What do you think are the visible examples of this control? (I tend to think about the Olympic Games as an example of this.)

Some writers argue that barriers to female involvement in sport are mythologised. There are increasing numbers of feminist accounts of sport now to challenge these myths. But such social constructions have the force of history and culture behind them. As sociologists I think we are about unpicking this history and culture link.

How do societies enable/disable involvement in sport? Last week I mentioned briefly the sexual division of labour and the domesticity expectations. At the risk of remaking the same point: why should societies allocate specific roles to specific people? Can sport have a practice that goes beyond rhetoric?

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.

Their work and that of other feminists invites us to question the:

1. Imputed psychological characteristics of female athletes
2. Biological/physiological vulnerability
3. The social construction of roles and expectations

Do you have any personal experience of these three aspects? Perhaps we could briefly discuss them?

Do you think that sexism pervades sport?

Next week I would like to discuss race and sport. I wonder if we will be able to utilise the same framework for analysis?

Perhaps we could conclude today with a consideration of the strategies that might be used to enhance female sport. Three options would seem to be: co-option; separation; co-operation.

SPORTS SOCIOLOGY 2  
Wednesday 12 February 1992

### The Black Athlete

Last week we discussed briefly The Female Athlete. I suggested that to have a lecture topic entitled that indicated a particular set of relationships in sport. The same applies to today's topic.

Once again, I want to link private troubles and public issues. I want to suggest that despite the rhetoric of access to sport there are barriers to sporting involvement and that such involvement is framed within an ideology of racism. By this I mean to suggest that people's lived experience of sport is structured by skin colour and ethnic background. I would like to draw attention to evidence from three nation states: United Kingdom, United States of America and South Africa.

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As sociologists how are we to explain this success?

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Sport might be used as a means of perpetuating and reinforcing racial stereotypes and racial inequality rather than being the 'realm of freedom' that some claim. Ernest Cashmore and Bruce Carrington have both indicated the racist structure of sport in this country and would be an interesting starting point for your reading.

But how do you account for black success? One author, Martin Kane, writing in Sports Illustrated in the 1960s accounted for such success in biological terms. He suggested that black

athletes were superior because of physiological, psychological and historical factors. Compare this essentially biological account of the 'natural' qualities of black athletes with our discussion of the female athlete.

Such biological accounts are socially constructed and then 'naturalised' by people's practice in sport. Bruce Carrington, for example, has talked about people being 'side-tracked' by racial stereotypes whilst other commentators point to the 'stacking' of black athletes in particular sports.

Ernest Cashmore in his study of Black Sportsmen (note the title) gives a detailed rebuttal to Martin Kane's arguments and you should have a look at this. In essence he argues that evidence of physiological and psychological superiority is selective and assumes an homogeneity amongst black athletes that ignores differences between such athletes. This is exactly the same kind of argument about female involvement in sport.

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Is it extreme to see such differentiation as a means of providing black gladiators?

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Less than one percent were goalkeepers  
51% were forwards

With regard to the centrality thesis, there appeared to be an underrepresentation of blacks in midfield positions.

Do you think this holds for other sports in this country?  
For a discussion of some of these issues see Joe Maguire's chapter in Grant Jarvie (ed) Sport and Ethnicity (Falmer, 1988)

In the remaining part of the session I would like to talk thematically about race and sport and discuss experience of sport

in the UK, USA and South Africa. It may be that as a result of posing race and ethnicity as problems in the sociology of sport we confront our own stereotypical behaviour and expectations. It is evident, I think, that both race and gender structure access to and expectations of sport.

After your well earned break next week I want to talk about the role of the media in sport and its link with sport as ritual. If you are not too busy, have a look at how the Winter Olympics are presented on TV and in the newspapers.

## SPORTS SOCIOLOGY 2

Wednesday, 26 February 1992

### Sport as Ritual and Mediated Accounts of Sport

In today's meeting I want to link the ritual aspects of sport to mediated accounts of sport. In the 1990s we learn about sport all over the world as it happens. The Winter Olympics provide an interesting case study of the links between ritual and reporting.

Why should the Olympic Games be of interest to us given the absence of snow from most of our lives?

How do societies/cultures come to agree about significant forms of sporting experience?

I hope that today we can address these kind of issues. Fred Inglis in his book The Name of The Game suggests that societies flourish on moments of mutual recognition. The example he uses is the way people felt in England (Britain?) after England won the 1966 World Cup Final in football.

### 2. Ritual as Symbolic Interaction

Sociologists and anthropologists are interested in the social bonds that are formed in societies and cultures. Allen Guttman (1978) analyses the development of modern sport as a move from the sacred rituals of classical Greece to the secular forms we recognise. He suggests that:

The bond between the secular and the sacred has been broken... We do not run in order that the earth be more fertile. We till the earth, or work in our factories and offices, so that we can have time to play. (1978:26)

He notes that even in classical times the ritual aspects of the Olympic festivals became part of everyday life rather than as a separate sacred event.

Anthropologists have provided detailed accounts of rituals in a range of societies. Clifford Geertz, for example, has provided information about Pacific cultures. Norman Scotch has given a memorable account of the rituals undertaken by urban Zulu footballers in South Africa. For a collection of these accounts

you might want to have a look at Roberta Park's (ed) book Play, Games and Sports. Some of the early sociology of sport textbooks drew upon anthropological accounts and you might find it interesting to have a look at the first edition of John Loy and Gerry Kenyon's (eds) book Sport, Culture and Society.

Perhaps we could spend a short time discussing how rituals can become secular and how our understanding of them is mediated for us particularly by television.

I wonder what you know about American Football and Sumo wrestling?

### 3. Sport and the Media

It makes sense I think to combine a discussion of ritual with an account of the media. When we talk about folk devils and moral panics I want to draw your attention to what some sociologists term amplification. For the moment, I would like you to consider the following quotation taken from a diploma course for coaches written by Charles Jenkins (1991). Note that it refers to television.

After you have read the quotation/extract I would like to discuss two important aspects of our mediated or documentary reality:

text

narrative

Some suggested reading:

You might find some of the following of interest in reading about the media:

From the Charles Jenkins quote the references are to be found in

Gary Whannel Television and Sport... in Frank Kew (ed) Social Scientific Perspectives on Sport, BASS Monograph 2, 1990

You might also find the following of interest:

John & Alan Clarke 'Highlights and Action Replays' in Jennifer Hargreaves (ed), Sport, Culture and Ideology (1984).

John Hargreaves Sport, Power and Culture, chapter 4, pp138-162.

L A Wenner (ed) Media, Sports and Society, 1989.

For next week you might want to have a look at the appropriately titled book by Stan Cohen entitled Folk Devils and Moral Panics. You might also see how television and newspapers create and sustain identities and images.

SPORTS SOCIOLOGY 2  
Wednesday 4 March 1992

### Folk Devils and Moral Panics

Today's notes are very brief! I hope we can spend some time discussing folk devils and moral panics. Do you think the spectators at soccer games at Birmingham and West Ham realised we would be discussing these matters and therefore wanted to provide us with some evidence?

What I would like to say is that within the last week we have been provided with considerable media comment about two of our themes:

Bidding for the Olympic Games

Disorder at Sporting Events

From what we have discussed so far, I hope you will construe these events as mediated.

But before we go any further, perhaps we ought to discuss your research! Do you recall being invited last week to try to look at two news bulletins?

I hope that we can talk about the structure and content of the news programmes. By looking constructively at the packaging of news we can start to get a sense of how news items are created. It will be interesting in the case of disorder, for example, to see how events are narrated.

Karl Marx, writing in 1871, observed that:

The daily press and the telegraph fabricate more myths in one day that could have formerly been done in a century.

## 2. Folk Devils and Moral Panics

I had hoped you would have access to Stan Cohen's 1980 book Folk Devils and Moral Panics for today's session. It is an important account of how society deals with perceived threats to its stability. His work and that of Stuart Hall has been influential in drawing attention to the manufactured nature of news images.

Stuart Hall wrote in 1978 that:

The sports pages don't simply reflect sport, they order the world of sport in terms of a league table of significance. But behind this end result lie the practices and the routines of journalism, newspaper editing and presentation. Here we encounter the selection and presentation process.

What I hope we can start to do is to unpick this process. One way is to use a Thames TV video recorded in 1985 entitled 'Hooligan'.

## SPORTS SOCIOLOGY

Wednesday 18 March 1992

### Twentieth Century Structures of Sport in Britain: Links with the Nation State

I have tried to follow a developmental structure in planning your sociology course. At present I am trying to get us towards a disciplined account of participation in sport by looking at the historical roots of sport.

As sociologists, I want to encourage you to think about how and why organisations emerge, develop and persist. You might find the following references helpful:

I T Elvin	(1990)	<u>Sport and Physical Recreation</u> , Longmans
J F Coughlan	(1990)	<u>Sport and British Politics</u> , Falmer
D Howell	(1990)	<u>Made in Birmingham</u> , Queen Anne Press

One task we can accomplish is to get a sense of the structures of sport in Britain of which one commentator has written:

The organisation and administration of British sport is a

complex, some would say fragmented structure, which has grown piecemeal since the middle of the 19th century.

There are three major sectors:

1. The voluntary
2. The public
3. The commercial

The Sports Council receives and channels government financed grants into sport and has a general co-ordinating function. Recently, see for example The Guardian 3 March 1992, the Sports Council has expressed concern about the funding of British sport.

I would like to spend a short time identifying some of the features of the above sectors and discuss how sociology can question and make sense of organised sport. In particular, it will be interesting to consider how sport takes place within a nation state and how ideology mediates our experience of sport. For a detailed discussion of this see John Hoberman's book Sport and Political Ideology. If we are bold we can even start to talk about the ways in which sport articulates with society.

We have discussed very briefly the organisation of sport in the nineteenth century. I think this is a good point to take up today's theme. In particular, I would like to discuss the importance to be attached to amateurism and voluntarism.

## 2. The Voluntary Sector

One estimate suggests there are 150,000 sports clubs in the UK, representing 6.5 million members in over 100 sports. These clubs are run by 500,000 voluntary officials. Do they concentrate on performance and excellence as well as promote mass involvement?

One way of responding to this question is to use your sociological expertise and undertake what we could call a modified ethnography. This should give us a micro-perspective on sport. However we may also want a macro-perspective and look at how clubs survive within current arrangements. How does government policy affect sport: do we need to be aware of a political economy of sport? For example, there is some concern that the uniform business rate and compulsory competitive tendering will recast the sporting map in the 1990s.

By relating the micro to the macro we might be able to consider how sports involvement has a social, economic and political cost. Who prioritises these? Since November 1990, the Minister for Sport (Robert Atkins) has been located within the Department of Education and Science. Earlier this month, the Government announced funds of £55 million for Manchester's bid to host the Olympic Games in 2000. This will be overseen by the Secretary of State for the Environment (Michael Heseltine).

Individual clubs are linked in governing bodies of sport. Governing bodies have been encouraged by the Sports Council to promote and develop participation in sport. In 1988 the Sports Council allocated almost 20% of its funds for development officers. Some of these posts are jointly funded by local government.

There are also a number of composite sports bodies with which you ought to be acquainted: Central Council for Physical Education (CCPR), British Olympic Association (BOA) and the National Coaching Foundation (NCF).

## 3. Public sector involvement in Sport

I want to signal here the national and local role of government in sport. We live in a nation state that through its democratic constitution makes and enforces laws. The national government allocates funds to sport directly through the Sports Council and indirectly through the funding of local government. Within the past two weeks there has also been discussion of the potential of a national lottery to generate a billion pounds to support sport and the arts.

There is a fundamental tension here. Sports administrators want more funding for sport yet want to retain autonomy over its spending plans. Since such monies are raised by public taxation, governments have a mandate for stewardship over such monies. Once again The Guardian article 3 March 1992 is an illuminating account of this tension.

For an interesting discussion of the concept of recreational welfare see F Coalter Rational for Public Sector Investment in Leisure (Sports Council 1986).

#### 4. The Sports Council

Rather than provide a detailed account of the Sports Council I want to encourage you to have a look at Sport in the Community (1988). For the moment I would like to provide some historical context about the emergence of the Sports Council. I hope this will encourage us to consider some of the important sociological issues about how societies and cultures privilege sport.

#### 5. Political Economies of Sport

One of the significant academic debates about sport and the state has been stimulated by Marxist theorists. I want to alert you to the arguments about sport in the work of Jean Marie Brohm, Richard Gruneau, Hart Cantelon and John Hargreaves.

Sport takes place against the backcloth of a world system of states in which capitalist enterprise is in the ascendancy.

#### SPORT SOCIOLOGY II SUMMER TERM 1992

Welcome back to College and the Sociology course. Our focus this term will be to pull together the strands of your course and to look forward to the exam! In our first term together, I wanted to explore with you TWO very basic concepts: IDENTITY and PERSPECTIVE.

Sociology offers perspectives on how identity is created, developed and maintained in society. Sociology of sport does the same for our involvement in sport. Early sociologists of sport were criticised for restricting their sociological analysis to WITHIN sport and for failing to locate sport in a wider social and cultural context. We have considered a number of perspectives.

This term I want to encourage you to try to make critical use of your knowledge of perspectives. By the end of the course I hope you will be aware of the sociological significance of sport in society. We will need to recap the importance of the following sociological terms:

- social processes
- social institutions
- social status
- social interaction
- social norms
- socialisation
- culture
- 'normal' behaviour

'deviant' behaviour

Do you remember that these were terms in your course outline and were included in some notes for our first meeting in the Spring Term. Do you also recall the suggestion Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann made in their book The Social Construction of Reality (Penguin University Books, 1971) that:

The man in the street does not ordinarily trouble himself about what is real to him and about what he knows unless he is stopped short by some sort of problem. He takes his reality and his knowledge for granted. The sociologist cannot do this if only because of his systematic awareness of the fact that men in the street take quite different realities for granted as between one society and another. (1971:14)

They argue that 'reality' is socially constructed and that sociology must analyse the process in which this occurs.

In this year's sociology of sport course the learning outcomes are intended to be:

to understand the micro social systems which help and hinder sports participation

to understand and explain the role and importance of sport as a social institution

to debate ethical and social issues surrounding sport

Today, I want to encourage you/us to reflect on how such learning outcomes can be addressed by reflecting on your poster work. I would like to discuss the concepts of:

self  
society  
personal troubles  
public issues  
consciousness  
a sociological framework  
concepts and theories  
evidence  
explanation and understanding

I enjoyed your poster presentations and I was impressed by the way you invested effort into your chosen topic. If the process of that experience can be used to further a general understanding of the sociology of sport then the learning objectives/outcomes for the course can be addressed.

What did you make of the one page photocopy of the research into gay PE teachers?



## SPORTS SOCIOLOGY 2: Revision Seminars

This is the second of two meetings in which I want to review our work this year and prepare for the examination in June.

Remember that your revision plans should consider the following topics:

Sociological Perspectives: range of perspectives  
Growing Up In and Through Sport: socialisation  
Physical Education and Sport at School: differentiation  
Feminist Perspectives in the Sociology of Sport  
Race and Ethnicity  
Media and Sport: mediation of experience  
Normal and Deviant Behaviour in Sport  
Sport and the State

In your revision try to think and write critically. The best kind of sociology is that which challenges the world we take for granted. Try to read a range of material on your chosen topic- this will give your answer support. Make sure you read the question paper carefully.

The essence of this year's sociology of sport course is:

- to understand the micro social systems which help and hinder sports participation
- to understand and explain the role and importance of sport as a social institution
- to debate ethical and social issues surrounding sport

Today, I want to draw your attention to:

### 1. Schooling for Sport

We discussed the 'Origins of Organised Sport'. Sociological perspectives theorise the ways in which societies go about and have gone about their business. Functionalist, conflict, interactionist and figural sociologies prioritise particular sets of social relationships. Depending on your view of the world, schooling for sport takes on a range of possibilities. For example, when we discussed organised sport I suggested that:

- \* In the 19th century sports proliferated and were organised.
- \* By end of century sport was essentially in character middle class.
- \* Process of extending sport: role of public schools and universities.
- \* Missionary zeal and muscular Christianity.
- \* Working class involvement in sport linked to working conditions.

## Athleticism and Rational Recreation

I also suggested that much of the debate about sport in the 1990s is embedded in the social and cultural roots of sport and that we ought to consider:

- \* athleticism and rational recreation as ideologies
- \* amateurism as a guiding principle in sport
- \* the invisibility of women in 19th century sport
- \* exclusive sport

I think I also encouraged you to look at some curriculum history material. Some good sources are:

Eric Dunning	<u>Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players</u>
Sheila Fletcher	<u>Women First</u>
Peter McIntosh	<u>PE in England Since 1800</u>
J A Mangan	<u>Athleticism in the Victorian &amp; Edwardian Public School</u>
W Smith	<u>Stretching Their Bodies</u>

Jennifer Hargreaves has written a number of articles about girls' and womens' experience of sport in the late 19th century.

What I would like you to be aware of is that the sociological study of sport and physical education is about collecting and making sense of evidence. Curriculum history and life histories are important sources with which to understand how patterns of teaching, learning and participation took place.

For very good examples of how sociologists look at physical education and sport, have a look at the two collections of readings edited by John Evans Physical Education, Sport and Schooling (1986) and Teachers, Teaching and Control in Physical Education (1988).

Central to the discussion of growing up through and in sport is the process of SOCIALISATION. How we become social through the influence of family, friends, school and neighbourhood is critical for us. Although we did not explicitly discuss the term SOCIALISATION we have implicitly addressed this issue. For a brief discussion of the concept see John Evans in his introduction to Physical Education, Sport and Schooling (1986:18-20) and the articles in the book written by Hendry, Scratton and Humberstone. Have a look also at his 1988 book.

You might also consider how cultures develop patterns of play, games and sport. See Alan Guttman's From Ritual to Record (1978) and Fred Inglis's The Name of the Game. This interrelationship between the cultural dimensions of sport and the educational function of physical education is critical to the forms of sport in society, how we are introduced and who may participate.

## The Playing Fields of Eton ...

I would like us to think about how our 20th century experience of sport was structured by events over the last century. I hope your reading will fill in some of the detail in this outline:

- \* the hierarchy of public schools

- \* the concept of the 'gentleman'
- \* education for the masses as a form of social control
- \* physical and moral health
- \* opportunities for girls - Madame Osterberg
- \* urban schools and exercise
- \* drill and games
- \* PT

Social and cultural arrangements structured experience of sport. The range of legitimate activities by the end of the nineteenth century bore the imprint of social class. For some people, the quotation that "The battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton" summarises nineteenth century developments. Although the quotation may often be misused what I think it can do for us is to focus our attention on how a society:

- \* creates
- \* develops
- \* sustains
- \* changes

patterns of sport and physical education.

At the present time, the Conservative government is proposing National Curriculum guidelines for Physical Education. In them, the programmes of study are focused, at the Minister of State's request, on participation. The menu from which schools and pupils will eventually choose has been drawn up in the context of an historical tradition of games playing. Critics might want to consider whether such a menu perpetuates particular models of sport.

You ought to consider to what extent physical education in school DIFFERENTIATES between pupils and the opportunities to participate. During the year we have tried to use your experience to focus attention on sociology issues. Once again you will find the John Evans books helpful particularly in relation to gender and race but also consider the historical dimension to be found in the accounts of J A Mangan and S Fletcher, for example. Any answer that combines present practices located in an historical context will be very welcome! See also journal articles in the Journal of Sports History.

### Sport as Ritual and Mediated Accounts of Sport

In one of our meeting's last term I linked the ritual aspects of sport to mediated accounts of sport. In the 1990s we learn about sport all over the world as it happens. The Winter Olympics provide an interesting case study of the links between ritual and reporting. Why should the Olympic Games be of interest to us given the absence of snow from most of our lives? How do societies/cultures come to agree about significant forms of sporting experience?

Fred Inglis in his book The Name of The Game suggests that societies flourish on moments of mutual recognition. The example

he uses is the way people felt in England (Britain?) after England won the 1966 World Cup Final in football.

### Ritual as Symbolic Interaction

Sociologists and anthropologists are interested in the social bonds that are formed in societies and cultures. Allen Guttman (1978) analyses the development of modern sport as a move from the sacred rituals of classical Greece to the secular forms we recognise. He suggests that:

The bond between the secular and the sacred has been broken... We do not run in order that the earth be more fertile. We till the earth, or work in our factories and offices, so that we can have time to play. (1978:26)

He notes that even in classical times the ritual aspects of the Olympic festivals became part of everyday life rather than as a separate sacred event. Anthropologists have provided detailed accounts of rituals in a range of societies. Clifford Geertz, for example, has provided information about Pacific cultures. Norman Scotch has given a memorable account of the rituals undertaken by urban Zulu footballers in South Africa. For a collection of these accounts you might want to have a look at Roberta Park's (ed) book Play, Games and Sports. Some of the early sociology of sport textbooks drew upon anthropological accounts and you might find it interesting to have a look at the first edition of John Loy and Gerry Kenyon's (eds) book Sport, Culture and Society.

### Sport and the Media

It makes sense I think to combine a discussion of ritual with an account of the media. When we talk about folk devils and moral panics I want to draw your attention to what some sociologists term amplification.

You might find some of the following of interest in reading about the media:

Gary Whannel Television and Sport... in Frank Kew (ed) Social Scientific Perspectives on Sport, BASS Monograph 2, 1990

Alan Tomlinson Five Ring Circus (1984)

John & Alan Clarke 'Highlights and Action Replays' in Jennifer Hargreaves (ed), Sport, Culture and Ideology (1984).

John Hargreaves Sport, Power and Culture, chapter 4, pp138-162.

L A Wenner (ed) Media, Sports and Society, 1989.

You were also encouraged to have a look at the appropriately titled book by Stan Cohen Folk Devils and Moral Panics (1980). You might also see how television and newspapers create and sustain identities and images.

## Folk Devils and Moral Panics

Today's notes are very brief! I hope we can spend some time discussing folk devils and moral panics.

Karl Marx, writing in 1871, observed that:

The daily press and the telegraph fabricate more myths in one day that could have formerly been done in a century.

I had hoped you would have access to Stan Cohen's 1980 book Folk Devils and Moral Panics. It is an important account of how society deals with perceived threats to its stability. His work and that of Stuart Hall has been influential in drawing attention to the manufactured nature of news images.

Stuart Hall wrote in 1978 that:

The sports pages don't simply reflect sport, they order the world of sport in terms of a league table of significance. But behind this end result lie the practices and the routines of journalism, newspaper editing and presentation. Here we encounter the selection and presentation process.

What I hope we can start to do is to unpick this process. One way is to use a Thames TV video recorded in 1985 entitled 'Hooligan'.

You should also have a look at the booklet The Media and Cultural Forms (1986) that I have placed behind the library counter for you. See particularly, Whannel's article on television sport.

## Twentieth Century Structures of Sport in Britain: Links with the Nation State

I have tried to follow a developmental structure in planning your sociology course. As sociologists, I want to encourage you to think about how and why organisations emerge, develop and persist. You might find the following references helpful:

I T Elvin	(1990)	<u>Sport and Physical Recreation</u> , Longmans
J F Coughlan	(1990)	<u>Sport and British Politics</u> , Falmer
D Howell	(1990)	<u>Made in Birmingham</u> , Queen Anne Press

One task we can accomplish is to get a sense of the structures of sport in Britain of which one commentator has written:

The organisation and administration of British sport is a complex, some would say fragmented structure, which has grown piecemeal since the middle of the 19th century.

There are three major sectors:

1. The voluntary
2. The public
3. The commercial

The Sports Council receives and channels government financed grants into sport and has a general co-ordinating function. Recently, see for example The Guardian 3 March 1992, the Sports Council has expressed concern about the funding of British sport.

I would like to spend a short time identifying some of the features of the above sectors and discuss how sociology can question and make sense of organised sport. In particular, it will be interesting to consider how sport takes place within a nation state and how ideology mediates our experience of sport. For a detailed discussion of this see John Hoberman's book Sport and Political Ideology. If we are bold we can even start to talk about the ways in which sport articulates with society.

Specifically I want to encourage you to consider how an ideology of SPORTIVE EXPRESSIONISM is discussed by John Hoberman. I am also interested in drawing your attention to the concept of BEAUTY PORNOGRAPHY expressed in Naomi Wolf's book The Beauty Myth.

We have discussed very briefly the organisation of sport in the nineteenth century. I think this is a good point to take up today's theme. In particular, I would like to discuss the importance to be attached to amateurism and voluntarism.

#### Political Economies of Sport

One of the significant academic debates about sport and the state has been stimulated by Marxist theorists. I want to alert you to the arguments about sport in the work of Jean Marie Brohm, Richard Gruneau, Hart Cantelon and John Hargreaves.

Sport takes place against the backcloth of a world system of states in which capitalist enterprise is in the ascendancy.

#### The Nation State and Nationalism

At some stage, we have 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. 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 sport sociology 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?

Fred Inglis in his book Popular Culture and Political Power (1988) 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)

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

### 3. IN CONCLUSION

The areas we have discussed are potential topics for your revision. Try to do some basic reading. If you have chance check two journals for recent articles on your revision topics.

The journals are:

International Review for Sociology of Sport  
Journal of Sport and Social Issues

Good luck with your revision.

## SPORT and POLITICS

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- Sport has evolved — Utilitarian ..... to political.
  - Historically governments have been 'involved' with sport for reasons of
    - military convenience
    - education
    - health & fitness .... industry
    - common good
    - nationalism ..... prestige
  - Contemporary sport is now enmeshed in POLITICAL IDEOLOGY
    - ie capitalist WEST .... socialist EAST
    - ie 'emerging' nations .... recognition
  - Sport is .. an INSTRUMENT OF NATIONAL & FOREIGN POLICY.
    - ie. Nixon ... Ping pong ... China.
  - "Legitimate" political concerns for sport might be ....
    - health .... exercise .... WELLBEING .... PREVENTATIVE MEDICINE
    - LEISURE .... popular culture .....
      - "foundation"
      - "participation"
      - "performance & excellence"
- GB Sports Council
- Sport is "INTERNATIONAL" ..... ie. Olympics, World Athletics; Soccer; Rugby etc.
    - originally for UNDERSTANDING and UNITY .... such games are now about identification, visibility, prestige, promotion of ideologies
- Qn: IS SPORT .... FREE OF POLITICS, IS POLITICS FREE OF SPORT?

SPORT SOCIOLOGY II  
REVISION TOPICS

There will be EIGHT questions on the exam paper from which you will choose THREE to answer.

The topics covered will be:

Sociological Perspectives

Growing Up In and Through Sport

Physical Education and Sport at School

Feminist Perspectives in the Sociology of Sport

Race and Ethnicity

Media and Sport

Normal and Deviant Behaviour in Sport

Sport and the State

These are all areas we have covered during the course. In your revision try to think and write critically. The best kind of sociology is that which challenges the world we take for granted.

Try to read a range of material on your chosen topic - this will give your answer support.

Make sure you read the question paper carefully.

## SPORTS SOCIOLOGY 2: Revision Seminars

In our next two meetings, I want to review our work this year and prepare for the examination in June.

Introductory Lecture  
Wednesday, 2 October 1991

During our year together we will be trying to make some sense of the social context of sport. The course outline refers, in its introduction, to:

social processes  
interpersonal and group level  
social institution

In the learning outcomes it refers to:

micro social systems  
sport as a social institution

One of the interesting things about sociology is that it manages to use a particular kind of language to analyse social settings.

Sociology as a disciplined enquiry

After one year of your degree course you will be aware of a variety of scientific approaches to human movement studies. Sociology lays claim to being a science of society. We will discuss a number of sociological perspectives. Rather like political parties sociologists want to compete for your attention and vote. They sometimes seek to be complete accounts of social life and collect evidence in a particular kind of way.

What I would like to do is to enable us develop a sense of a range of perspectives available. Gaining a sense of perspectives should encourage us to read social settings actively.

For example, what do you think is the social significance of the Olympic Games?

You might have discussed:

1. The Greek roots of Olympism
2. The rise of the modern games
3. The significance of individual achievement
4. The role of nationalism
5. Commercialism and the role of the media
6. The content of the Olympic programme

Somewhere in your account you may have linked individuals with groups.

Recommended Reading:

Peter Berger            Invitation to Sociology (Two chapters:  
Society in Man; Man in Society).  
Peter McIntosh        Sport in Society.

John Evans (ed)        Physical Education, Sport and Schooling,  
                              pages 1-10.

SPORTS SOCIOLOGY 2  
6 November 1991

I regret that I am unable to attend today's lecture. In the time available to you this morning, please could you follow up last week's discussion about structural functionalism and come prepared to talk about ALTERNATIVE PERSPECTIVES next week. Please could you try to look at the kind of arguments presented in:

Eric Dunning	(1971)	<u>Sociology of Sport</u>
John Loy et al		<u>Sport, Culture and Society</u>
		<u>Sport and Social Systems</u>
Jennifer Hargreaves	(1982)	<u>Sport, Culture and Ideology</u>

These should be available in the Library. I recommend you have a look at John Hargreaves's chapter in the Sport, Culture and Ideology book (Chapter Two).

From my reading there seem to be at least FOUR candidates for perspectives in the sociology of sport:

Functionalism  
Interpretive/ Symbolic Interaction  
Configurational  
Marxism

Some of the leading contributors to these perspectives are: John Loy, Gerald Kenyon, Donald Ball, Barry McPherson, Gunther Luschen, Clive Ashworth, Eric Dunning, Norbert Elias, Joe Maguire, Nancy Theberge, Alan Tomlinson, Jennifer Hargreaves, John Hargreaves, Paul Willis, Paul Hoch, Jean-Marie Brohm, Richard Gruneau.

FOR NEXT WEEK CAN YOU TRY TO FIND OUT SOMETHING ABOUT THE PERSPECTIVES LISTED ABOVE AND SEE IF YOU CAN ATTACH SOME NAMES TO THE PERSPECTIVES? BE SELECTIVE IN YOUR READING AND TRY TO SHARE THE WORKLOAD THROUGH YOUR STUDY GROUP.

SPORTS SOCIOLOGY 2  
13 November 1991

I hope you were able to follow up last week's task in relation to structural functionalism and ALTERNATIVE PERSPECTIVES.

Did you get a sense of the kinds of arguments presented in:

Eric Dunning	Sociology of Sport (1971)
John Loy et al	Sport, Culture and Society
	Sport and Social Systems
Jennifer Hargreaves	Sport, Culture and Ideology (1982)

I recommended that you had a look at John Hargreaves's chapter in the Sport, Culture and Ideology book (Chapter Two).

I suggested that there seem to be FOUR candidates for perspectives in the sociology of sport:

Functionalism  
Interpretive/ Symbolic Interaction  
Configurational  
Marxism

I also mentioned that some of the leading contributors to these perspectives are: John Loy, Gerald Kenyon, Donald Ball, Barry McPherson, Gunther Luschen, Clive Ashworth, Eric Dunning, Norbert Elias, Joe Maguire, Nancy Theberge, Alan Tomlinson, Jennifer Hargreaves, John Hargreaves, Paul Willis, Paul Hoch, Jean-Marie Brohm, Richard Gruneau.

In today's discussion, I would like to tell you about a counter argument to the structural functional perspective and suggest that this critique has British, European and North American examples to offer.

## SPORT SOCIOLOGY II SPRING TERM 1992

I would like to take this opportunity to recap very briefly what the first term was about! I wanted to explore TWO very basic concepts last term:

- i) IDENTITY
- ii) PERSPECTIVE

Sociology offers perspectives on how identity is created, developed and maintained in society. Early sociologists of sport were criticised for restricting their sociological analysis to WITHIN sport and for failing to locate sport in a wider social and cultural context. (You may recall that this was the kind of criticism that Jenny Hargreaves and John Hargreaves made.)

We considered a number of perspectives last term and ended with a discussion of INTERPRETIVE PERSPECTIVES and the significance attached to MEANING. Some sociology textbooks talk about meaning as VERSTEHEN.

This term I want you to try to make critical use of your knowledge of perspectives (at this stage even knowing that there are different perspectives is important). I want us to explore:

- i) Participation in sport
- ii) Sport as a social institution
- iii) Some ethical issues raised by the sociological study of sport

By the end of the course I hope you will be aware of the sociological significance of sport in society. We will need to consider the importance of the following sociological terms:

- social processes
- social institutions
- social status
- social interaction
- social norms
- socialisation
- culture
- 'normal' behaviour
- 'deviant' behaviour

Do you remember Peter Berger saying that the sociologist is an inveterate snoop? What kind of snoop or detective you are in sociology depends on the tools you use. Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1971:14) in The Social Construction of Reality (Penguin University Books) suggest that:

The man in the street does not ordinarily trouble himself about what is real to him and about what he knows unless he is stopped short by some sort of problem. He takes his reality and his knowledge for granted. The sociologist cannot do this if only because of his systematic awareness of the fact that men in the street take quite different realities for granted as between one society and another.

They argue that 'reality' is socially constructed and that sociology must analyse the process in which this occurs.

#### A Programme for the Term

I hope the following programme will enable us to challenge some of the reality we take for granted:

- i) Growing Up In and Through Sport
- ii) Schooling and Social Differentiation
- iii) Sport, Body Image and Commodification
- iv) The Female Athlete
- v) The Black Athlete
- vi) Sport as Ritual
- vii) Sport and the Media
- viii) Folk Devils and Moral Panics
- ix) The Role of the State in Sport
- x) Sociological Perspectives Revisited
- xi) Sport as a socially constructed reality?

The essence of this year's sociology of sport course is:

to understand the micro social systems which help and hinder sports participation

to understand and explain the role and importance of sport as a social institution

to debate ethical and social issues surrounding sport

### The Female Athlete

Last week we discussed briefly the issue of sport, the body and commodification. In today's discussion I want to suggest that even to have a title The Female Athlete indicates a particular set of relationships in sport.

Back in October when we first met I mentioned that the sociological imagination was about linking private troubles and public issues. In today's topic I want to suggest that despite the access you enjoy to sport there are gender barriers to sporting involvement and that such involvement is framed within an ideology of patriarchal relationships.

#### 2. What is the Problem?

According to the Sports Council female participation in sport increased between the years 1962 and 1988 for both indoor and outdoor sports.

... But participation rates are still half those of males.

Margaret Talbot writing in the National Coaching Foundation's Coaching Focus suggests that:

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.

#### 3. Sex, Gender, Opportunity, Power

We ought to distinguish immediately between '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 <u>but does not necessarily ask questions about the nature of sport itself</u> . In Michael Young's phrase this is an example of TAKING not MAKING a problem.
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If you are prepared to make sport a problem (one of those public issues of the sociological imagination) then your analysis might focus on:

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.

I have mentioned the possibilities of a feminist critique of the sociology of sport through the example of 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. What do you think are the visible examples of this control? (I tend to think about the Olympic Games as an example of this.)

Some writers argue that barriers to female involvement in sport are mythologised. There are increasing numbers of feminist accounts of sport now to challenge these myths. But such social constructions have the force of history and culture behind them. As sociologists I think we are about unpicking this history and culture link.

How do societies enable/disable involvement in sport? Last week I mentioned briefly the sexual division of labour and the domesticity expectations. At the risk of remaking the same point: why should societies allocate specific roles to specific people? Can sport have a practice that goes beyond rhetoric?

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.

Their work and that of other feminists invites us to question the:

1. Imputed psychological characteristics of female athletes
2. Biological/physiological vulnerability
3. The social construction of roles and expectations

Do you have any personal experience of these three aspects? Perhaps we could briefly discuss them?

Do you think that sexism pervades sport?

Next week I would like to discuss race and sport. I wonder if we will be able to utilise the same framework for analysis?

Perhaps we could conclude today with a consideration of the strategies that might be used to enhance female sport. Three options would seem to be: co-option; separation; co-operation.

SPORTS SOCIOLOGY 2  
Wednesday 12 February 1992

### The Black Athlete

Last week we discussed briefly The Female Athlete. I suggested that to have a lecture topic entitled that indicated a particular set of relationships in sport. The same applies to today's topic.

Once again, I want to link private troubles and public issues. I want to suggest that despite the rhetoric of access to sport there are barriers to sporting involvement and that such involvement is framed within an ideology of racism. By this I mean to suggest that people's lived experience of sport is structured by skin colour and ethnic background. I would like to draw attention to evidence from three nation states: United Kingdom, United States of America and South Africa.

Societies are differentiated and ideologies legitimise this differentiation. Imagine having two characteristics that are used as a means of discrimination: the black female athlete. What are the sporting chances of such a person? The rhetoric of sport would suggest she has the same chances as anyone in society.

#### 2. What is the Problem?

Sports sociology tries to identify 'problems' in sport. Just as gender is a visible means of differentiating people so too is the colour of our skin. There are numbers of conspicuous examples of successful Afro-Caribbean athletes. What is interesting is that the success of these athletes is disproportionate to their relative numbers in the population.

As sociologists how are we to explain this success?

1. Is it an example of innate ability?
2. Is it an example of racism?

Sport might be used as a means of perpetuating and reinforcing racial stereotypes and racial inequality rather than being the 'realm of freedom' that some claim. Ernest Cashmore and Bruce Carrington have both indicated the racist structure of sport in this country and would be an interesting starting point for your reading.

But how do you account for black success? One author, Martin Kane, writing in Sports Illustrated in the 1960s accounted for such success in biological terms. He suggested that black

athletes were superior because of physiological, psychological and historical factors. Compare this essentially biological account of the 'natural' qualities of black athletes with our discussion of the female athlete.

Such biological accounts are socially constructed and then 'naturalised' by people's practice in sport. Bruce Carrington, for example, has talked about people being 'side-tracked' by racial stereotypes whilst other commentators point to the 'stacking' of black athletes in particular sports.

Ernest Cashmore in his study of Black Sportsmen (note the title) gives a detailed rebuttal to Martin Kane's arguments and you should have a look at this. In essence he argues that evidence of physiological and psychological superiority is selective and assumes an homogeneity amongst black athletes that ignores differences between such athletes. This is exactly the same kind of argument about female involvement in sport.

What if educators, particularly physical educators, act on this biological argument? Bruce Carrington and Oliver Leaman have written about just this process. They suggest that schools can reproduce, often unwittingly, ethnic marginality. If blacks are channelled into sport you can imagine the implications of this for their employment prospects.

Is it extreme to see such differentiation as a means of providing black gladiators?

Studies of racism in sport have pointed to:

1. Stacking - the over-representation of players in specific positions within teams
2. Centrality - levels of interaction with other team members that demand qualities of leadership, decision-making, intelligence, intra-team co-ordination - power and authority over playing strategy.

In America, research into baseball and football has indicated the existence of stacking. But soccer in the UK has also been discussed as an example of stacking. For example, Maguire (1988) has suggested that in the 1985-1986 season, of the 111 black footballers in the Football League:

Less than one percent were goalkeepers  
51% were forwards

With regard to the centrality thesis, there appeared to be an underrepresentation of blacks in midfield positions.

Do you think this holds for other sports in this country?  
For a discussion of some of these issues see Joe Maguire's chapter in Grant Jarvie (ed) Sport and Ethnicity (Falmer, 1988)

In the remaining part of the session I would like to talk thematically about race and sport and discuss experience of sport

in the UK, USA and South Africa. It may be that as a result of posing race and ethnicity as problems in the sociology of sport we confront our own stereotypical behaviour and expectations. It is evident, I think, that both race and gender structure access to and expectations of sport.

After your well earned break next week I want to talk about the role of the media in sport and its link with sport as ritual. If you are not too busy, have a look at how the Winter Olympics are presented on TV and in the newspapers.

## SPORTS SOCIOLOGY 2

Wednesday, 26 February 1992

### Sport as Ritual and Mediated Accounts of Sport

In today's meeting I want to link the ritual aspects of sport to mediated accounts of sport. In the 1990s we learn about sport all over the world as it happens. The Winter Olympics provide an interesting case study of the links between ritual and reporting.

Why should the Olympic Games be of interest to us given the absence of snow from most of our lives?

How do societies/cultures come to agree about significant forms of sporting experience?

I hope that today we can address these kind of issues. Fred Inglis in his book The Name of The Game suggests that societies flourish on moments of mutual recognition. The example he uses is the way people felt in England (Britain?) after England won the 1966 World Cup Final in football.

### 2. Ritual as Symbolic Interaction

Sociologists and anthropologists are interested in the social bonds that are formed in societies and cultures. Allen Guttman (1978) analyses the development of modern sport as a move from the sacred rituals of classical Greece to the secular forms we recognise. He suggests that:

The bond between the secular and the sacred has been broken... We do not run in order that the earth be more fertile. We till the earth, or work in our factories and offices, so that we can have time to play. (1978:26)

He notes that even in classical times the ritual aspects of the Olympic festivals became part of everyday life rather than as a separate sacred event.

Anthropologists have provided detailed accounts of rituals in a range of societies. Clifford Geertz, for example, has provided information about Pacific cultures. Norman Scotch has given a memorable account of the rituals undertaken by urban Zulu footballers in South Africa. For a collection of these accounts

you might want to have a look at Roberta Park's (ed) book Play, Games and Sports. Some of the early sociology of sport textbooks drew upon anthropological accounts and you might find it interesting to have a look at the first edition of John Loy and Gerry Kenyon's (eds) book Sport, Culture and Society.

Perhaps we could spend a short time discussing how rituals can become secular and how our understanding of them is mediated for us particularly by television.

I wonder what you know about American Football and Sumo wrestling?

### 3. Sport and the Media

It makes sense I think to combine a discussion of ritual with an account of the media. When we talk about folk devils and moral panics I want to draw your attention to what some sociologists term amplification. For the moment, I would like you to consider the following quotation taken from a diploma course for coaches written by Charles Jenkins (1991). Note that it refers to television.

After you have read the quotation/extract I would like to discuss two important aspects of our mediated or documentary reality:

text

narrative

Some suggested reading:

You might find some of the following of interest in reading about the media:

From the Charles Jenkins quote the references are to be found in

Gary Whannel    Television and Sport... in Frank Kew (ed) Social Scientific Perspectives on Sport, BASS Monograph 2, 1990

You might also find the following of interest:

John & Alan Clarke    'Highlights and Action Replays' in Jennifer Hargreaves (ed), Sport, Culture and Ideology (1984).

John Hargreaves Sport, Power and Culture, chapter 4, pp138-162.

L A Wenner (ed) Media, Sports and Society, 1989.

For next week you might want to have a look at the appropriately titled book by Stan Cohen entitled Folk Devils and Moral Panics. You might also see how television and newspapers create and sustain identities and images.

SPORTS SOCIOLOGY 2  
Wednesday 4 March 1992

### Folk Devils and Moral Panics

Today's notes are very brief! I hope we can spend some time discussing folk devils and moral panics. Do you think the spectators at soccer games at Birmingham and West Ham realised we would be discussing these matters and therefore wanted to provide us with some evidence?

What I would like to say is that within the last week we have been provided with considerable media comment about two of our themes:

Bidding for the Olympic Games

Disorder at Sporting Events

From what we have discussed so far, I hope you will construe these events as mediated.

But before we go any further, perhaps we ought to discuss your research! Do you recall being invited last week to try to look at two news bulletins?

I hope that we can talk about the structure and content of the news programmes. By looking constructively at the packaging of news we can start to get a sense of how news items are created. It will be interesting in the case of disorder, for example, to see how events are narrated.

Karl Marx, writing in 1871, observed that:

The daily press and the telegraph fabricate more myths in one day that could have formerly been done in a century.

## 2. Folk Devils and Moral Panics

I had hoped you would have access to Stan Cohen's 1980 book Folk Devils and Moral Panics for today's session. It is an important account of how society deals with perceived threats to its stability. His work and that of Stuart Hall has been influential in drawing attention to the manufactured nature of news images.

Stuart Hall wrote in 1978 that:

The sports pages don't simply reflect sport, they order the world of sport in terms of a league table of significance. But behind this end result lie the practices and the routines of journalism, newspaper editing and presentation. Here we encounter the selection and presentation process.

What I hope we can start to do is to unpick this process. One way is to use a Thames TV video recorded in 1985 entitled 'Hooligan'.

## SPORTS SOCIOLOGY

Wednesday 18 March 1992

### Twentieth Century Structures of Sport in Britain: Links with the Nation State

I have tried to follow a developmental structure in planning your sociology course. At present I am trying to get us towards a disciplined account of participation in sport by looking at the historical roots of sport.

As sociologists, I want to encourage you to think about how and why organisations emerge, develop and persist. You might find the following references helpful:

I T Elvin	(1990)	<u>Sport and Physical Recreation</u> , Longmans
J F Coughlan	(1990)	<u>Sport and British Politics</u> , Falmer
D Howell	(1990)	<u>Made in Birmingham</u> , Queen Anne Press

One task we can accomplish is to get a sense of the structures of sport in Britain of which one commentator has written:

The organisation and administration of British sport is a

complex, some would say fragmented structure, which has grown piecemeal since the middle of the 19th century.

There are three major sectors:

1. The voluntary
2. The public
3. The commercial

The Sports Council receives and channels government financed grants into sport and has a general co-ordinating function. Recently, see for example The Guardian 3 March 1992, the Sports Council has expressed concern about the funding of British sport.

I would like to spend a short time identifying some of the features of the above sectors and discuss how sociology can question and make sense of organised sport. In particular, it will be interesting to consider how sport takes place within a nation state and how ideology mediates our experience of sport. For a detailed discussion of this see John Hoberman's book Sport and Political Ideology. If we are bold we can even start to talk about the ways in which sport articulates with society.

We have discussed very briefly the organisation of sport in the nineteenth century. I think this is a good point to take up today's theme. In particular, I would like to discuss the importance to be attached to amateurism and voluntarism.

## 2. The Voluntary Sector

One estimate suggests there are 150,000 sports clubs in the UK, representing 6.5 million members in over 100 sports. These clubs are run by 500,000 voluntary officials. Do they concentrate on performance and excellence as well as promote mass involvement?

One way of responding to this question is to use your sociological expertise and undertake what we could call a modified ethnography. This should give us a micro-perspective on sport. However we may also want a macro-perspective and look at how clubs survive within current arrangements. How does government policy affect sport: do we need to be aware of a political economy of sport? For example, there is some concern that the uniform business rate and compulsory competitive tendering will recast the sporting map in the 1990s.

By relating the micro to the macro we might be able to consider how sports involvement has a social, economic and political cost. Who prioritises these? Since November 1990, the Minister for Sport (Robert Atkins) has been located within the Department of Education and Science. Earlier this month, the Government announced funds of £55 million for Manchester's bid to host the Olympic Games in 2000. This will be overseen by the Secretary of State for the Environment (Michael Heseltine).

Individual clubs are linked in governing bodies of sport. Governing bodies have been encouraged by the Sports Council to promote and develop participation in sport. In 1988 the Sports Council allocated almost 20% of its funds for development officers. Some of these posts are jointly funded by local government.

There are also a number of composite sports bodies with which you ought to be acquainted: Central Council for Physical Education (CCPR), British Olympic Association (BOA) and the National Coaching Foundation (NCF).

## 3. Public sector involvement in Sport

I want to signal here the national and local role of government in sport. We live in a nation state that through its democratic constitution makes and enforces laws. The national government allocates funds to sport directly through the Sports Council and indirectly through the funding of local government. Within the past two weeks there has also been discussion of the potential of a national lottery to generate a billion pounds to support sport and the arts.

There is a fundamental tension here. Sports administrators want more funding for sport yet want to retain autonomy over its spending plans. Since such monies are raised by public taxation, governments have a mandate for stewardship over such monies. Once again The Guardian article 3 March 1992 is an illuminating account of this tension.

For an interesting discussion of the concept of recreational welfare see F Coalter Rational for Public Sector Investment in Leisure (Sports Council 1986).

#### 4. The Sports Council

Rather than provide a detailed account of the Sports Council I want to encourage you to have a look at Sport in the Community (1988). For the moment I would like to provide some historical context about the emergence of the Sports Council. I hope this will encourage us to consider some of the important sociological issues about how societies and cultures privilege sport.

#### 5. Political Economies of Sport

One of the significant academic debates about sport and the state has been stimulated by Marxist theorists. I want to alert you to the arguments about sport in the work of Jean Marie Brohm, Richard Gruneau, Hart Cantelon and John Hargreaves.

Sport takes place against the backcloth of a world system of states in which capitalist enterprise is in the ascendancy.

#### SPORT SOCIOLOGY II SUMMER TERM 1992

Welcome back to College and the Sociology course. Our focus this term will be to pull together the strands of your course and to look forward to the exam! In our first term together, I wanted to explore with you TWO very basic concepts: IDENTITY and PERSPECTIVE.

Sociology offers perspectives on how identity is created, developed and maintained in society. Sociology of sport does the same for our involvement in sport. Early sociologists of sport were criticised for restricting their sociological analysis to WITHIN sport and for failing to locate sport in a wider social and cultural context. We have considered a number of perspectives.

This term I want to encourage you to try to make critical use of your knowledge of perspectives. By the end of the course I hope you will be aware of the sociological significance of sport in society. We will need to recap the importance of the following sociological terms:

- social processes
- social institutions
- social status
- social interaction
- social norms
- socialisation
- culture
- 'normal' behaviour

'deviant' behaviour

Do you remember that these were terms in your course outline and were included in some notes for our first meeting in the Spring Term. Do you also recall the suggestion Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann made in their book The Social Construction of Reality (Penguin University Books, 1971) that:

The man in the street does not ordinarily trouble himself about what is real to him and about what he knows unless he is stopped short by some sort of problem. He takes his reality and his knowledge for granted. The sociologist cannot do this if only because of his systematic awareness of the fact that men in the street take quite different realities for granted as between one society and another. (1971:14)

They argue that 'reality' is socially constructed and that sociology must analyse the process in which this occurs.

In this year's sociology of sport course the learning outcomes are intended to be:

to understand the micro social systems which help and hinder sports participation

to understand and explain the role and importance of sport as a social institution

to debate ethical and social issues surrounding sport

Today, I want to encourage you/us to reflect on how such learning outcomes can be addressed by reflecting on your poster work. I would like to discuss the concepts of:

self  
society  
personal troubles  
public issues  
consciousness  
a sociological framework  
concepts and theories  
evidence  
explanation and understanding

I enjoyed your poster presentations and I was impressed by the way you invested effort into your chosen topic. If the process of that experience can be used to further a general understanding of the sociology of sport then the learning objectives/outcomes for the course can be addressed.

What did you make of the one page photocopy of the research into gay PE teachers?