

RESEARCH IN

EDITORS

IRENA MARTÍNKOVÁ

JIM PARRY

ALBERTO REINALDO

REPPOLD FILHO

**PHYSICAL
EDUCATION
AND SPORT
IN THE CZECH
REPUBLIC AND BRAZIL**



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ESPORTE PLURAL

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Sport is a crucial component of contemporary society, increasingly assuming economic, political and social importance in the lives of people and communities.

All over the world, the media devote considerable time and space to sport on a daily basis. The financial resources generated by sporting events in the form of sponsorship, broadcasting rights and ticket sales are enormous.

The participation of governments has also increased. Many countries currently have ministries and secretariats to deal with sports policies. In many places, sport integrates health, education and cultural policies.

The scientific community devotes great attention to sport. There are many studies that have sport as a central theme. Ordinary citizens are also interested in the subject, seeking information, wanting to discuss and express their opinions.

With the purpose of promoting studies and debates about sport from a multidisciplinary perspective, the Center for Olympic and Paralympic Studies of the School of Physical Education, Physiotherapy and Dance – ESEFID of the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul – UFRGS has created the *Esporte Plural Series*.

The Series celebrates the 80th anniversary of ESEFID-UFRGS.

Alberto Reinaldo Reppold Filho
Series Editor

SERIES FOREWORD

The Esporte Plural Series is an exciting endeavour that brings together scholars from various countries and academic disciplines with a common interest: unveiling the secrets that make sport a central element of the contemporary world. They are philosophers, scientists and educators, all committed to academic work of the highest quality.

The editors of each thematic volume offer us a rich and multifaceted view of sport, bringing together authors from different theoretical traditions and methodological approaches in the composition of this work commemorating the 80th anniversary of the School of Physical Education, Physiotherapy and Dance – ESEFID, of the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul – UFRGS.

The series embodies a trajectory of joint work that has placed Brazilian scholars and colleagues from other countries side by side in an effort of academic internationalization. This fruitful relationship affirms mutual commitments and materializes in this book series organized by the Center for Olympic and Paralympic Studies.

I congratulate the ESEFID-UFRGS for its 80th anniversary and wish you enjoyable and productive readings.

Ricardo Demétrio de Souza Petersen
Director of ESEFID

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PREFACE

As I received the honorable invitation to preface this book commemorating the 80th anniversary of the School of Physical Education, Physiotherapy and Dance of the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul – ESEFID UFRGS, written jointly by academics and educators from the state of Rio Grande do Sul and the Czech Republic, I found myself transported to another time, when I was still young, taking the Physical Education course at this institution. I remembered with affection the teachers and colleagues and the many moments of learning and fellowship in the sports courts and classrooms. Being formed by the then ESEF, I was able over the years to follow the growth of the Physical Education course and, more recently, I received with satisfaction the news of the creation of the Dance and Physiotherapy courses.

In 2015, when I took over as Honorary Consul of the Czech Republic in Rio Grande do Sul, a Memorandum of Interaction and Integration between Rio Grande do Sul and the Czech Republic was signed. On that occasion, strategic areas of bilateral interests were mapped out. Education and culture stood out in this scenario as elements that form ties and affinities between gauchos (the state demonym) and Czechs. This identification can be felt among the communities and associations of Czech descendants present in several municipalities of Rio Grande do Sul (Porto Alegre, São Leopoldo, Nova Petrópolis, Venâncio Aires, Missões, among others). These communities, while proudly preserving the roots and histories of their ancestors, constitute a fundamental part of the ethnic-cultural mosaic of Rio Grande do Sul.

My pleasure in prefacing this book is completed by the close relationship it has with the arrival in Brazil of my grandfather, Francisco Valdomiro Lorenz, in 1893. He chose the city of Dom Feliciano, in the countryside of Rio Grande do Sul, as his new home. In this tiny locality, he worked for years on the farm, founded a small primary school and gave classes to his beloved students. Today, he is recognized for his unusual linguistic skills and mastery, and for the more than 72 books he has written, with an emphasis on universal values and the culture of peace.

In 2020, the academic cooperation between ESEFID UFRGS and UK FTVS (the Faculty of Physical Education and Sport of Charles University,

Prague) materialized in this work *Research in Physical Education and Sport in the Czech Republic and Brazil*, which strengthens the ties between these renowned universities and projects a future of joint achievements.

Congratulations and long life to ESEFID UFRGS!

Fernando Lorenz de Azevedo

Honorary Consul of the Czech Republic in Porto Alegre

Executive President of the Consular Association of Rio Grande do Sul

INTRODUCTION

This book is the result of long-term academic cooperation, beginning in 2011, between two universities in the Czech Republic and Brazil – between the Faculty of Physical Education and Sport, Charles University (UK FTVS) situated in Prague, and the School of Physical Education, Physiotherapy and Dance, Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS ESEFID) situated in Porto Alegre.

Cooperation began in the form of an exchange of ideas in philosophy, the humanities and the social sciences, as a result of academic visits in both directions, and the successful collaboration that ensued from those academic exchanges led to the signature of an inter-university Memorandum of Understanding in 2015.

The main aim of the book is to introduce central themes and selected issues from the study of movement culture, that characterize and represent the research specialisms of both Faculties. So the book presents a set of research topics from each Faculty in the areas of philosophy, history, anthropology and the social sciences applied to sport.

In Part I, *Research in Physical Education and Sport in the Czech Republic*, researchers from UK FTVS present topics from Czech movement culture, based on various approaches and methodologies. The umbrella discipline for their research is called in Czechia “Kinanthropology”, which is a multi-disciplinary field of knowledge that studies the human being with respect to movement. (There is no unanimously-agreed term for this field around the world – in some countries it is called, for example, “human movement studies”, “human kinetics”, “sport sciences” or “kinesiology”).

From the historical perspective, the opening chapter by Marek Waic discusses the historic-cultural background of the development of physical education and sport in post-war Czechoslovakia. The author describes the seizure of power by the communist regime and emphasizes the role of the Sokol (literally translated as “Falcon”) movement, the largest physical education organization in the country, based on democratic principles, in the political development of the country. He then describes the era of the communist

regime and its direct state control of physical education and sport, mentioning a number of aspects: the development of army sport under Dukla, which was reorganized in the 1950s; the introduction of the first post-war Spartakiad, that was similar to Sokol's mass physical exercise events, but backed by a different ideology; and finally the foundation of the Czechoslovak Union of Physical Education – the organization that was formed to control and represent the whole physical education movement. He also mentions the origin of the Institute of Physical Education and Sport, that was a predecessor of UK FTVS.

In Chapter 2, from the philosophical perspective, Irena Martínková, Jim Parry and Petr Kříž provide an account of the development of phenomenological philosophy (sometimes called “continental philosophy”) and its application to Kinanthropology. This is characteristic of Czech philosophy of sport, and it has made a significant contribution to the international perspective. The chapter introduces various topics that have been addressed primarily by phenomenology (such as death, time, the body, and authenticity) and which have been analysed within Czech sport philosophy with reference to the views of various phenomenologist. Sport philosophy (both analytical and phenomenological disciplines) was one of the first areas of expertise that led to our long-term cooperation when, from March-April 2012, a course was developed on Philosophy of Sport for doctoral and postgraduate students at UFRGS.

Pavel Slepíčka, Irena Slepíčková and Jiří Mudrák discuss the contemporary topic of doping, especially with respect to children and youth. This chapter is based on a project “Doping among Czech Adolescents: Prevalence, Correlates and Experience”, financed by the World Anti-Doping Agency and carried out at the Faculty in the years 2014-2016. The research project was designed to obtain data related to doping abuse among Czech adolescents involved in both competitive and recreational sports, and its main objective was to discover which psychosocial phenomena are important in adolescent doping. The chapter presents the prevalence of doping in Czech youth, the role of motivation and motivational orientation to abusive doping, potential correlations between self-determination and a tendency to use doping, and attitudes towards doping.

In Chapter 4, Irena Slepíčková and Pavel Slepíčka discuss one of the major phenomena of contemporary Czech movement culture – running. They do so in the context of a general explanation of the main features of sport development as a global social phenomenon, including the political, social and economic

factors influencing the role and organization of sport in Czechoslovakia since its early modern forms until present times, especially in the past 30 years of an independent Czech Republic. Specific attention is paid to long-distance races for the general public, as an example of the increasing privatization and professionalization of sport in the Czech Republic.

The field of outdoor activities has a long and honorable tradition in Czechia, and has developed into an important part of movement culture, taking very specific local forms and introducing innovations. In Chapter 5, Ivana Turčová and Jan Neuman describe its development from its beginnings, explaining the roots of outdoor education in the Czech lands, and its development after 1989. In particular, they introduce and explain the Czech concept of *turistika*, which is unique internationally, bringing together movement, learning and aesthetic experiences. They describe its incorporation into the Department of Outdoor Sports at UK FTVS as the course *Turistika and Outdoor Sports*, which has been compulsory for FTVS physical education and sport students since 1954, and serves as a model course for future physical education teachers and coaches, which they can use in their work with children and youth. They also discuss problems with the full range of “outdoors” terminology that is used in the field internationally.

The final Czech chapter is from the field of adapted physical activities, bringing to light some of the hidden history of disability sport. A team of five researchers – Irena Martínková, Jim Parry, Jitka Vařeková, Klára Dadřová and Roman Reismüller present an account of the development of the Kladruby Games in Czechoslovakia. These were games for people with physical disabilities (primarily World War II veterans), which were founded in 1948 by Vojmír Srdečný, just before Ludwig Guttman’s Stoke Mandeville Games, and which celebrated their 100th edition in 2017. It is important to emphasize that the primary goal of both games was to promote sport as part of the healing process for patients with disabilities, emphasizing rehabilitation and socialization. Thus, their foundational concepts differed from the currently more familiar Paralympic Games, in their emphasis on social, recreational and rehabilitation values, rather than on elite sport performance.

In Part II, *Research in Physical Education and Sport in Brazil*, researchers from UFRGS present topics from various disciplines, approaches and methodologies, and illustrate the range of research groupings at ESEFID.

In the first Brazilian chapter, Janice Zarpellon Mazo and Mônica Fagundes

Dantas of the *Sports Memory Centre* (CEME) at UFRGS explore the influence of Dalcroze's gymnastics in the Institute of Physical Culture (IPC) in Porto Alegre in the first ten years after its founding in 1928. In the context of the interactions between gymnastics and dance, evident in Europe in the different approaches of Mary Wigman's Dance Gymnastics (*Tanz-gymnastik*) and Rudolf Bode's Expression Gymnastics (*Ausdrucksgymnastik*), they outline the roles of the founders of the IPC, Mina Black and Nenê Bercht, who also administered and taught at this centre for the teaching of physical activities for women. Given basic assumptions about the role of rhythm in both gymnastics and dance, the authors seek to comprehend the influence of the Dalcroze method in the early years of the IPC.

In chapter 8, Adroaldo Gaya of the research group *Brazil Sport Project* at UFRGS, a project focused on sport and physical education for children and youth, asks the question that we must all ask, if we work in a sport and physical education context: what is physical education? He begins by outlining some previous definitional attempts from various countries – France, Belgium, Germany, Denmark, USA, Spain and Portugal – before commenting on developments in Brazil over the past 40 years. His own account insists that, primarily, physical education is education, rooted in concrete pedagogical practice, as a normative discipline relying on assumptions in philosophical anthropology as well as insights from the empirical sciences.

Chapter 9 examines the idea of “old school masculinity”. Humberto Luis Cesaro and Alex Branco Fraga investigate honour and virtue in bodybuilding in a working class gym, as an example of more than ten years' developmental work at POLIFES – the research group *Education Policies in Physical Education and Health*, under the Graduate Programme in Human Movement Sciences at UFRGS. The research team studied a group of working-class men in Brazil, who remained faithful to norms of an old-fashioned masculinity, whilst sculpting their bodies through weightlifting. This was evidenced by their reluctance to admit to their healthy eating habits, since this is often thought to be a female concern, and their rejection of drug-taking, since this was seen as a fraudulent and dishonorable means of developing muscle mass.

In chapter 10, Silvana Vilodre Goellner and Christiane Garcia Macedo, of the *Sports Memory Centre* (CEME) at UFRGS, show the importance of “spaces of memory” for collective representations of identity, curating and providing free access to physical and sporting practices in Brazil.

Here, they report on a particular Oral History Programme, the “Digging Memories” Project, which is concerned with the production and preservation of sports archives in the digital age. The authors reflect on theoretical and methodological issues, and illustrate the value of utilizing newly-available digital media technology in order to record the memories and narratives of individuals groups. By collecting and preserving oral histories, the Centre enables the creation of alternative sources of information for interpretation.

Chapter 11 assesses the contribution of the Brazilian College of Sport Sciences(CBCE) to epistemological pluralism in the area of physical education in Brazil. The authorial team of Vicente Molina Neto, Denise Grosso da Fonseca, Lisandra Oliveira e Silva, Jessica Seraphim Frasson and Elisandro Schultz Wittizorecki, all members of the research group *Qualitative Studies on Teacher Education and Pedagogical Practice in Physical Education and Sport Sciences* at UFRGS, have commented in three sections: (i) an overview of the recent history of the CBCE; (ii) the role of new information and communication technologies in the production and legitimization of knowledge; (iii) epistemological pluralism and conceptual innovations in Brazilian physical education.

In Chapter 12, Mauro Myskiw, Raquel da Silveira and Marco Paulo Stigger also investigate issues related to knowledge production – in the field of sociocultural studies of sport “in leisure”, at the *Group of Sociocultural Studies in Physical Education* at UFRGS, which seeks to understand sportive practices experienced in situations of leisure, by ordinary people in their daily lives, rather than elite commercial sport. They developed a series of ethnographic studies of groups in their own sports spaces, seeking to make the particularities and the diverse processes of cultural production intelligible, and they observed issues such as aging, youth, generation, identity, gender, sexuality, socialization, public management and policy. Their work insists upon, and illustrates, the importance of studying sportive living in the leisure context.

Chapter 13 assesses the economic impacts of the Rio 2016 Olympics. In the study, Cássia Damiani, Alberto Reinaldo Reppold Filho, Marcos Jorge de Lima, Felipe Marchetti and Christiano Guedes, researchers from the UFRGS Center for Olympic and Paralympic Studies, examined reports and other documents produced by those directly involved in the Games, especially studies commissioned by the former Ministry of Sport. Although it is a preliminary study, based on the analysis of specific economic indicators

and sectors, the results indicate that public and private expenditures and investments made in the Rio 2016 Olympics brought short-term gains for the country and the city of Rio de Janeiro. The authors highlight, however, that these events also brought negative consequences.

The completion of this work required the participation and collaboration of many people. We would like to express our gratitude to all contributors for having submitted high quality articles reflecting the research landscape on physical education and sport in their countries and fields of expertise.

We are also grateful to the Board of Directors, academics, staff and students of UK FTVS and UFRGS ESEFID for their support and participation in the academic activities undertaken jointly by the two institutions over the 10 years of partnership and especially in the production of this book. In this respect, it is important to highlight that all the chapters written by UK FTVS academics have been written with institutional support from Charles University grants Progres Q19 and/or Progres Q41.

Finally, we would like to congratulate the UFRGS ESEFID for its 80th anniversary and wish you enjoyable readings.

Irena Martínková

Jim Parry

Alberto Reinaldo Reppold Filho

Editors

PART I

RESEARCH IN PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SPORT IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

1. CHANGES IN PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SPORT IN THE CONTEXT OF THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF POST-WAR CZECHOSLOVAKIA 1945-1989

MAREK WAIC

Introduction

After long and tough years of Nazi occupation, the inhabitants of Czechoslovakia believed that the restored Czechoslovakia would cope with traitors and collaborators, limit the corruption and power of political parties, and provide its inhabitants with more social justice. There was a strong urge to create a true national integrity. It was the communists who were the most perceptive in detecting this public expectation and who managed to satisfy it. During the interwar period, they ostentatiously manifested leftist extremism, which led to the removal of parliamentary democracy and the establishment of “the dictatorship of the proletariat” under the patronage of Moscow, whereas after World War II they disguised themselves as a state nationalist party. This resulted in their unconditional victory during the 1946 elections in Bohemia.

Despite the heavy electoral loss in Slovakia, their rise to absolute power was not slowed down at all. On their way to absolute power, the communists were threatened by various obstacles, one of them being various sport, physical education, tourist and scouting groups. They were organized, and influenced the opinions of more than 2 million members. They were, except for the communist groups, based exclusively on democratic principles, their management being firmly anchored in parliamentary democracy. That is why the communists focused on sports and physical education to such a large extent.

Czechoslovak physical education and sport 1945-1957

By far the largest and publicly acknowledged physical education organization was Czech Sokol Organization (*Československá obec sokolská*

– ČOS). During the interwar era, the number of its members tripled from a quarter million to more than three quarters of a million, playing the most significant role in the organization of life in interwar Czechoslovakia. During World War II, many of its members joined the resistance movement against the Nazis, the group Jindra even participating in the assassination of Deputy Reich-Protector Reinhard Heydrich. In 1947, there were more than one million Sokol members – 567,850 adult men and women, 130,433 teenagers and 303,355 children (Museum of Physical Education and Sports Archive, f. Sokol). Thanks to their attitude and resistance, Sokols gained even higher respect within Czech society.

After World War II the main principles for Sokol remained a nation-wide focus and superiority to the party politics of the Sokol organization. That is why on May 27, 1947 the board members of ČOS requested all political parties to take proper care to avoid the use of the name “Sokol” during political agitation and to avoid using the names of politicians with their Sokol function.

A significant change in the attitude of the Sokol board towards political parties, especially the communists, came after World War II. During the First Republic, recruiting new Sokol members from amongst communists had been strictly forbidden, however, they were warmly welcomed to Sokol after World War II. The reason for that was a shift in politics within Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (*Komunistická strana Československa – KSČ*). As Antonín Hřebík stated: “they used to be international, we used to be national. That excluded one another. Nowadays they are a national and state-forming party” (National Archive, f. ČOS, lib. 280. Debate transcription 14/12/1946).

The Sokol board probably realized that the positive attitude towards state and nation, so abruptly and ostentatiously manifested by communists, was just a disguise – a new tactic in their effort to seize power. Nevertheless, as the Sokols were leaning to nation-wide reconciliation, they could only hardly ban the recruitment of communists who verbally identified with the political system of parliamentary democracy. This evident shift of attitude of the Sokol board caused the Malá Strana Sokol unit in Prague to welcome a new member, the chairman of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Prime Minister, Klement Gottwald. In October 1947, Gottwald gave a speech at the VIII ČOS Congress, addressing the Sokol members to “be a true guard, moral and defensive, of our great national ambitions. That is against

those who, as Tyrš says, tardily and short-sightedly defend old opinions on which they base their physical existence, i.e. against the reactions powers” (Transcription from the VIII ČOS Congress, 1948, p. 21). Tyrš had never said anything like this, but the communist leader did not hesitate to appeal to anybody, when the party interests could be advanced.

This poses the question of why all the political party leaders insinuated themselves into the favour of Sokol. As stated before, the number of Sokol members reached one million and Sokol was highly esteemed by the whole society. In terms of its inner structure, the Sokol organization remained, even after World War II, a deeply democratic group, its members incessantly emphasizing their readiness to defend democracy as a fundamental principle of the Czechoslovakian state. This raised anxiety amongst the communists. Simultaneously, they were fully aware that they could not, under their temporary disguise focusing exclusively on nation-wide goals, attack Sokol directly, as it was publicly accepted as a non-party organization. For that reason, they decided to weaken Sokol’s defense of democracy from the inside.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia became the most eager supporter of unifying all Czechoslovakian sports, physical education and scouting organizations into one Czechoslovakian Sokol group. Thus, the communists wanted to diffuse the Sokol ideology and weaken it by disuniting the Sokol leadership. For most Sokol members, the very idea of unification corresponded to their idea of the future development of sports and physical education in Czechoslovakia. After the Munich Agreement signed by four powers in September 1938, resulting in the subsequent occupation of the rest of Czechoslovakia and Moravia, there was a strong feeling within Czech society that the main cause of this catastrophe was the disunity of interwar Czechoslovakia. Unification was to be achieved by a newly created Central National Committee for Physical Education (*Ústřední národní tělovýchovný výbor – ÚNTV*).

Ironically, the Sokol organization would probably, although unwillingly, have shifted towards the left after the unification in 1945-6, if it were not for other organizations. Not all of those wanted to enter a unified Sokol organization. From the very beginning, the so-called organic union project was rejected by catholic Orel representatives. For Catholics, joining liberal Sokol under increasing communist influence would be a nightmare, a pact

with the devil. The Orel members were joined by representatives of the largest and most influential sport union, the football union.

Therefore, the organic union project was not realized. The ČOS leadership came to terms with this fact quite easily, and since 1946 focused entirely on the revitalization and further development of Sokol activities. It was the communists who struggled when parting with the organic union project. In the beginning of 1946, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (*Ústřední výbor komunistické strany Československa – ÚV KSČ*) formed a physical education board and considered the unification of physical education and sports by state power. They rejected it after all, announcing that “we would stand on one side while Sokol on the other side, which is what the party (*KSČ*) does not want” (National Archive, f. ČOS. Transcription from ÚV KSČ physical education secretariat meeting from 25/06/1946).

The time for a definitive clash of powers had not yet come, so the communists had to keep pretending to support Sokol. In April 1946, the Czechoslovak Union of Physical Education (*Československý tělovýchovný svaz – ČSTV*) was founded, summoning the representatives of all sports, tourist and physical education organizations, including Orel and the football union. The two latter joined this organization, once again presided over by Antonín Hřebík, as it served merely as an umbrella organization, leaving to its subgroups total legal, organizational and economic autonomy.

Unfortunately, the victory of democracy in the sports sector was only temporary. The political situation in Czechoslovakia started to stiffen, mainly due to the pulling down of the iron curtain. Moscow regarded the people's democracies in Central and Eastern Europe as a sphere of its unlimited influence, forcing the particular communist parties to seize power.

Stalin offered Gottwald his Red Army to seize power by force. Gottwald, hating and fearing Stalin, took courage and rejected the offer. He believed he could seize power by force and without bloodshed, which would bring him power but not the acceptance of the majority of society. Unfortunately, the representatives of democratic parties in parliament and government offered him an almost perfect opportunity. Their ministers handed in their resignations because they were disgusted by purges at the Ministry of the Interior. They supposed that President Beneš, the patron of democracy to all non-communists in Czechoslovakia, would accept these resignations

and appoint a temporary government that would provide free elections scheduled for 1948. However, as KSČ leaders already owned the Ministry of the Interior, they immediately responded with the take-over of the secretariats of democratic parties by the secret police. Unlike democrats, the communists also managed to mobilize their supporters and summon them onto the streets. The Prime Minister, a communist chief, offered President Beneš two alternatives for future development: either Beneš would accept the resignations of democratic ministers, would not dismiss the government and would add its new members suggested by Gottwald; or there would be a civil war. After a brief hesitation, President Beneš realistically opted for the first alternative and thus yielded to Gottwald. On February 25, 1948, the die was cast. In the next elections in May 1948, Czechoslovakian citizens could vote only for persons from the list of National Guard candidates compiled by the communists.

After seizing power in February 1948, there was nothing left to prevent the communists from unifying physical education and sports according to their plan. Right after February 25, 1948, so-called operational committees were created in order to remove any opponents in organizations, companies or factories, and to replace them with either KSČ members or with at least those manifesting some loyalty to them. Many KSČ representatives founded operational committees of ČOS as early as February 27, 1948. However, they did not intend to “purify” ČOS leaders and replace them exclusively by persons totally subordinated to the new power. They forced Dr. Hřebík and other board members to resign immediately, although some communist opponents, especially Marie Provazníková, remained temporarily in the board.

On March 31, 1948, sports and physical education were festively unified at the Smetana Hall in the Municipal House. Among the former sports organization members, the unified ČOS also registered 23 sport unions and tourist organizations led by the biggest tourist union, the Czech Tourist Club. Its property was mostly taken over by ČOS. As the unification process was demanding, it continued until 1949.

The communists were quite restrained during their purges within the Sokol board, because their main focus was the smooth course of the XI Sokol *Slet* (massive gymnastic festivals), for which they made intense preparations. The KSČ leaders boasted about gaining political power in a legal, parliamentary

way. It was by means of a successful congress that they wanted to manifest to the world, especially to Moscow, their control over whole situation and the affection they would receive from the majority of the population. As the Prime Minister Klement Gottwald declared during his meeting with ČOS representatives, “the *slet* must be a monumental manifestation of the unity of our nation, the unity of cheerful labour and loyalty to our people’s democratic code.” He was also convinced that “the *slet* will help promote our country as well as our physical education because many guests from all over the world will take part, especially our countrymen from America and other countries” (National Archive, f. ČOS, lib. 439).

Communists sent thousands of secret police members to the *slet*, some of them equipped with automatic weapons. Nevertheless, they were so occupied with the smooth course of the *slet* that they did not want any public repressions.

On June 7, the resignation of Edvard Beneš from his presidential office was officially announced. On June 14, the already communist parliament declared a new president, Klement Gottwald. He did not expect any enthusiastic ovations during the Sokol *slet* but still, he looked forward to a mild manifestation of loyalty. It was a misjudgment. The whole *slet*, especially the traditional closing parade, turned into a huge spontaneous demonstration against communist totalitarianism – the greatest until the late 1980s. While the participants were hailing Edvard Beneš, the secret police registered 43 slogans by which tens of thousands parade participants refused the new regime in a polite, yet unequivocal way. “No one can dictate to us who to love”, was one of the chants of the parade participants. When passing the podium of Klement Gottwald and his team, the Sokol members proceeded silently, with their heads turned away. The communists suddenly had someone to hate. In front of the whole Czechoslovakian society, the XI Sokol *slet*, and especially its final parade, undermined the February events as a victory of working people, an event that the communists were not going to leave without a response.

The parade participants were investigated by the State Security service, starting a new wave of expulsions from the Sokol organization, now aimed at all new regime opponents, including those who were pointed at by anyone for whatever reason. However, being expelled from Sokol did not mean the end of persecutions. New inquisitors rejected the idea that “those affected by

the purge should not be persecuted in their occupations” (National Archive, f. ČOS, lib. 430). New ČOS leader, KSČ member Penninger, encouraged mutual accusations in Sokol units: “our regular members of progressive thinking will charge against reactionary elements” (National Archive, f. ČOS, lib. 430). The ÚV KSČ board proposal of the resolution on Sokol from July 1948 states:

The defeated February reactionaries have gathered all their power infiltrating in Sokol to misuse it politically. They managed to create several epicenters within Sokol, which manifested during the slet parade by reactionary scuffles, aimed at the government, against the nation, against our people’s democratic republic. [...] the defeated reactionary elements are trying to settle down and create vipers’ nests within Sokol (National Archive, f. Central Operational Committee NF, lib. 77).

Nevertheless, the Sokol members were not giving up, especially at local and regional levels, which were still led by the true Sokols, who protested against ongoing repressions. However, the only victory that these people could reach was a moral one. All resisting officials were dismissed, and many of them arrested and imprisoned. All democrats had to leave the ČOS board, and Marie Provazníková emigrated.

During the autumn of 1948 and in 1949 considerable changes took place not only in the ČOS agenda, but also in creating new organizational structures. The traditional network of regional Sokol units was transformed into district and county organizations of ČOS – analogous to the state administrative structure. The greatest changes occurred within the cultural and educational activities of ČOS. Its agenda turned into an apologetics of a new “people’s democratic establishment”, the Sokol press was reorganized, and a new ČOS editorial plan was prepared.

In spite of the fact that the communists added their people to the ČOS board, which was controlled by them anyway, they were not satisfied with the situation of physical education and sports. The reason for this was that the organization that was supposed to gather all physical education teachers, athletes and tourists, was too much “Sokolish”. Besides, a significant number of other physical education members did not enter ČOS, a fact reflected in the dissatisfaction of the communists, who were obsessed with big numbers and with the engagement of the masses in physical education and sports. At the end of 1952, the Central Committee of KSČ discussed physical education

and sports. Its members declared that “regarding our physical education and sports life, we have not sufficiently used the well-tested experience gained in Soviet physical culture.” Another obstacle preventing the development of physical education was seen in the fact that “there is a low level of political-educational work among athletes, trainees and trainers in terms of socialist nationalism and proletarian internationalism within Sokol” (National Archive, ÚV KSČ board, f. 02/1). That is why, on November 10 and December 2, the party and government decided to “establish a unified state management and control of physical education and sports.” Sokol was left to “organize and perform voluntary physical education and sports in the countryside and small towns, where there are no trade union associations of physical education” (National Archive, ÚV KSČ board, f. 02/1).

On December 12, 1952, the National Assembly passed another law, “on the organization of physical education and sports”, emphasizing that “physical education and sports are significant elements of culture and inseparable parts of socialist education in a people’s democracy” (Zákon Č. 71 – Law N. 71). It also declared that “the united government management and control of physical education and sports are realized by State Committee of Physical Education and Sport, run by the government of the Czechoslovak Republic” (Zákon Č. 71 – Law N. 71). The communists appointed National Security general, František Janda, to the position of leader.

There was a call for a radical change at this time, when the communists definitively buried the structure of physical education and sport that had developed in the Czech territories and Czechoslovakia from the second half of the 19th century and played an indispensable role in the social life of national democratic society. A cult of personality was at its peak and hysterical invectives against the bourgeois past were a daily routine. Only the Soviet experience could be used against the threat of imperialism. Under such circumstances, establishing an organization in the Soviet manner was a step not only logical, but also indispensable.

The State Committee of Physical Education and Sport was to organize voluntary physical education and sports together with the Central Council of the Union (*Ústřední rada odborů – ÚRO*) and its committees, with accordance to their work sectors. For this purpose, nine voluntary sports organizations (*Dobrovolná sportovní organizace – DSO*) were founded, namely Spartak, Baník, Tatran, Jiskra, Dynamo, Slavoj, Slovan, Lokomotiva, Slávia.

The concept of sports development according to production sectors brought significant chaos into sports competitions. In those days, the authorities were asking for masses and records. In the chaotic situation of the new regime, sport club officials were assigned the task of increasing the number of members. Direct state control brought more financial resources into sports, but its effectiveness can hardly be measured. Due to the production sectors principle, the larger industrial companies started to support sport financially. Thus, the communist sponsoring principle was born, lasting until 1989. In a way, it was similar to current sport sponsoring. Big industrial companies created special funds to subsidise sports. No-one questioned its lawfulness since the basic economic attributes of production, such as costs and revenues, were rather relative, sometimes even virtual, in the times of socialism.

The most famous sport clubs had, like nowadays, sponsors in their names, for example, Sparta Prague, ČKD (*Czechoslovak Kolben Daněk*), or Slavia IPS (*Inženýrsko průmyslové stavby*). It was generally known that the football and ice-hockey players in the first league, as well as in the second and the third, had the same wage as the manual workers employed by these production companies, even though they never set foot in these factories. However, their wage made it possible for them to do sport on a professional level.

Between February 1948 and 1989, the Czechoslovakian state was run by authorities of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia together with state authorities. Legislative and executive powers, parliament and government, brought the decisions of the Communist party authorities to life by legal measures. At any rate, only the communists who proved themselves occupied the leading positions of state authorities and of big industrial companies. They were not all uneducated simpletons, but their level of expertise was quite diverse. In larger towns, with only one production company employing the majority of inhabitants, it was mostly this triumvirate who ruled – the District Secretary of KSČ, the chairman of the District National Committee and the local factory director. These men decided on the town events, including sports. They agreed on, for example, sports hall construction or on buying a new player for the local football team. Such a player could thus expect, instead of being a lathe operator, a salary exceeding the average income, even as a second league player.

Top party officials, some of them true sport fans, were paying considerable attention to professional sports and national teams because they regarded

the Czechoslovakian national team successes as a showcase of the political system. This attitude gained importance after the Olympic Games in Helsinki in 1952, where the Czech national team was very successful. Even more importantly, these were the first Olympic Games in which the Soviet Union national team took part, co-leading the unofficial nation rankings table with the United States. After this unexpected result, Soviet communist leaders sent a clear message to their satellites – success in sport is proof of communist advancement and, for that reason, its support and control is a number one political priority.

Top-level Czechoslovakian athletes in many sport disciplines, similarly to other communist countries, trained and competed in the colours of army sport. The tradition of army sport was already established during the interwar period, although at that time the army was only in charge of those sports that followed military training – horse riding, shooting and fencing. After World War II, there was an increase in sports involving soldiers – ice-hockey, football, athletics, etc. In 1946, the army Central physical education club was founded, Emil Zátopek becoming one of its members. For the purpose of physical education within army, the Physical Education Commission of the Central Committee of KSČ decided in 1948 to establish the Army Physical Education Union and Army Physical Education Club for soldiers who were top-level athletes. Gradually, the latter included 219 athletes from 25 sport disciplines (Priščák *et al.*, 2008, p. 29). Army sport was reorganized in the 1950s and, from 1956 until nowadays, it is called Dukla to commemorate the place where, during World War II, Czechoslovakian army forces, fighting under the Soviet Red army, re-entered Czechoslovakian territory. In Dukla uniforms, an array of Czechoslovakian internationals reached the highest spots in the standings at both World and European Championships. In the 1960s, the army football and especially handball team were the elite teams not only in Czechoslovakia, but even in the world. Since the second half of the 1940s, many Olympic champions trained and competed for Dukla – not only soldiers with basic military service, but also professional soldiers, whose army duty became the so-called state professionalism, so characteristic for communist states.

The communists were boasting about the results of Czechoslovakian internationals, but at the same time did not trust the athletes' loyalty. When traveling abroad, every sports delegation was accompanied by StB officials.

Many top-level athletes, after having seen quite different training conditions, free choice in selecting competitions, and a completely liberal atmosphere, decided to emigrate. One of the first was an excellent tennis and ice-hockey player, Jaroslav Drobný, who, after his emigration in 1949, won Wimbledon as an Egyptian citizen in 1954. For the next fifty years, most of our next generation elite tennis players followed Drobný's example. A whole array of athletes from other sport disciplines went into exile for political, as well as economic, reasons (See more in Grexa & Strachová, 2008).

The above-mentioned state system of physical education and sports organization and control also had its bright sides. One of them was definitely the establishment of an autonomous university of physical education. On October 1, 1953, the Institute of Physical Education and Sport (*Institut tělesné výchovy a sportu*) was ceremonially opened, in the presence of a government delegation led by a prominent member of the KSČ leadership, the son-in-law of communist leader Klement Gottwald, the then Minister of Defence Alexej Čepička. The Institute began to prepare university teachers of physical education, professional trainers, army physical education specialists and scientific research workers in the field of physical education and sport. In 1959, it became one of the faculties of Charles University, also educating high school teachers of physical education (See more in Pavlů & Waic, 2010).

From the first half of the 1950s to the end of the 1980s, physical education didactics and training methodology reached a satisfactory level, and biomedically orientated research also brought invaluable results. Within these sciences, if a compulsory Marxist rhetoric appeared inside monograph introductions and articles, the communists allowed a free choice of research themes and their realizations. Research related to professional sports and national teams was given a green light because, as was already mentioned, sport successes were used by communist propaganda in the "ideological battle" with "western imperialism".

In 1955, at the end of the era of direct state control of physical education and sport, the first post-war Spartakiad was held. The very first Spartakiad was organized in 1921 by members of a newly founded communist physical education organization, the Federation of Workers' Physical Education Clubs. The name commemorates Spartacus' slave revolt in ancient Rome. Being quite successful, the first Spartakiad helped to establish communism on the political scene of the First Czechoslovak Republic. Nevertheless,

communists hesitated to restore the tradition of Spartakiads after World War II. It was quite clear to them that the mass physical exercise events witnessed by the public must resemble Sokol *slets*, despite the different ideology. One of the reasons to restore Spartakiads was the fact that, since 1928, the big brother in the East had also arranged Spartakiads of Soviet Union nations. These were, however, more sporting than physical exercise events. In 1955, communist physical exercise representatives tried implementing their ideology into physical exercise sets, which nowadays seems tragicomic and picturesque, when watched in film documentaries. Spartakiads were held every 5 years with the exception of 1970, when the party leadership feared mass gatherings as a result of the end of the Prague Spring.

Since the 1960s, Spartakiads consisted mainly of high-quality physical exercises with elaborate and imaginative choreography. Due to its attractiveness to spectators, the majority of the Czech population accepted them with spontaneous sympathy. From the 1920s, Strahov stadium started to be built for mass physical exercises events, especially for Sokol *slets*. It seated almost 250,000 spectators and used to be full for Spartakiads, with millions of spectators watching on TV. It was mainly because of Spartakiads that western society gained the impression of Czechoslovakia as a sports' Promised Land. The impression, however, was quite distant from reality. Women were exercising with enthusiasm. Men also volunteered to exercise, even though not on such a scale as women. Among other exercise categories, the one-year-long preparations were characterized by the slogan "You do not want to, you have to", which appeared in the late 1950s and was quite characteristic for Czechoslovak communist society in general. As a result of the propagandistic promotion of Spartakiad, young people were distracted from regular physical activities. On the other hand, from the 1970s, Spartakiads were accompanied by various sports and touristic events, which could, for their attractiveness, awaken children's interest in sports. The huge scale of Spartakiad took its toll on the state budget. If the money invested in physical education and sport were less ostentatious, its effect could have been much greater. Thus, one cannot regard Spartakiads as two-dimensionally as other life aspects of communist Czechoslovakia. The communist system was full of contradictions, constantly changing its face, and this was also reflected in physical education and sports.

The era of the Czechoslovak Union of Physical Education

In 1953, both Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin and Klement Gottwald died. Three years later, at a private meeting of members of the XX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the new Soviet communist leader Nikita Khrushchev criticized the so-called cult of personality. In Czechoslovakia, the fall of the most brutal form of communism was accepted with embarrassment. For all that, the Czechoslovakian communists felt the necessity of certain changes, so that the political and economic system could survive. They turned their attention to the place where change was most urgently needed and where a radical reform was politically the least dangerous. The direct state control of physical education and sports had obviously failed in its main task the public was expecting from it: mass participation. The reason for this failure was especially the ignoring of the principle of voluntaries, which repulsed young people from organized physical education and sports.

On December 20, 1956, another law "On the organization of physical education" was passed, defining the principles of physical education and sport organization and control, which were valid, with slight alterations, until 1989. The newly established organization – Czechoslovak Union of Physical Education (*Československý svaz tělesné výchovy – ČSTV*) was assigned a key role in the control of voluntary physical education and sports. Furthermore, this organization became the representative of the whole physical education movement, with the right to point out cohesive principles of physical education, and with the right and obligation to take care of scientific and research activities in the area of physical education, international relations and planned construction, maintenance and functional use of physical education facilities.

At the time of its establishment in 1957, ČSTV had about 900,000 members. This number increased quite rapidly, reaching almost 1,500,000 members in 1961. The ČSTV organization was based on combining the regional and union organizing principle. The highest ČSTV authority was the Central Committee, controlling ČSTV activities between its congresses. The Central Committee had administrative machinery, which grew bigger with time. The lower authorities were the district ČSTV organizations led by district committees. Below them were the county organizations with their

county committees. Apart from this regional organizational structure, there was also the union structure, meaning that particular kinds of sports had their own central union authorities, their own county union authorities and their own district union authorities.

On the other hand, it is necessary to point out that the above-mentioned system of physical education and sport organization and control was quite logical and elaborate, with much better results than direct state control. Voluntariness and spontaneity returned to physical education and sports in the 1960s, with thousands of youth trainers and auxiliary workers gradually joined ČSTV, working there with joy and satisfaction, without claiming any reward. The communist regime always required social engagement, with the intensity depending on the time period. A considerable fraction of inhabitants of the so-called socialist Czechoslovakia did not publicly manifest their dislike for the regime, even though they might have inwardly felt it. For such persons, entering the KSČ or the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Union (*Svaz československo-sovětského přátelství*) was an unacceptable form of engagement, which was often required from them in their occupations. On the other hand, voluntary work in physical education, considered by ruling leaders a much lower form of engagement, was already acceptable for those who had a positive attitude towards sports. For example, training children brought joy, as well as visible results. Furthermore, salary equalization, limited possibilities to travel across the Czechoslovak borders and limited cultural life turned physical education and sports into a very attractive sector of social life.

Naturally, the physical education and sports system reflected changes in the social system. In the 1960s, significant erosion appeared in the political and economic system of communist Czechoslovakia. At the same time, the Czechoslovakian culture of the sixties was ruled by a generation of youngsters who studied in communist uniforms, but also had diligence and talent. During their studies, these young men and women were writing celebrative poems on Gottwald and Stalin, but as they were intelligent and perceptive, they grew weary of the dullness of communism and its propagandistic rhetoric from the turn of the fifties and sixties. They started to criticize the system and look for the ways to repair it, or even replace it.

It was characteristic for the erosion of Czechoslovak communism that the criticism of the unsustainable situation and the search for ways of

improvement started in the very centre of the Communist Party. The existing first secretary of the KSČ, Antonín Novotný, resigned and was replaced by Alexandr Dubček, who initially trusted Moscow because he had studied in Soviet Union. Dubček came with the idea of “socialism with a human face”, that is, the humanization of communism, becoming one of the discoverers of the so-called third way between socialism and communism for the leftist western intellectuals. A majority of the population enthusiastically welcomed socialism with a human face.

The upcoming democratization of Czechoslovakian society was resolutely stopped by the invasion of the five Warsaw Pact armies, led by Soviet tanks. A peaceful resistance against the occupiers was suppressed with brutal violence, resulting in dozens of casualties, especially among young people. A period of “normalization” began, and the KSČ leadership was forced into resignation. Gustav Husák was appointed by the Soviets to the position of leader of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. From their point of view, it was a good choice. At the end of the 1960s, as an experienced politician, he belonged among the reformers because the “Prague Spring” enabled him to return to high politics. Nevertheless, he immediately dissociated himself from the invasion, as he understood that he was asked to resolutely suppress the idea of a pluralistic political system, to restore the control of KSČ over every aspect of society, and to be totally loyal to the Soviet Union.

Sport events were, among other things, used as a pretext for vast political purges. At the Ice-Hockey World Championship in Stockholm in 1969, the Czechoslovak national team twice defeated the Soviet national team, and the whole Czechoslovak society rejoiced. The victories of the Czechoslovak national ice-hockey team over the Soviet national team, in the following years, raised a wave of national pride among the majority of population, originating from a partial, momentary victory over the hated occupiers. The Communist Party used those enthusiastic celebrations for repressions, which were supposed to be exemplary threats. During the celebrations, it was probably the State Security officials who deliberately demolished the Prague branch of the Soviet airline company Aeroflot. What followed was a police action against the participants in peaceful celebrations of sports victory.

In the early 1970s, there were numerous inspections, or purges, both within and outside of KSČ, after which many members were expelled from the party and many others lost their jobs. Those outside the party, who took

part in the Prague Spring, were naturally deposed from their jobs too. Many notable opponents of centralized communism were forced to emigrate during the 1970s. This time, the early 1970s repressions did not lead to executions but once again they changed the lives of tens of thousands of people and their children, who, for example, could not study at universities. Most inhabitants were again driven into inner illegality. The normalization regime made them an untold and unwritten offer, that if they did not oppose to the regime, it would not intervene in their privacy. The active opponents to ruling practice were severely punished.

Just like after February 1949, tens of thousands of people emigrated after the occupation of Czechoslovakia by Soviet army. The purges, aimed at those who were to some extent involved in the Prague Spring, or at those who were not considered sufficiently loyal to the regime, also reached physical education and sports. Even here the communists published a pamphlet "A lesson from a crisis in physical education organization in the past", meant as a threat to those dissatisfied with centralized communist dictate.

After a not so successful performance of Czechoslovak athletes at the 1972 Olympic Games, a decision modeled after the GDR was made to secure top-level sports, which in practice signified the establishment of a system of top-level sports centers, which were not so successful, and several times changed. In the 1970s and 1980s, officials forced athletes to use forbidden doping in order to elevate their performance and thus strengthen their chances of a desired win. In terms of mass physical education development, communist officials emphasized the ideological Czechoslovakian Spartakiads, held in 1975, 1980 and 1985. From the experts' point of view, they reached high quality. To develop physical education and sports among the masses, communists used formally organised badges of courage, a pioneer league, the "Exercise Towards Health" movement and many other activities.

A constantly growing number of top-level Czechoslovakian athletes, especially tennis players, ice-hockey players and various other athletes, was leaving for abroad at this time, either by emigrating or by legal, or additionally legalized, stays. Apart from disagreement with the political power and civil rights situation, the most frequent reasons for departure were economic motives, better training conditions, better material equipment, free travel possibilities and a chance of performing in top competitions for top clubs.

In terms of physical education and sport, the 1970s and 1980s are closely linked with ČSTV chairman, Antonín Himl. Himl was a not very well-educated communist bureaucrat. He gradually gained a positive attitude towards physical education and sports. He met the expectations of ÚVKŠČ regarding a leading role for the party within physical education and ensured that physical education and sport remained a supported and preferred aspect of Czechoslovakian society (For more on ČSTV development in the late 1980s, see Strachová & Grexa, 2008).

Conclusion

During 41 years of communist dictatorship, physical education and sport were not saved from moral and material destruction, which accompanied the communist regime. In terms of material development of physical education and sports, Czechoslovakia trailed the countries of Western Europe. In top-level sports, submitting to political goals and ideological doctrines resulted in human and sports tragedies, as well as to vast emigrations of athletes. In order to engage the masses, physical education was often based on the “You do not want to, you have to” principle, which denied the essential attribute of physical education and sports – voluntariness.

It seems, however, that physical education and sports were not as devastated as other areas of society. As the leaders of the past wanted the athletes to “confirm the advancement of socialism”, they did try to provide them with conditions more or less corresponding to top-level performances. Decent sports facilities were built in some regions. Training methods reached top-notch world quality in some disciplines. Mandatory skiing and swimming courses appeared in school physical education. Whereas the first course got many high school students to mountains for the first time, the latter one almost eradicated swimming illiteracy. A European standard was reached by university physical education, as well as by the majority of sport and physical education sciences, despite the ideological clichés.

Furthermore, most athletes, trainers and lower-level sports officials were, since the late 1960s, in fact immune to ruling ideology. Top-level and mass sports lived an individual life, quite unaffected by the ruling political system.

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2. PHENOMENOLOGY IN THE CONTEXT OF CZECH PHILOSOPHY OF SPORT¹

IRENA MARTÍNKOVÁ, JIM PARRY AND PETR KŘÍŽ

Introduction

Phenomenology is a philosophical method that has been developed within the context of continental tradition of philosophy. It started as a critique of an “objective” approach to the world by Edmund Husserl and developed many themes regarding human existence and human experiencing. Here, it is important to highlight that phenomenology does not focus on subjective experiences, but on the description of the experiencing of the human being – of how the human being experiences. Of course, since experiencing is always the experiencing of a particular human being, that experiencing is always “subjective”, in a sense. But the point is that phenomenology does not seek an understanding of the idiosyncratic-subjective (the particular experiences that a particular human has), but rather an understanding of the universal-subjective (the conditions of experiencing for any human being). So phenomenology focuses on the description of the structures of experiencing that define human being, and that always manifest within the experiencing of any subject. Phenomenology thus aims at descriptions of the universal human being that are based in common human experiencing and the common human situation. Different phenomenologist highlight different aspects of human experiencing that we might think are more or less relevant to the area of human movement and sport (see more in Martínková & Parry, 2011a, and Martínková, 2015).

One of the specific areas for Czech philosophy of sport that has been recognized in the international context is phenomenology applied to sport. Though at the origins of the philosophy of sport, since the 1970s, there

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were several authors working within the phenomenological theoretical framework – e.g. Meier (1975, 1988) on embodiment, and Morgan (1993) on sport as a religious experience – these papers were rare and none of these authors developed a consistently phenomenological way of thinking. So philosophy of sport remained anchored predominantly in the analytical philosophy tradition, and it took 40 years for phenomenology to become an integral part of philosophy of sport, being recognized as important and enriching. It was not until the beginning of the second decade of the 21st century that more authors started to apply the phenomenological method to research existing themes from a new perspective or to enrich philosophy of sport with new topics. Many of these philosophers of sport are represented in the first English-language collection in philosophy of sport focusing on an introduction to phenomenological thinking, titled *Phenomenological Approaches to Sport* (2012), based on a special issue of the journal *Sport, Ethics and Philosophy* (edited by Martínková & Parry, 2011b).

Phenomenology within Kinanthropology

Sport philosophy is a discipline that within the Czech context belongs in the field of Kinanthropology, which is a multi-disciplinary field of knowledge that researches the human being with respect to movement. In other countries, different names are often used, such as, for example, “human movement studies”, “human kinetics”, “sport sciences”, “kinesiology” etc. (Jirasek, 2005, p. 43).

So far, phenomenology within Kinanthropology in the Czech Republic has been used predominantly in the context of sport philosophy, especially as an application of philosophical phenomenological theories into sport and human movement culture, rather than the introduction and development of new theories or their amendments. Phenomenology enriches sport philosophy with new concepts, such as, for example, the human being, time, space, perception, the athletic experience, movement, authenticity, skilful coping, human corporeality, etc., which have been discussed under a different theoretical frame or else more or less neglected in the previously dominating analytical tradition, which focussed more on the concept of sport, sport rules and sports ethics, rather than on the athlete and his/her experiencing of sport.

However, within the international context of kinanthropology, phenomenology has also found its way into other disciplines. Within the

area of qualitative research in some sport sciences, such as, for example, sport sociology and psychology (cf. Willig, 2008), phenomenology is understood as a scientific method under the names of empirical phenomenology, Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA), and so forth. The important issue to be noticed is that the connection between philosophical phenomenology and these empirical modifications is not unproblematic. Philosophy and empirical sciences ask different kinds of questions and their methods differ, as well as the outcomes. While in philosophical phenomenology the inquiry aims mainly at the description of the structures of how we as human beings experience, empirical psychology and sociology that use phenomenology are aimed at experiences themselves in the specific understanding of concrete people, i.e. describing their subjective experiencing.

As a reaction to some papers employing phenomenology within e.g. sport sociology, several Czech papers – esp. Martínková & Parry (2011a, 2013) and Halák, Jirásek & Nesti (2014) – have discussed the phenomenological method and its application, trying to characterize its main points and to distinguish it from empirical research, with respect to some problematic papers (e.g. Berry *et al.*, 2010; Allen-Collinson, 2011). These papers critically discussed especially the qualitative research that uncritically mixes the phenomenological method with empirical research without highlighting the difference between empirical research and ontological accounts of the human being (e.g. Martínková & Parry, 2011a), but also to some papers in philosophy of sport that misunderstand the phenomenological method or some of its ideas and therefore apply it in an inaccurate way (e.g. Martínková & Parry, 2013; Halák, Jirásek & Nesti, 2014).

This is not to say that phenomenological philosophy could not enrich the empirical sciences, but it needs to be done sensitively, with deep knowledge of both areas and with respect to their foundations.

Main phenomenological themes in Czech philosophy of sport

Phenomenology within Kinanthropology enabled the application of philosophical phenomenological theories into the context of sport and movement activities and so it opened possibilities for new discussions. The phenomenological theories that have been studied and discussed within Czech Kinanthropology mainly come from the works of Edmund Husserl,

Martin Heidegger and Jan Patočka, although recently the ideas of Maurice Merleau-Ponty have also been researched in greater depth. Among the main topics within Czech philosophy of sport are the holistic understanding of the human being and movement and some of its aspects (such as, e.g., corporeality, time, and instrumental understanding).

Heidegger's work, especially, has offered many themes that are valuable for a deeper understanding of sport. Especially valuable was Heidegger's early work, describing the human being as *Dasein*, that is characterized (briefly) as "Being-in-the-World" – as "existence", which is always mine and for which being is an issue (Heidegger, 1978, 2001b). Heidegger's philosophy has helped us to see the wholeness of the human situation (Martínková & Parry, 2016), within which the Czech philosophers of sport focussed especially on the phenomena of time, death, and understanding.

Heidegger described in his work (esp. 2001b) an understanding of the human being that is based in the original human experiencing and situation, especially with an emphasis on the phenomenon of "understanding", and which leads to a new take on the human being (hence Heidegger's new term for the human – *Dasein*). With it comes a view which is critical of the idea of the human as the connection of "the body and mind" or "psychosomatic unity", which is often uncritically used in kinanthropology, even though such "psycho-physical dualism" has been long overcome in philosophy (e.g. Martínková, 2017). Instead, in advocating a phenomenological approach (Hogen, 2009; Martínková, 2017), the main idea is to cease the reduction of the human being to a connection of the body and mind (the ontological status of which has not been adequately considered) and to reject the understanding of movement as the purely mechanical movement of objects (such as, e.g., body segments). These mistaken doctrines lead to the understanding of humans as machines. With respect to its application to athletes' participation in sports, this new phenomenological approach helps sport and its practice to be studied in a less mechanical way or, rather, it may supplement the mechanical analysis with a greater clarity about the human being that is in question.

One of the dominant themes in Heidegger's early philosophy is a description of the phenomenon of *time*. Heidegger (1997, 2001b) explained that, as we usually understand it, time is "linear time" – a succession of homogeneous "nows" on an axis, on which we can identify the past, the present and the

future. However, this conception of time has been derived from a more original “human temporality”. “Original temporality” (*Zeitlichkeit*) is a unity of three moments, or “ecstases” (*Ekstasen*): Dasein’s past (the “having-been”, (*Gewesenheit*) and its projection into the “future” (*Zukunft*) which together yield the “present” (*Gegenwart*). Heidegger presents Dasein’s original temporality as being stretched out and stretching itself out (*daserstreckten Sicherstrecken*) (Heidegger, 2001b, p. 375), thrusting itself into the world, which is already intelligible for Dasein’s understanding, and into which Dasein projects its possibilities.

Within Czech philosophy of sport, Hogenová (2013) used Heidegger’s ideas on time to discuss the effect of the two different understandings of time (time conceived as linear, and time conceived as original temporality) on human corporeality and its influence on our lives. She also emphasized the problem of measurability and quantification with respect to the human.

Heidegger’s ideas on time have also been applied by Martínková and Parry (2011d), who identified different kinds of sports with respect to their relation to time, and explained some effects of sporting activity on our human experiencing of time. They identified different groups of sport, according to the different role that time plays in their practice. *Time-constituted sports* (e.g. sport games, in which the time constraint of the performance is a part of the constitutive rules, determining the time of the game) were distinguished from *event sports* (e.g. races, involving the measurement of the time of a performance – which, however, is not always necessary) and from *mixed sports* (sports with both time- and event-related elements, e.g. events in artistic and rhythmic gymnastics, in which the performance must be completed within a certain time span), and finally from sports encouraging the experiencing of original temporality (e.g. dangerous sports). The authors show how linearly conceived time on one hand (co-)creates the contest challenge in some sports, but on the other hand constrains the human experiencing.

Within his analysis of Dasein and its temporality, Heidegger (2001b, esp. § 51–53) highlighted human *finitude*. He distinguished between living without paying attention to this limit of existence, in comparison to authentic “Being-towards-death” (*Sein zum Tode*), which means the incorporation of our understanding of finiteness into Dasein’s existence. This idea reveals itself as important for our understanding of dangerous sports, which are sports (or

outdoor pursuits), in which we find a higher risk of death than usual. While seeming to be absurd practices from the point of view of our everydayness, Heideggerian analyses help to uncover the meaningfulness of these pursuits, while also opening the possibility of authentic existence (which includes being realistic about our mortality and living in tune with it). Jirásek (2007) emphasized the phenomenon of finitude when discussing his interpretation of “authentic experience” inspired by Heidegger’s authentic understanding, especially with respect to human movement and its manifestation in various movement activities. Hurych (2009) has also discussed the limits of authenticity and with it the interconnected attunement of anxiety within outdoor activities. Da Silva, Martínková and Mazo (2016) discussed the finitude of the human being, inspired by Heidegger, with the example of an historical event in the South of Brazil – the shipwreck of four young rowers at the beginning of 20th century.

Other important themes from Heidegger’s work used in the field of sport are phenomena of *understanding* and *interpreting*. These were analyzed by Heidegger (e.g. 2001b, 2007) with respect to Dasein’s existence, and that is why he talks about the “hermeneutics of human existence”. Dasein always already understands and interprets its own existence, giving meaning to entities. One of the important contributions of Heidegger’s philosophy is the differentiation of understanding based on ontology (2001a), detailed analyses of the pragmatic understanding, and the distinction between authentic and inauthentic understanding (2001b).

A considerable part of Heidegger’s work *Being and Time* (1978, esp. §15–18) includes analyses of the pragmatic (instrumental) mode of understanding (*Zuhandenheit*), and its origin in the fact that existence is an issue for Dasein, which is evidenced in the phenomenon of Care (*Sorge*). Care captures the idea that Dasein is focussed on its own being, and this (self-)concern is reflected in the understanding of the self and of others, as well as of other entities as tools/instruments for achieving various kinds of ends, which manifests itself in the context of everyday dealing with entities (especially in our use of them). Dasein thus primarily discloses its world based on its caring for the self, even though this is not necessarily ontologically appropriate with respect to the given entities. Care shows that the possibilities that occur to Dasein are not arbitrary, but are given through (self-) concern. They then form the basis for human movement.

Heidegger's analyses helped to provide a new view of instrumentality within sport (Martínková, 2013; Martínková & Parry, 2011c, 2016), which copies to a great extent Dasein's pragmatic understanding. In daily life instrumentality manifests in the form of dealing with things for securing one's being, whilst in sport it is seen in accomplishing the pre-given tasks within a competitive setting. There is an important difference, though: the ends of sport are non-pragmatic (scoring a goal is itself of no benefit within everyday life). Instrumentality in sport may have negative effects on athletes, especially in contemporary professional and commercialized sport, in which the athlete fits into the instrumental relations of the given sport and as such can become easily instrumentalized by others (parents, coaches) or might instrumentalize his/her own body in the search for victory and success (see more in Martínková & Parry, 2016).

Another important phenomenological influence on philosophy of sport has come from the most famous Czech philosopher, Jan Patočka. He followed on the work of Husserl, Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty and is known for his interpretations and critiques, especially within the area of ancient philosophy and phenomenology as well as for his own original phenomenological analyses. His importance for kinanthropology lies especially in his discussions of the theme of the movement of human existence.

Patočka (1992, 1996, 1998) highlighted the ontological understanding of movement, which is usually not considered in kinanthropology. According to Patočka, my "original" understanding arises from experiencing myself as a primordial dynamism – a dynamism thrusting itself into the world. According to Patočka (1998, esp. chapter 18) the human being *is* this movement – hence the new addition to the Greek term for the human (*anthropos*), which highlights this fact: *kin-anthropos*, by Martínková (2011). Patočka's conception of human movement can be seen as a novel expression of Heidegger's account of temporality (Patočka, 1998, p. 132).

Within the dynamism of the human being, Patočka (1992, p. 231 f.; 1998, chapter 18) distinguished between "overall human movement" and "partial and individual movements". The overall movement of human existence gives meaning, and thus also the direction and specific understanding to every partial movement the given human being makes, such as e.g. particular movements in sport that we usually call "physical movement". The overall human movement is relative to the end-point of the movement (to what the

movement “refers”), which is called a “referent” by Patočka. “Referent” is the horizon for all the partial movements of the human being; it is that to which all particular movements relate and which itself is immobile (Patočka, 1998, p. 149).

Patočka distinguished three different referents with respect to the essential possibilities of human existence, calling them “movements of human existence”. He called them: the movement of acceptance, the movement of defense and the movement of truth (Patočka, 1992, 1996), each of them having a different “referent” to which the human is directed. “The movement of acceptance” characterizes the foundational layer of our growing into the world, becoming acquainted with it, while recognizing our basic possibilities. This movement gradually changes into “the movement of defense”, which is an expression of everydayness, and striving for sustaining one’s existence, searching for quality of life, without much clarity about the human situation. The final “movement of truth” means the transcendence of the previous dispersal of oneself into everydayness into a more authentic existence, in which the human strives for an understanding of the human situation, the meaningfulness of one’s pursuits, and recognizing (and possibly also accepting) the limits of one’s existence (together with its finitude).

Within philosophy of sport, Patočka’s ideas of the three movements of human existence were applied to sport in the paper *Anthropos as Kinanthropos* by Martínková (2011), which presented Heidegger’s and Patočka’s concepts of movement, and enabled a different understanding of the movement of athletes. The ontological concept of movement is very important, since it enables us to understand the athlete within the full context of his/her life and thus allows for a more complex understanding, because a single movement or set of movements is always only a part of a wider whole, and separating them from this wider whole causes a reductionist understanding and a misunderstanding of human existence. Patočka’s understanding of movement was also applied to Olympism (by Martínková, 2012, 2013), describing two possible directions for human development through sport, labeled by Coubertin’s metaphors: “fair” (meaning market or funfair) and “temple”. “Fair” characterizes sport by highlighting its pragmatic (instrumental) understanding with which the athletes identify without much clarity about it, being dominated by struggle and competition (which belongs to Patočka’s second movement of human existence); and “temple”

suggests the understanding of doing “sport for sport’s sake”, understanding its necessarily instrumental nature and the nature of competition, but not being dominated by it and lost in it, while developing an understanding of the self and the wholeness of the human situation (which is characteristic of Patočka’s third movement of human existence).

This phenomenological view of the human being also influences our understanding of human embodiment. While human embodiment has been discussed by different philosophers, such as Jean-Paul Sartre, Michel Henry, etc., it is especially the ideas of Merleau-Ponty (esp. 1945) that have been most influential within current Czech philosophy of sport, and which have recently begun to be applied and developed in more depth.

From the phenomenological perspective, my own body is not primarily an object like any other object, but rather it is our “manner” of reaching the world and objects in it (Merleau-Ponty, 2012, p. 141). The discovery of the perceiving body and its differentiation from the perceived body originates in Husserl’s *Ideas Pertaining to a Pure Phenomenology and a Phenomenological Philosophy II*. The perceived body, *Körper*, is constituted as an object, although it has some exceptionalities when compared with other objects:

- the body is always here, offering unchangeable perspective, while other objects appear and disappear and show themselves from various perspectives,
- the body is moveable directly and immediately, while other objects have to be moved,
- the body has so called “localized sensations” (*Empfindnisse*), which means that, apart from touch-appearances that I have of my body, I have sensations of being touched; while touching any other object does not mean to perceive how it is being touched.

The stratum or layer of localized sensations constitutes the perceiving body, *Leib*, sometimes translated as the “lived body”. Halák (2016) critically revised this attempt of Husserl to deal with classical Cartesian dualism, and showed that what Husserl called the “double-unity” (*Doppeleinheit*) of *Körper* and *Leib* remains unified merely at the terminological level. According to Halák, the ontological turn comes with Maurice Merleau-

Ponty, who departs from Husserl's findings about the body's experiencing of itself to realize that one's own body could not first be an object, because it is that by which there are objects (Merleau-Ponty, 2012, p. 94). The ability of perceiving itself is thus not interpreted as switching the attention between the two strata (between *Körper* and *Leib*), but as a circular movement between perceiving and perceived body, which establishes the ontological frame for perceiving objects as objects.

The phenomenological notion of the body was reinforced in Merleau-Ponty's later works, especially by his use of the concept of "body-schema". However, Husserl's attempt to derive spatial reference from the body founds on the fact that, for him, the body (*Leib*) is partly based on the idea of the objective body (*Körper*) in objective space, and thus space could not be first derived from the body (Halák, 2016, p. 35). The ontological turn of Merleau-Ponty consists in his assertion of the contrary – his interpretation of the originally neurological concept of "body-schema" describes the body as a *criterion* for any possible spatial differentiation. That is to say: the body is the very foundation of objective space, not the other way around, and body-schema is a practical diagram through which the world is grasped. Merleau-Ponty's inspiration also came from Gestalt psychology, highlighting the relationship of "background" and "figure". He describes body-schema as a "background" only upon which any "figure", an object, can emerge. The body understood as the point of departure for an action and a background for a perception has to be continually readjusted due to what we intend to perceive, and it is the body-schema (i.e. not the objective body) that is being adjusted. In Merleau-Ponty's words it is "polarized by its tasks" (Merleau-Ponty, 2012, p. 103).

The term "body-schema" (or "corporeal schema") has been especially attractive for philosophy of sport. For example, Hogenová (2000) used Merleau-Ponty's concept of "body-schema" in the context of health and physical education. Drawing philosophical consequences from the centrality of the concept in Merleau-Ponty's philosophy, she argues that the current under-evaluation of physical education (i.e. the part of education that has a potential to develop and improve the body-schema) disregards its impact for the overall development of children.

Apparently, one of the reasons for the popularity of Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology of the body is his vast use of examples from the area

of neurological and psychopathological disorders. Taking into account previous arguments against Husserl, Puc (2012) showed a new way of phenomenological inquiry based on the difference between the healthy and the sick body. Puc formulates Merleau-Ponty's general argument against Husserl's notion of the body as the essential *opacity* of one's own body for consciousness. "Due to this opacity it resists the idea of the ultimate layer of evidence and transparency present in all phenomena which should be achieved by Husserlian reduction" (Puc, 2012, p. 146). The body as the *condition* of experience is inaccessible to consciousness in a *direct* way, as objects are. According to Puc, this shows up especially in the mutual determination between the functioning of the healthy and the sick body, exactly as Merleau-Ponty demonstrates in his examples. Based on Merleau-Ponty's structure of argumentation, Puc suggests a new hermeneutic model, "[...] in which the interpreter compares lived but obscure phenomena with the pathological privation of them, and so gains understanding of them both without the need to search for the last unshakeable basis of interpretation" (Puc, 2012, p. 154).

There is much to be done for a deeper understanding of such ideas about human embodiment and their meaningful application into theories concerning sport and movement activities, while also trying to enhance those phenomenological theories themselves.

Conclusion

The phenomenological account of the human being, movement and corporeality, as well as the understanding of sport that arrives from this theoretical framework, enriches the contemporary philosophy of sport with a focus that is more on the athlete, emphasizing the importance of the way in which the human being *is* (especially within sport situations), and highlighting the clarity and self-understanding in an athlete's life, which is important for a meaningful sporting engagement. While themes such as the importance of transience and mortality for human living, the importance of self-understanding, and the meaning of one's life are quite specific for this theoretical framework, some topics relevant to sport may receive fresh treatment from this new perspective (e.g. the topics of the human corporeality, action, spatiality, time, etc.). A failure to pay attention to human existence

and some of its important aspects would be extremely limiting for the study of sport, and Kinanthropology in general, since the concepts usually applied or presupposed within sport sciences are often reductive and inadequate.

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3. PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF SPORTS DOPING AMONG CZECH ADOLESCENTS¹

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Introduction

The issue of sports doping is a topic frequently discussed topics by both professionals and the lay public. It is also a subject of media interest, especially in situations where doping scandals of known athletes are presented. Thus, the issue of the use of performance enhancing substances has become a subject of interest and further discussion among sports medics, coaches, athletes themselves and the general public interested in sporting events.

Thus, the use of performance enhancing substances is brought to the attention of the wider public and becomes a serious social phenomenon whose significance crosses the boundaries not only of sport but also of different countries, and becomes a problem at the international level. As history shows, it has been a phenomenon accompanying sport since the time of the first ancient Olympics. It was associated with gradually increasing efforts to improve performance as one of the most important criteria of sports activity. This is especially true at the moment, when there is intense commercialization of sport and a tendency towards the financial rewarding of sport achievement and success. This is leading to an intention to reach top performance and subsequent social and economic profit, often at any cost. The severity of the phenomenon is further exacerbated by the fact that the use of performance enhancing substances is spreading beyond the area of elite sport into recreational sport, and thus largely beyond any control. In recreational sport, a much wider range of potential users, including the youth population, can be affected. This is why this phenomenon has become a

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subject of interest to the scientific community, both in the field of biomedical sciences and in recent times also in social sciences.

For the above reasons, the research project “Doping among Czech Adolescents: Prevalence, Correlates and Experience” was designed to obtain data related to doping abuse among Czech adolescents involved in both competitive and recreational sports. The main project objective was to discover which psychosocial phenomena are important in adolescent doping. These were primarily motivational factors (motivational orientation, self-determination) among adolescents with a tendency to use doping, or those already using it, and about the attitudes of this population to doping in sport.

The project design was based on the fact that adolescents practising sport represent one of the doping populations at risk. This developmental period can be regarded as particularly risky in relation to doping use, because of the physiological point of view that adolescents are very vulnerable to the side effects of these substances (Anderson *et al.*, 1997; Maravelias *et al.*, 2005). In this age period, young people are particularly influenced by social pressures related to competitive performance and physical appearance (Kindlundh *et al.*, 1999). According to the results of some studies, for example Blatný *et al.* (2006), Johnson *et al.* (1989), Sas-Nowosielski (2006), Slepíčka and Mudrák (2013), they tend to participate in risk behaviours with potentially serious long-term impacts, such as the tendency to dope.

Most available information on doping prevalence concerns adult athletes. In 2014, the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) reported that positive samples were obtained from approximately 1% of adult athletes from Olympic sports, and 3% from non-Olympic sports (WADA, 2014). These relatively low figures are to some extent inconsistent with the questionnaire studies, which show a much higher incidence (10-15%) in both competitive and recreational sports (Ntoumanis *et al.*, 2014).

Doping prevalence in adolescent sport

In the Czech context, research on attitudes and the prevalence of doping in adolescents and related risk factors has so far been limited. In the first (and according to our information the only) larger study conducted in 1995 it was found that 1% of Czech adolescents participating in the research admitted that they intentionally used or were using doping, and 14.5% of respondents

stated that they would like to try one day (Slepička & Slepičková, 1996, 1997). The aim of this chapter is to present the results of research focused on doping prevalence among Czech adolescents, their attitudes towards doping and related motivational aspects. In particular, we will present the results of the extensive questionnaire study, which aimed to find out a) what are the demographic characteristics of adolescents who reported the use of doping, and the extent to which Czech adolescents use doping, b) what are the attitudes of Czech adolescents towards doping, c) what are the motivational factors which are related to doping in adolescents.

This research project supported by WADA was conducted during 2014-2016 and was aimed at both the general youth population and the young active athlete. The main part of the data collection took place at elementary and secondary schools in all regions of the Czech Republic. Other respondents – competitive athletes – were contacted with the help of sports associations through specialist trainers and subsequently through coaches of the national teams. Fully completed questionnaires were obtained from 2851 respondents aged 12-22 (average age 16.2 years, SD = 1.84). The proportion of boys and girls in the study was approximately equal. Most of the respondents were attending secondary vocational school, elementary school, and grammar school and preparing for a professional carrier. The parents of the respondents were predominantly graduates from secondary schools and practising sports at least at a recreational level. From the point of view of the level of sport, most of the respondents practiced sport at a recreational and competitive level. Respondents most often reported that they practise their sport for 1-3 hours a week, or for 4-6 hours a week.

The questionnaires used in our research consisted of several parts, some of which were administered to all respondents and some to respondents participating in sport on a recreational or competitive level. Questionnaires were designed to capture factors that are related to doping or to attitude towards doping in international studies.

A questionnaire was used to determine the prevalence of doping (Slepička & Slepičková, 1996), investigating the frequency of use or the offering of doping. To determine doping attitudes, the Performance Enhancement Attitude Scale (PEAS) questionnaire was used (Petróczi & Aidman, 2009). This one-dimensional seventeen-item questionnaire identifies general attitudes towards doping (i.e., not related to one's own intention to use

doping). Respondents are to indicate on a six-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree) to what extent they agree or disagree with the statements regarding the various aspects of doping. The resulting score for attitudes to doping is obtained as the average of all items. The PEAS questionnaire shows good psychometric characteristics and has also been used to investigate attitudes towards doping in adolescents by other authors (Zelli, Malia & Lucidi, 2010). Also, in our study, the PEAS questionnaire showed good reliability (Cronbach alpha = 0.788).

It is important to note that we did not use objective methods for the detection of doping prevalence, but the self-assessment of respondents. Self-assessment is commonly used in doping research in adolescents (Pedersen & Wichstrøm, 2001), but this method of obtaining data has obvious limits. Respondents, for example, may indicate as doping various substances and methods that are not actually considered to be doping, or they may conceal doping because it is a socially rejected phenomenon.

We used the SPSS 21.0 software to analyse the data obtained. Basic descriptive characteristics were obtained through descriptive statistics (i.e. average, standard deviation, response frequency within individual questionnaire items). Correlation and regression analysis were used to determine relationships between variables. Only fully completed questionnaires were included in the analysis, so there were no missing data.

Regarding the use of doping, we found that 8% of our respondents reported to have used doping at least once (see Table 1). When comparing our results with questionnaires conducted in other countries, it can be stated that this reported doping rate among our respondents is relatively high. Similar results were found in American or Polish adolescents (Johnson *et al.*, 1989; Sas-Nowosielski, 2006), whilst in Italian or Scandinavian studies, adolescents reported a significantly lower doping rate (Kindlundh *et al.*, 2001; Pedersen & Wichstrøm, 2001). Also, in earlier research on the use of doping in Czech adolescents carried out in previous years (Slepička & Slepičková, 1996, 1997), a much smaller percentage of respondents reported doping experience. Findings regarding the extent to which our respondents were offered doping are relatively similar to those from other countries (e.g. Pedersen & Wichstrøm, 2001).

Table 1 – Prevalence of doping in the whole group of respondents (%).

Reported prevalence of doping use		Doping was offered to him/her at least once
At least once	8	16.9
Of which:		
Only once	3.3	8.3
Several times	3.6	7.7
Regularly	1.1	0.9

Our results suggest that some groups of Czech adolescents are more threatened by doping than others (see Table 2). In particular, it appears that doping is more likely to affect men, which was consistently also found in other studies (Kindlundh *et al.*, 2001; Pedersen & Wichstrøm, 2001; Sas-Nowosielski; & Swiatkowska, 2008). In terms of attending school, the highest rate of doping was reported by respondents attending secondary vocational schools. Based on these results, we can recommend that effective prevention doping programs should focus more on boys, especially on students of secondary vocational schools, although it is clear that the use of doping (less frequently) occurs across population of Czech adolescents.

It should also be taken into consideration that doping in adolescents is obviously related to the environment of organized sport, as more frequent use of doping was reported by Sport School students (a type of educational institution that offers education as well specialized sports preparation: translator's note) and elite athletes, and a significant relationship emerged between the frequency of doping usage and the levels and frequencies of sport practice. On the other hand, recreational athletes reported the use of doping to a higher degree than competitive athletes (but not elite), suggesting that the motivation to use doping is not just for sporting success. From the results, we can conclude that contact with the environment of organized sport had a stronger connection with whether the respondents had ever met the doping offer, rather than its actual use. Doping was often offered to elite and competitive athletes and, to a lesser extent, to recreational athletes. Young athletes who are in contact with the environment of organized sport may be more likely to be offered doping, but they may not necessarily become users to a greater extent than recreational athletes. At the same time, however, it is clear that doping poses a problem especially among adolescents at elite level taking part in sports competitions, and this group should also be given increased attention in this respect.

Table 2 – Comparison of reported doping use among different groups of respondents (%).

Differences among groups (Chi square test)	Reported use of doping		Doping has been offered at least once
Gender***	Boys	10.9	21.6
	Girls	5	12.2
Type of school***	Elementary	6.2	10.9
	Vocational	12.6	24.2
	Secondary	9.7	21.5
	Grammar	4	10.8
Sport School**	Sport	11.5	23.3
	Popular	7.3	15.6
Sport level***	Recreational	8.9	16.9
	Competitive	7.9	20.7
	Elite	12.3	25

Note: Difference (chi-square test) significant on level: *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$

In spite of the reported relatively high rate of doping use, adolescents participating in the study held negative attitudes towards doping, i.e. most of them evaluated various aspects of doping as problematic and refused doping as such (Table 3).

Table 3 – Attitudes of respondents to different aspects of doping in sport (%) (the whole group).

	Disagree	Agree
Sport would benefit from the legalization of doping	90	10
Doping is not cheating, because everyone dopes	89.6	10.4
Doping is necessary in order for a person to succeed in the competition	88	12
Doping inevitably belongs to competitive sport	83.3	16.6
It should only be about performance, not about how athletes achieve it	75.8	24.2
Athletes are under pressure to use doping	62.3	37.7

Compared to other international studies using the PEAS questionnaire, negative attitudes of Czech adolescents towards doping can be considered less pronounced. In our sample of respondents, doping users were more tolerant of this phenomenon in sport than those in international studies conducted by authors such as Petróczi and Aidman (2009). Our results also suggest that respondents may have relatively more positive attitudes when emphasizing a “rational” reason for using doping, such as returning after injuries or (economic) pressures of professional sport.

Our respondents also estimated that doping is a relatively common phenomenon in elite sport and that it is used on average by 42% of elite

athletes. For comparison, for example, British university athletes estimated that doping was used by 15% of athletes (Petróczi, 2007). One reason for the relatively high prevalence of doping may be that adolescents perceive doping as a normal part of elite sport, which provides some justification for its use, which is in line with the findings of Zelli, Malia and Lucidi (2010).

Motivation and doping in the sport of Czech adolescents

One of the partial aims of our research was to discover the role of motivation in the issue of doping in adolescents who practice physical activities. That is why we paid attention to the motivational orientation in relation to doping, and we present the results of the analysis of these relations, especially between the motivational orientation and the prevalence of doping among the respondents.

Wider social pressure on sporting success as one of the major causes of the use of doping is illustrated in the De Knop study (1996). It pointed out that already in children and youth sports in, for example, the European Union countries, performance in competition and social response are increasingly highlighted, which also has significant socio-economic implications for this group. One consequence is that young athletes are more likely to break the rules and reach out to doping as a means of achieving victory. Other studies have also found that motivational orientation highlighting achievement of sporting success and “victory at all costs” are related to the use of doping and positive attitudes towards doping (Ehrnborg & Rosén, 2009; Petróczi, 2007). The great importance of success for the toleration of doping use is illustrated also in the study by Slepíčka *et al.* (2000) that showed that 3% of the girls and 10% of the boys surveyed considered the use of doping. For achieving Olympic victory, the use of doping was accepted by one eighth of the respondents from a sample of boys engaging in performance sport, even in the event of later health problems. At the same time the study showed that most boys are convinced of a positive effect of doping on sports performance, while girls are considerably more cautious in this respect, probably given the risks associated with it.

Interesting findings have also been provided by studies of the use of enhancing substances even outside the field of performance-oriented sport. Some studies have shown that, especially among adolescent boys, a

particularly strong motive for doping use is an effort to achieve physical attractiveness (Kindlundh *et al.*, 2001). Kanayama, Hudson and Pope (2008) show that a large proportion of adolescent users of anabolic steroids use doping only within recreational sports, with the aim to improve their physical appearance.

In exploring the role of motivation in adolescent doping, we came out with a generally accepted motivational theory in sport called “the achievement goal theory approach” (Nicholls, 1984). This theory assumes the existence of two permanent personality orientations, namely the task orientation and ego orientation. Task-oriented individuals expect their efforts to manage the task to be rewarded with success. In ego-oriented individuals, success is associated with innate abilities rather than with effort. Such motivationally different athletes are also different in assessing motivationally attractive situations in sport. It can be assumed that these orientations will also be reflected in respondents in our research and are also relevant in the area of doping in youth sport, especially in issues related to attitudes to doping as a means of managing tasks and achieving success.

In doing so, we have defined doping as “the use of any means or substance intended to enhance artificially and unfairly sporting performances”. Respondents also assessed whether they had their own experience with the use of doping substances.

To discover the intention to use doping, we used a questionnaire in which respondents were asked on a six-point scale ranging from 1 (definitely not) to 6 (certainly yes) about the extent of their consent to the use of doping in four hypothetical situations:

- In the case that you would be striving for an important victory, would you use doping if you were absolute certain that it would not be detected?
- Would you take a doping substance that is not forbidden but could have undesirable health consequences?
- If you were sure that doping would not harm your health and help you succeed, would you use it?
- Would you take doping to improve performance if you knew it would help you to achieve life success to gain an Olympic medal?

The variable “the intention to use doping” then represents the average of these four items. This scale showed good reliability (Cronbach alpha = 0.872).

In order to measure the motivational orientation of the respondents, we used two questionnaires: Sources of Sport-Confidence Questionnaire (SSQ) (Vealey *et al.*, 1998) a Perception of Success Questionnaire (PSQ) (Roberts, Treasure & Balague, 1998). The questionnaire SSQ identifies on the scale 1 (Not at all important) to 7 (Most important) what situations in sports represent the sources of motivation for the respondents. We obtained the individual variables as the average of all corresponding items. The questionnaire as a whole showed very good reliability (Cronbach alpha = 0.919).

The PSQ Questionnaire identifies the situation in sport which the respondents perceived as successful. It is based on a two-dimensional concept of so-called goal orientations, which assumes that success in performance-oriented situations can be either the achievement of the task itself ("task") or a success compared to others ("ego"). Six items in the questionnaire measure each of these dimensions. PSQ measures from scale 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (definitely agree). The "task-oriented" and "ego-oriented" variables represent the average of the items of the corresponding scale. This questionnaire also had a good reliability in our study (Cronbach Alfa = 0.864).

First, we present the results of surveying of motivational orientation of respondents by the above-mentioned methods (Table 4). We present the average scores of the items of the corresponding scale for the whole group, both in motivational task orientation and in ego orientation. In addition, data on sources of self-confidence (transfer of one's own abilities and physical self-presentation) is reported for all respondents who gave a complete answer to the surveyed items. Data on self-confidence sources (social support, favourable environment, situational advantage) are also provided. This was observed only in the group of adolescents who participated in competitions on the performance and elite level, where sources of self-confidence stemmed both from sporting activities and from the situation context of performance-oriented sports.

The whole group shows a higher score on task orientation which illustrates the situation of children and youth sport in which it is necessary to master skills as a basis for every activity including sport. From the sources of self-confidence, task mastery was identified as the highest, which corresponds to the necessity to acquire and to improve skills and corresponds to the prevailing motivational task orientation.

Table 4 - Motivational orientation (descriptive statistics).

		n	Average	Standard deviation
Perceived success ¹ (athletes in competition and recreational sport)	Task orientation	2538	4.22	0.64
	Ego orientation	2538	3.50	0.84
Sources of self-confidence ² (athletes in competition and recreational sport)	Mastery	2527	5.24	1.10
	Demonstration of one's own abilities	2527	4.80	1.41
	Physical self - presentation	2527	4.17	1.62
Sources of self-confidence ² (only athletes in competition sport)	Social support	1024	5.57	1.13
	Environmental comfort	1024	4.74	1.36
	Situational favourableness	1024	5.60	1.23

¹ Measured on a scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (definitely agree).

² Measured on a scale ranging from 1 (not at all important) to 7 (of the highest importance).

For those who compete at the performance and the elite level, with respect to the sources of self-confidence (task mastery, demonstration of their own abilities, physical self-presentation), it is especially the respondents who emphasize the importance of social support from the closest social environment, especially from coaches, family, teammates, as well as the situational advantage, given by the experience that everything starts to go well.

If we want to answer the question of whether motivational orientation is related to doping issues in sporting youth, it is necessary to state the results of the correlation analysis of the relation of these orientations to attitudes towards doping, opinions on the occurrence of doping in sport, intention to use doping or using doping and cheating in sport. Cheating is cited in this context because doping is considered a fraud and a violation of the fair play principle in sport (Table 5).

Table 5 – Motivational orientation (correlation with reported use of doping, attitude towards doping and approval of cheating in sport).

		Use of doping	Doping was offered	Estimated prevalence of doping in one's own sport	Opinions on the occurrence of doping in elite sport	Positive attitudes towards doping	Intention to use doping	Approval of cheating in sport
Perception of success (athletes in competitive and recreational sport)	Task orientation	-.093**	NS	-.047*	NS	-.163**	-.080**	-.181**
	Ego orientation	NS	.062**	NS	NS	NS	.191**	.190**
Sources of self-confidence (athletes in competitive and recreational sport)	Mastery	NS	NS	NS	NS	-.093**	NS	-.108**
	Demonstration of one's own abilities	NS	.069**	NS	-.061**	NS	.182**	.171**
	Physical self-presentation	.069**	.072**	.095**	.063**	.083**	.220**	.181**
Sources of self-confidence (only athletes in competitive sport)	Social support	-.062*	NS	NS	NS	-.103**	-.124**	-.135**
	Favourable environment	NS	.066*	NS	NS	-.077*	NS	NS
	Situational advantage	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS

Note: ** Significant at .01 level; * significant at .05 level; NS - not significant.

The results document the existence of the relation between motivational orientation and attitude to doping, the intention to use doping, and the actual use of doping, to offer doping, or to tendency to cheat. The finding that we consider as significant with respect to motivational task orientation is a significant negative correlation to use of doping, attitudes towards doping, intent to use doping for achieving success in important competition, and to consent for cheating in sport. These cases manifest the fact that such motivational task orientation acts to a certain extent as prevention, reduces tolerance to doping, reinforces rejectionary attitudes towards doping and limits the tendencies to use doping or to cheat in sport. Similar findings include those of Sas-Nowosielski (2006) and Sas-Nowosielski and Swiatkowska (2008), which showed a positive relationship between positive attitudes toward doping and ego orientation and a negative relationship between positive attitudes towards doping and task orientation.

In the motivational ego orientation, there was a positive correlation between this orientation and the doping offer and the intention of respondents to use doping. If, according to Cury *et al.* (1997), the motivational ego orientation leads towards a tendency to compare oneself with others, to demonstrate one's own abilities and to succeed in comparison with others, this effort to succeed can be considered as a possible source of intent to use doping. Given the fact that a correlation with the frequency of offering doping has also been found, it can be concluded, in line with the studies of Ehrnborg and Rosén (2009) or Petróczi (2007), that motivation ego orientation emphasizing achievement of sports success is related to greater tolerance for doping use. This is reinforced by the concurrent external pressure on success (De Knop, 1996; Slepíčka *et al.*, 2000), which leads to tolerance of rules violation and cheating and creates preconditions for the possible use of doping as a means to achieve victory.

If we notice the sources of self-confidence in relation to some aspects of doping, it turns out that motivational orientation is reflected in the above-mentioned context. In mastering the task as a source of self-confidence, there are significant negative correlation with attitudes to doping and consent to cheat. Here, it is clear that the increased task mastery has an influence on creating rather negative attitudes towards doping and deepening disagreement with cheating. The opposite effect was manifested especially in physical self-presentation, where positive correlations were found with all observed

aspects of doping. In particular, it is necessary to mention the relation of the intent to use doping with consent to cheat and also for the actual use of doping. The effort to achieve physical self-presentation supports the intention to use doping, consent to cheating, and positive attitudes towards doping and its use (Table 6). These findings are also supported by foreign studies (Kindlundh *et al.*, 2001) which show that, especially in adolescent boys, a particularly strong motive for doping use is physical attractiveness, while a large proportion of adolescent users of anabolic steroids use doping only for recreational sports.

In performance and elite-level sport, in terms of the relation between sources of self-confidence and doping, social support is particularly important, which shows that in the group of respondents it reduces the risks of doping use, reinforces negative attitudes towards doping and weakens the acceptance of consent to cheating (Table 5). It can be stated that if the micro-social environment, represented in particular by parents, school, coaches and peers, provides adequate responses to the sporting activity of children and youth (trust, encouragement, praise) while respecting the abilities of individuals, it can act as a preventive element modifying the attitude of sporting youth towards doping.

The following Table 6 shows the results of a regression analysis of attitudes to doping and cheating among sporting respondents. The results support the facts identified by previous correlation analysis. Task orientation appears to be a variable associated with a negative attitude towards doping, the intention of not using doping and the disapproval of cheating in sport. Ego orientation appears to be a variable with a relation to positive attitudes, the intention to use doping, and consent to cheating in sport. From the sources of self-confidence, task mastery is also a variable that is mainly related to disagreement with cheating and the intention not to use doping. In this case, physical self-presentation also appears to be a variable related to positive attitudes towards doping, the intention to use doping and consent to cheating in sport.

It is also possible to state that motivational orientation and sources of self-confidence of sporting youth play an important role in the formation of attitudes towards doping, the intention to use doping, the use of doping and consent to cheating, which are important aspects of doping in sport in line with foreign studies (De Knop, 1996; Ehrnborg & Rosén, 2009).

Table 6 – Motivational orientation as a predictor of attitudes towards negative phenomena in sport (athletes in competitive and recreational sports) – regression analysis.

		Positive attitudes towards doping		Intention to use doping		Acceptance of cheating in sport	
		F (5, 2513) = 16.072 p < .001, R ² = .031		F (5, 2516) = 55.867 p < .001, R ² = .100		F (5, 2494) = 80.611 p < .001, R ² = .139	
		beta	P	beta	P	beta	P
Perception of Success	Goal orientation	-.101	.000	-.095	.000	-.203	.000
	Ego orientation	.086	.003	.146	.000	.190	.000
Sources of self-confidence	Goal achievement	-.072	.006	-.115	.000	-.149	.000
	Demonstration of one's own abilities	-.015	.619	.105	.000	.118	.000
	Physical self-presentation	.117	.000	.186	.000	.157	.000

Research has indicated that motivational task orientation reduces the likelihood of doping use, positive attitudes towards doping, intent to use doping, and the tendency to consent to cheating in sport. Motivational ego orientation rather supports the intention to use doping and also consent to cheating in sport. For self-confidence sources, the results are similar to task mastery, whilst physical self-presentation as a source of self-confidence has opposite effects.

When considering the conclusions drawn from these results, it is necessary to bear in mind the fact that the study used self-evaluation in the detection of doping prevalence. Self-evaluation is commonly used in doping research in adolescents, although it may induce a tendency to keep doping in secret, as it is a socially deviant phenomenon and admission may lead to potential sanctions.

These reported results are rather descriptive, and it is difficult to draw specific preventive procedures from them, which was outside of the scope of this study. Nevertheless, their usage can be considered in teaching and coaching practice in modifying the motivation of sporting youth in the context of everyday sports practice. Drafting possible content and focus of preventive programs can be offered as an additional possibility of research studies on doping issues in youth sports.

Conclusion

If adolescent sport continues to emphasize performance and success, it can be expected that an intensive search for all the means of achieving success will continue, despite the opportunities to fulfil these demands in accordance with congenital conditions. Doping will then continue to be the most serious form of “risk behaviour” in adolescent sport. No measures so far, either repressive or preventive, have succeeded in eradicating doping from sport. This is evidence, among other things, of the fact that these measures are still lagging behind the development of prohibited substances, which is supported, *inter alia*, by the economic advantage to produce such substances. Whether it is possible under these conditions sometimes to catch up with their producers through various measures and to exclude doping from sport remains an open question. It is also difficult because some of the substances used as doping are originally developed as drugs, and the search for new drugs is generally socially beneficial and cannot be limited in any way.

All this suggests that doping in adolescent sport is not a problem solved once and for all, but that it is and will be part of sport in the future, and will need repeated attention in everyday sports practice as well as theory.

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4. SPORT IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC - FROM VOLUNTEERISM TO PRIVATISATION¹

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Introduction

Sport in the Czech Republic has had a very long and rich tradition. In this paper, we aim to describe the position and organization of sport in the political, social and economic context since its early modern forms until present times, especially in the past 30 years. In addition to the main features of sport development as a global social phenomenon, we want to look specifically at long-distance running competitions as an example of the increasing privatization and professionalization of sport in the Czech Republic.

Czech society and the main attributes of sport development

Sport has always reflected social, economic and political life and it was often through sport that certain social issues came to light. Sport development in Czech society has relatively frequently mirrored its changing political and economic situation. A quick look at the history of the Czech Republic and sport development in its territory should help us understand the current position and organization of sport.

The first sports clubs and physical education organizations were founded in the second half of the 19th century (e.g. Sokol – founded in 1862; Czech Tourism Club – founded in 1888; the SK Slavia Praha football club – founded in 1895; Czech delegate participating in the foundation of the International Olympic Committee in 1894). The expansion of modern sports and fitness/physical activities followed the same pattern as in

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many other European countries, especially Western countries. After the foundation of an independent Czechoslovakia in 1989 (which became two separate countries – the Czech and Slovak Republics since 1993), private volunteer-based sports organisations saw a veritable boom with numerous clubs, associations and various specialised umbrella organisations. With the growing institutionalization of sports, the number of people involved in sports – both as active sportsmen and women and as fans attending sports events – continued to increase.

After an attenuation of sports activities during World War II, when a number of organizations were banned or disbanded (due to their strong national character, such as the Czechoslovak Olympic Committee, the Czechoslovak Sokol Community), sport could once again resume. However, the change of political regime in 1948 affected all aspects of Czech society, including sport. Czechoslovakia became part of the socialist bloc under the leadership of the Soviet Union. From its strong central position, the state became heavily involved in all areas of social life and sport was no exception. This was also a time of global rise in elite athletic efforts, which became a means for the two dominant political systems of the time – capitalism and socialism – to compete against each other. This was one of the reasons why the Czechoslovak state began building up an athletic training system, which eventually produced the famous runner and Olympic medalist Emil Zátopek. Efforts to find a suitable sports management system led to the foundation of the Czechoslovak Union of Physical Education (ČSTV) in 1957, which incorporated all previously independent fitness and sports organizations (there was also another central sports organization SVAZARM dedicated to technical sports). Under the state's auspices, this volunteer-based body organized all sports activities until 1990. Sport was managed and financed centrally and the organizational structure followed that of state administration both vertically (the state, two republics, 10 regions, 72 districts, and approx. 8,500 sports clubs) and horizontally (relative separation of sport union matters and sport financing and infrastructure on all administrative levels).

A radical turning point came with the events of 1989 that swept Central and East European countries of the socialist bloc. Although each country went through its own specific development, there were several shared principles that dictated the new phase of these countries' history. The following summary of these principles, that undoubtedly also affected sport

and have led to its present form including all positive and negative features, is inspired by the work of several authors specializing mainly in political science, public administration as well as sport (e.g. Dvořáková & Kunc, 1994; Mlčoch, Machonin & Sojka, 2000; Novotný, 2000; Slepíčková, 2007).

First and foremost, these countries opened up the path to a plurality of opinions, allowing the existence of multiple political parties and moving away from a central, directive planning of society. These new principles of social organization also found their way into sport and the ČSTV lost its position as the entities it formerly oversaw became autonomous legal entities. Many organizations that had merged into the ČSTV went their separate way again, while entirely new organizations appeared. On the one hand, this trend was an expression of the newly found freedom and democracy, but at the same time, in terms of sport governance, these changes resulted in a great fragmentation of sport and weakened its position vis-à-vis the state. For a certain period of time, there was no state body that was responsible for sport and that would systematically support it. It was not until 1993 that, with the split of the former Czechoslovakia into two independent countries, the Czech Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports became responsible for this agenda; and it has retained this role to this day.

Central and East European countries also started to enforce the rule of law and civil liberties. A major consequence of this process was a massive move from state ownership to a plurality of ownership types with great emphasis on private ownership. The process of privatisation began. In order to facilitate this shift, it was necessary to prepare and adopt dozens of new laws. New institutions, ministries and authorities were set up to oversee this transformation. Inevitably, new laws also affected the domain of sport. Sport organisations started to demand their rights – the right to be independent of the state and political parties, the right to freely manage their assets and secure their own funding, and the right to decide on internal matters. Volunteer sports organizations designed to meet the needs of their members carried on with their activities and have become a prototype of civic activities (today, there are more than 20,000 such organizations). They typically take the form of non-profit organizations with a democratic structure and steering bodies elected by members. The state cut down on sport financing and central planning was replaced by significant decentralization. The newly set up territorial administration gradually started to get involved in sport. The

management of sport organizations' assets (especially sports equipment) also changed with the changing general-purpose laws and some sport-specific legislation as well.

Social transformation also opened up opportunities for professional and commercial sport. In particular, large clubs whose athletes participated in top national and international competitions transformed into commercial corporations, including all that comes with their operation. Furthermore, many private sports clubs and for-profit companies were founded and started providing paid sports opportunities and related services.

Another major change concerned the position of individuals and new opportunities that opened up with the new political and economic system. We may describe this as a move from "a closed to an open society" (Marga, 1996). During socialist times, the societies of the Eastern bloc countries were largely homogeneous. The ideology of the time tried to create a classless society and equal living conditions for all. This would be possible only if there were no significant income differences between people. Small income differences also meant small or no differences in the wealth owned by citizens and their families and in their economic capital. Citizens' access to material and social goods depended, of course, on the overall economic level of the specific country, which in turn depended on their development before communism took over. Centralized state education provided equal opportunities to all. Tiny economic and social differences led to very little social stratification. This meant that it was far from uncommon for people of different professions and different levels of education to meet socially. It was pretty normal for a university professor to be member of the same sport club as a manual worker.

The transition to a market economy, privatization, influx of foreign capital, strengthening of personal freedoms as well as the weakening of the rule of law in the early stages of the transformation allowed some individuals to accumulate great wealth in legal as well as less legal ways. People with useful skills, knowledge and enough courage and will tried to succeed in the new competitive environment. The process of opening up to the European and global context throughout the 1990's brought an increasing availability and fast import of material goods (Mlčoch, Machonin & Sojka, 2000). Society turned towards consumerism and aspired to higher standards of living, but at the same time saw a deepening social and economic stratification. As a

result, on the one hand, a class of very rich people appeared, who can afford everything and anything and, on the other hand, we see an increase in groups and individuals at or even under the poverty line. Societies had to start facing up-until-then unknown issues, such as the use of illegal drugs, growing crime rates, etc. Another unheard-of problem appeared as well – unemployment. Class differences increased and societies became more and more socially and economically diversified.

Sport was no exception in this respect. The freedom of business enterprise resulted in a boom in private sport services. Sports equipment was no longer a rare commodity as during the previous regime and was suddenly available in a wide range of quality and price options. However, the increasing social and economic stratification often led to the exclusion of entire population groups from access to “non-essential” goods, including sport. On the one hand, sport became the subject of luxury consumption (golf, extreme sports, sport tourism in exotic countries) while on the other hand some people found it difficult to afford even the most basic sports equipment and membership fees for their children. For example, Feldösi (2009) in his overview of the sport situation in Hungary, another former socialist country, says that people lack money for their own sports activities and tend to lose interest in sport even as a form of passive entertainment.

Some countries in Central and Eastern Europe also struggled with national identity issues. Several states thus disintegrated into smaller independent states. As already mentioned, the former Czechoslovakia peacefully divided into the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic in 1993. However, in certain other post-communist countries these tendencies, sometimes used as pretext for power and political interests stemming from abroad, resulted in prolonged violent conflicts (e.g. the former Yugoslavia and the former Soviet Union). In the context of sport, this meant organizational changes both within the countries themselves and on the international level, because the fledgling states became new members of international sport bodies. This necessarily spilled over to the organization of international sports events including the Olympic Games, the summer version of which currently hosts more than 200 national Olympic teams (207 countries participated in the 2016 Rio Olympics).

The changes outlined above gave birth to the new position of sport in the Czech Republic. The status and number of sport organizations changed,

as did the role and share of public, for-profit and volunteer sectors in the organization of sport activities. However, the transformation of societies in 1989 also had certain revolutionary characteristics and revolutions always bring about sharp breaks that tend to soften their “edges” over time and a new balance is usually found. The same happened in sport and its evolution continues even into the new millennium with an effort to find an ideal model for the Czech environment. However, these efforts focus mainly on the relationship between the public and the volunteer sector, primarily due to the distribution of public funds and due to the bodies that should be authorized to allocate these funds to the two sectors. The private sport sector tends to go its own, relatively independent, way just like other businesses in other industries. We will now, therefore, give a brief overview of the changes in sport financing, discussing the reasons why Czech sport is currently organized the way it is and what questions are on the table at the moment.

With the advent of democracy and liberalization, the emergence of a free market for sport at first led to the fragmentation of the volunteer sport movement with every national association and every sport club/athletic union becoming an independent legal entity. Sport organizations that were forcibly merged into the central ČSTV organization regained their independent status and entirely new organizations emerged as well. However, this fragmentation fostered a strong mutual competition, especially on the level of umbrella organizations that had to deal with disputes about sports infrastructure ownership. They also had to divide their membership and volunteer base, which considerably weakened the position of amateur sport in relation to the state. In 1993, the government set up the new Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport, which was supposed to coordinate sport-related matters, but it lacked any legislative support (there was no sport-specific law).

Eventually, the amateur sector realized that despite their independence, the new legal entities must work together and act together when negotiating with the state. In the meantime, municipalities became more involved in local sport, again without any legislative basis. It was up to local and regional elected officials to decide whether to support sport or not. It was only the imminent accession to the European Union and election of a left-leaning cabinet at the turn of the millennium that brought qualitative changes in the form of cabinet papers and later a very brief framework, the Sport Act (2001), which was extensively amended in 2016. The Sport Act defined the basic means

of centralized financing of sport from state funds (subsidy programmers) as well as the responsibilities for developing concept documents concerning sport development on the national, regional and municipal level. The amendment further specified which areas should be the target of state support – namely sport and coaches for children and youth, national sport teams and organization of prestigious international sport events in the Czech Republic. There is also a clear effort to collect objective data on the sports environment (the number of athletes, sport clubs, sport facilities).

Nevertheless, expert analyses of sport support indicate problems with the transparency and complexity of sport financing, the persistently poor and neglected state of sports infrastructure, and low levels of engagement in sports and physical activity among children and youth. At the same time, we must stress the positive role of regions and towns that have been increasingly active in their support of sport even since the political changes in the 1990's despite the lack of specific rules in the above Act or indeed any other legal regulation. Without local and regional support, it would be very difficult to develop sport infrastructure and maintain the activities of sport clubs (supported through subsidies, donations and sport funds). However, the strongest position in negotiations with the state still belongs to umbrella amateur organizations that have a long, rich tradition in the Czech Republic, which gives them the necessary credibility. The near future will show whether our country manages to find a functional and financially efficient model of sport financing.

Growth in the for-profit sector and the privatization of sport

The above outline of sports organization and support in the Czech Republic indicates that the sport environment is very heterodox and that all three sectors find their place there. The market economy of the Czech Republic, the population's liberal and even neoliberal character and the growing social stratification have shaped the present situation of Czech sport in the context of the wider changes on the global scale. Czech (formerly Czechoslovak) sport originally started in volunteer, amateur organizations, as was the case in most European, especially West European countries. The decentralization of sport after 1990 and the autonomy of amateur sports organizations on all

levels, from the national to the municipal, together with the emergence of many new types of sport, have resulted, among other things, in a competition among amateur sport organizations when it comes to finding funding and members (there are now more than 20,000 such organizations).

In addition to this internal competition, there is also a new external rival in the form of the for-profit sports sector which has been able to develop quickly and flexibly to offer new sports and to take on new organizational forms thanks to the new principles on which societies now operate. Paid sport services have allowed many citizens to be physically active in line with their personal needs, interests and time possibilities. On the one hand, the commercial sport sector has competed with the amateur, volunteer sector, but on the other hand it has expanded sport options beyond the range of amateur sports organizations whose goals are, by their very nature, fundamentally different. They mainly aim at training members for regular participation in competitions, but their capacity is limited both in HR and financial terms, as well as in terms of sports infrastructure.

At present, more than 32,000 entities are directly or indirectly involved in the sport business in the Czech Republic (Slepičková *et al.*, 2017). These entities have many legal forms, typically operating as self-employed entrepreneurs and/or private companies (joint-stock companies and limited-liability companies). Many of these entities own and/or run sports facilities or manage sport clubs. Other areas of business involve the manufacturing of sports equipment, fitness services, sport and physical education, and the sale and lease of sports equipment and bikes. We must also mention that many clubs on the elite level, especially in the team sport area, have transformed into joint-stock companies following the lead of international athletic business (football, ice hockey, volleyball, etc.). Furthermore, an amateur sports club can carry out business activities at the same time. However, the gains must be reinvested into the club's operation. Many clubs thus carry out both traditional community activities hand in hand with business activities that generate funds for the amateur effort (for example in order to pay volunteer coaches, run and maintain own sports facilities).

The increasing importance of private money and insufficient involvement of state financing (Kraus, 2016) highlight a trend that has been apparent in sport on the global level – privatization. Considering that amateur athletes today must pay often enormous membership fees to join amateur sports

clubs, and that they pay for the services of private fitness centers and clubs and buy their own sports equipment, it is not surprising that most of the money invested in sports comes from individuals/households and not from the state.

The success of Czech athletes, and specifically Czech female athletes at the Pyeong Chang Winter Olympics in South Korea, triggered a discussion on the financing of national sport and the state's support, especially when it comes to training for elite international competitions. The Czech Olympic medalists were able to achieve these excellent results thanks to enormous support from their families, who often spent millions of Czech korunas on their athletic efforts². Only very few families can afford to support their child on such a scale. In this case, moreover, we are talking about expensive winter sports – skiing and snowboarding. Of course, this “investment” eventually paid off in the form of sponsorship deals and advertising deals, that often substantially exceed the initial investment, but only a few, exceptionally talented individuals can reach this level.

With the exception of these outlier cases, though, many families find it difficult to fund their children's sports activities in amateur sports clubs, in lower leagues or simply for leisure. Of course, the cost depends on the financial intensity of the specific sport and on whether club coaches still maintain the volunteering tradition and train children for free, whether they get at least some remuneration from the club, or whether they are actually club employees. The trend of coach remuneration has been stronger and stronger in recent years and it is a necessary development, which is reflected in the current version of the Sport Act (2016). Since there was a time when sport clubs received little support from the state, and for a number of years received no state support at all (either through sport federations or umbrella organizations), they had to finance their activities mostly through membership fees. The support of local municipalities has, therefore, been invaluable for their survival and came mostly in the form of subsidies or direct budget contributions.

2 In 2017, the average gross wage in the Czech Republic was CZK 29,050, or approx. CZK 20,000 after taxes and insurance. The Olympic medallist's family has stated that preparation for the Olympic Games cost them CZK 12,000,000. For the average family, this amount is equal to 50 years' wages.

The above very brief description of the sport support situation in the Czech Republic points to two issues that complicate the general public's participation in sport. Firstly, amateur sport organizations have a limited capacity and, secondly, active sport is beyond the means of some social groups, which may exclude some very talented children and young people. The increasing privatization of sport, i.e. the need to pay more and more money for sport activities for adults and children (Rosenberg, 2013), has joined several other factors that together drive people away from physical activities, which leads to serious social consequences (low levels of fitness, obesity and loss of interest in sport). Many people, especially those with lower incomes, may find themselves faced with major barriers in their entry to sport (Bourdieu, 2000; Collins & Kay, 2003; Slepíčková, 2011). This is especially problematic for children and youth. The Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport has recently prepared concept documents in response to this alarming situation.

Running events - sport for all or luxury hobby?

Only 15% of Czech adults are members of sports clubs and most of these are young people, especially young men who have ambitions to participate regularly in competitions. Others, if they engage in sport at all, typically use the services of commercial clubs or are physically active on their own. For this section of the population, sport is a private matter and is financed from private funds. This is true for the 25-30 age group and for older people who no longer aim at elite levels of competition and have other motives for engaging in sport. Many of these adults use the commercial services of fitness and health centers. However, three-quarters of adults are not members of any club, private or amateur. Many of them are physically active in an informal way, in parks, etc. (European Commission, 2014). Overall, the adult Czech population believes that the state should support sport for children and youth and that adult sport does not merit too much support from the state (Slepíčka & Slepíčková, 2002a, 2002b). This shows that adults view sport as their private matter and they believe that, since they are gainfully employed, they can finance their own sport activities. Together with other factors, this attitude opens up opportunities for private business in sport in order to meet the needs of these people.

Sports goods and services are now widely available and each person can choose to their liking according to their means and possibilities (space, money, health, etc.). Running and jogging are among the most popular physical activities among the adult population. As an athletic discipline, running has been a quintessential sport since antiquity to this day. However, running today is not tied only to athletic events held at traditional facilities (stadiums, halls) and organized through sport clubs. Since the 60's and 70's, various sport and athletic events have been marketed to the general public as a form of prevention of "diseases of civilization", and running was seen as an ideal form of physical activity. This was further driven by the social trend of "informality", where people were no longer shy to engage in sport in public, outside of sport club facilities.

This leisure (r)evolution gave a great boost to running and resulted in the first wave of its popularity (Scheerder, Breedveld & Borges, 2015). The global running boom, based on the medical findings of Kenneth Cooper, reached even the former Czechoslovakia in the 1970's and leisure running was promoted as part of various fitness programmers for the public and through an increasing number of open running events attended by both members of sport clubs and any other leisure runner. Czechoslovakia was one of the leaders of this trend. In Prague, the first marathon was held in 1963 and there was an even earlier marathon event in the city of Ostrava in the region of North Moravia. Brochures for amateur runners provided advice on individual training with the aim of increasing physical fitness and improving health. According to the above authors, the second wave of the running boom came at the turn of the millennium and continues until today. Millions of people go for a run every week either on their own or as part of informal groups and many take part in various running events. The running business is highly developed, offering sports equipment and supporting running events in the form of competitions, training and advice. Running's "emancipation" from the confines of amateur sport clubs and the private sector's involvement in the production of goods and services for runners thus represent a positive example of sport privatization and professionalization where this trend has helped spread physical activity throughout the population.

The following data illustrate the growing popularity of running in the Czech Republic, in line with the global trend in this area. We may take the example of the Běchovice run (Bednář, 2011), which was first held in 1897

(a 10 km route starting in a small town outside of Prague and terminating in the capital city). At first, only a handful of runners participated, mostly members of sport clubs. The number of those reaching the finish line was at first in single digits and later increased to double digits as organized sport developed between the wars. Social and sport developments continued to push up the number of runners who completed the race, which averaged approx. 600 in the 1960's. As the first running wave reached Běchovice in the 1980's, the number increased to 3,500. However, political changes in the early 1990's triggered a crisis in sport management and the number of successful race participants dropped to approx. 1,100 each year.

However, the current boom in running has seen the organization of numerous races by various organizations, many of which have found success in the organization of sport and running events for the general public as well as cross-country skiing events and other sports. Finding precise figures on the number of events organized each year is very difficult. For example, according to the Behej.com, s.r.o (n.d.) there were 900 races of various types (road, cross-country, running with dogs, relay, etc.) and lengths (from 3 to 111 km) held within 100 km of the capital city of Prague in 2018 alone, including 75 half-marathons and marathons. Taking into account the size of the Czech Republic (population of 10.5 million and 78,868 km²) and population density, we may assume that the nation-wide number is twice as high. Of course, one running event usually includes several races of different lengths, which allows children and less able participants to run a shorter race while more advanced runners, both amateur and professional, can run the longer race.

As already mentioned, half-marathons and marathons are very popular and many famous international marathons are televised, such as those held in Boston, New York, London and Berlin. Live coverage of the Prague marathon and half-marathon has also become a tradition in the Czech Republic. The popularity of these events has attracted the attention of researchers and a number of expert publications are now available. IRNIST (International Research Network in Sport Tourism), an NGO group of university researchers based in Lille, France, has studied the economic impact of such events and their effect on sustainable development and other related issues. In 2016 and 2017, the group collected data for a comparative study of the half-marathon held in the countries of origin of the group's members (10 European countries,

3 North African countries and Canada; the Czech Republic is represented by the Faculty of Sport and Physical Education of the Charles University).

We used the study as a source of data regarding the Czech Republic, specifically regarding a half-marathon held in the city of Ústí nad Labem on September 17, 2016. This city, with a population of 93,000 (which makes it a medium-size town in the Czech context) is located in the north of the country and is the regional capital of the Ústí region. The *Mattoni Ústí nad Labem Half Marathon* is part of a series of marathons, half-marathons and other events held by the company RunCzech, s.r.o.³ In 2016, 2,238 runners finished the marathon and the researchers were able to get in touch with them through e-mail (contacts provided by RunCzech). The electronic questionnaire was completed and returned by 610 participants. Developed by IRNIST, the questionnaire included 68 questions (regarding socio-demographic characteristics, participation in the race, and socioeconomic impact; and with additional questions about participants' quality of life). We selected questions that give us insight into the participants and their involvement in running and, at the same time, indicate some of the wider issues, such as problems in modern sport.

Of those who made it through to the finish line, 2/3 were men and 1/3 were women. Only 1/3 were locals (people living in or near the city). Over 60% of runners traveled more than 60 km to get to Ústí nad Labem and 30% traveled even more than 100 km. This is also an indication of the good promotion of the event (held since 2011) and the fact that it is part of a larger series of half-marathons. However, nearly half of all runners participated in the Ústí event for the first time. A less favorable finding in terms of the environment is that nearly 70% of all respondents used a car to get to the event. Half of the respondents (46%) considered the half-marathon a family event and only 22% participated purely on their own (most being men). The company of other people is much more important for women and this influences participation in most leisure sport activities, not only those involving team sports. Table 1 shows the different reasons for participation.

³ Founded in 1995, RunCzech has organised the Prague International Marathon (PIM), which is now considered one of the 17 best city marathons in the world.

Table 1 – Reasons for participating in the half-marathon (%).

	men	women
To compete, take part in an athletic competition	34	30
For fun, pleasure, excitement of the race	50	62
To meet other people, go out	17	26
To improve one's health	35	38
Outdoing oneself, test own abilities	55	70
To relax, unwind, get away from the daily routine	30	48
To maintain, improve physical fitness	38	50
To try something new	23	42

Note: Respondents could tick several boxes.

Results summarized in Table 1 indicate that for most participants, running is a challenge and a fun way to spend their free time. This is especially true for women, who are not the typical participants in such races. This might be why the results indicate a great effort to test one's abilities and to try something new. More rational reasons such as improving one's health and fitness rank below social and fun aspects of running. The following table shows the socio-demographic characteristics of race participants.

Table 2 – Education level (%).

	men	women
Elementary, vocational school without academic diploma	7.1	5
Secondary with academic diploma	36.3	31.5
University – Bachelor	10.5	20.5
University – Master, Ph.D.	45.1	39.1

The above table shows that the majority of participants had higher or even the highest education level. Questions about employment and income showed similar results in terms of the economic status of participants. Three-quarters of participants were salaried employees, 10% were businessmen, 5% self-employed and 1.7% unemployed. The majority were married (65%) and only 23% were single, 10% divorced or widowed. The data shows that most participants were adults (only 2% were students) with a stable social situation. Their income was in the higher tiers for the Czech Republic. We split the respondents into deciles according to their income. Less than a fifth of respondents fell into the first 5 deciles with the lowest income, otherwise all participants had income above the national average and the earnings of a half of the respondents even fell into the top two deciles. For most participants, therefore, the race fee of CZK 700 was not a major financial barrier and the

questionnaires show that many respondents participated in the entire running series of which the Ústí event is part. These socioeconomic characteristics show that this sport event attracted people with an elevated socioeconomic status. The education level and the reasons for taking part in the race indicate that most respondents consciously reflect on their own life.

The above half-marathon example and the growing number of running and other events show that sport business is a successful industry and leads to the commercialization of sport for all. Sport privatization and decline of amateur sport clubs has occurred in parallel with people's willingness to pay to enter races and finances other costs related to races such as travel and accommodation. Furthermore, the fact that the race attracted an adult population of all ages including women highlights the potential of such events to contribute to the development of sport and to make sport accessible to a wide public. However, the very low percentage of participants with a low socioeconomic status, and the fact that only 40% of race participants were locals (the Ústí region is one of the less developed areas of the Czech Republic), indicates that more attention should be paid to people who cannot afford to take part in events like this.

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5. DEVELOPMENT OF TURISTIKA, OUTDOOR SPORTS AND EDUCATION IN NATURE AT CHARLES UNIVERSITY, FACULTY OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SPORT

IVANA TURČOVÁ AND JAN NEUMAN

A unique Department of Outdoor Sports was founded in 1953 at the first Czech college of physical education (Institute of Physical Education and Sport¹). This department has offered study programmes in outdoor sports and different types of *turistika*² since its beginning. In the course of time, three separate study programmes have been developed, now taught at three separately working sub-departments (skiing, water sports, and *turistika*, outdoor sports and outdoor education). The department has not only developed these activities but also distinctly influenced the development of outdoor sports and activities in the Czech Republic, in school education, in non-formal education and after 1989 also in the commercial sphere.

This chapter describes the work of the Turistika, Outdoor Sports and Outdoor Education sub-department. We will introduce the Czech concept of *turistika*, which is unique internationally. We have already written about this in several journal articles and book chapters (Turčová, Martin & Neuman, 2005; Martin, Turčová & Neuman, 2007; Martin, Turčová & Neuman, 2016; Neuman, Turčová & Martin, 2018; Neuman & Turčová, 2018). Then we will discuss the roots of outdoor education in the Czech lands and its development after 1989. Finally, we would like to introduce the course Turistika and Outdoor Sports, which has been compulsory for physical education and sport students since 1954 at our Faculty and serves as a model course for future physical education teachers and coaches, which they can use in their work with children and youth.

1 Now Faculty of Physical Education and Sport of Charles University (UK FTVS).

2 Active movement involving outdoor and cultural activities.

Turistika

Whilst the English term “outdoor education” is accepted in Czech as “výchova v přírodě”, its translation as “education in nature”³ involves *turistika* activities, defined as traveling for fun and playing games with the aim of learning about nature (Guth-Jarkovský, 2003). The original form of *turistika* involved active movement on foot (i.e. walking, hiking), but now includes cycling, canoeing, skiing, mountaineering, caving and horse-riding). *Turistika* also involves other outdoor and cultural activities (e.g. local history, art, music, and entertainment; mushroom and berry picking). The main aim of *turistika* is learning about nature, landscape, cultural sites and people. It is a connection of movement, learning and aesthetic experiences.

Whilst some tourism definitions involve traveling away from local environments (Mason, 2003), *turistika* is culturally unique and specific to the Czech context and environment. The Czech language does not have different terms to distinguish *turistika* (active movement involving learning) from tourism (also *turistika*). There are many words in English for *turistika* on foot (e.g. trekking, hiking, walking, rambling). For active forms of travelling, German uses the expression “Wandern” (*Fusswandern*, *Skiwandern*, *Radwandern*, *Bergwandern*). However, the main aim of these activities is to finish a certain journey or reach a peak. Learning is not emphasised. German uses “Reisen” and French “tourisme” for passive forms of *turistika*, or for travelling by different means of transport. For active forms of outdoor stay French uses “plein air”.

The whole Czech Republic is interconnected with a dense net of marked touristic paths – for wheelchairs, walking, cycling, skiing, horse-riding. Marking started already in 1889 and paths are marked by volunteers (members of the Czech touristic club). The club publishes touristic maps and guides.

Students of UK FTVS are introduced in their compulsory courses with cycle-touring, water-touring and ski-touring. They can also enrol optional courses on mountaineering, which are realized in the neighbouring Austrian Alps.

³ For the Czech “výchova v přírodě” we will use later on the translation “education in nature” to distinguish from the British “outdoor education”.

Education in nature

Roots

Although no Czech university offers a degree on education in nature, programmes using education in nature have been organized in our country since the beginning of the 20th century. According to Neuman *et al.* (in print) the term “education in nature” had a similar meaning in the 1920s as “schools in nature”. The programme was offered mainly to children from urban areas, for health reasons. Schools in nature are today organized by most primary schools, not only those in big cities.

Later education in nature, in formal and non-formal education, started to apply new methods from popular youth organisations, like *Woodcraft Indians* and *Scouting*. As well as health benefits, these activities bring other significant benefits for young people, especially in the social area (working in small groups). *Základy junáctví* (Svojsík *et al.*, 1912), *A Bible of Czech Scouting*, brought unique arguments for the importance of education in nature. The authors (important medics, educators and politicians of the time) connect scouting with education in nature and outdoor experiences, and argue the need to connect education with real life.

The biggest Czech physical education movement, *Sokol*, developed outdoor stays with educational elements from 1924. Ideas about education in nature also appeared in books by Miloš Seifert and in the name of his organization *League for Education in Nature – Forest Wisdom* (2014)⁴. The writer and teacher Eduard Štorch (1878-1956) organized school courses in nature for children and understood the outdoor stay and education as very important for a healthy lifestyle. Another writer and teacher Jaroslav Foglar (1907-1999) connected education with romance, adventure, outdoor stay and outdoor exercises. Similarly, his follower Miloš Zapletal developed outdoor exercises in education and adventure education connected with exploring.

In the 1960s “education in nature” appeared in programmes taught at the Faculty of Physical Education and Sport, and it has been discussed in Czech literature since 1980s.

⁴ Czech version of *woodcraft*.

Education in nature after 1989

The change of political system in 1989 brought with it many changes for citizens of the former Czechoslovakia in all spheres of outdoor life and outdoor activities. The fall of the Soviet bloc opened possibilities to study abroad, to travel and visit conferences, and to access information. This resulted in diverse and changing influences on new outdoor sporting trends involving practice, commercialism and equipment arriving from western countries. The foundation of *European Institute of Outdoor Adventure Education and Experiential Learning* (EOE) conferences, and the support and cooperation of colleagues in Europe, also provided significant inspirational sources for successfully adapting practice. Significant changes came in formal education, non-formal education, in organizations supporting education in nature and outdoor activities, and in the commercial sphere, which did not exist before 1989.

New general educational programmes published by the Ministry of Education have given teachers in schools the chance to prepare more creative activities and use different teaching methods. Many schools include in their outdoor programmes skiing courses, summer courses, and water-touring courses on Czech rivers. Most youth institutions, and organizations working partly on a voluntary basis, transformed into civic associations or foundations. Most organizations have their own internal systems of educating instructors and youth workers and have accreditation with the Ministry of Education, Youth and Physical Education: e.g. mountain leader, experiential educator, instructor of outdoor stays, instructor of leisure sport activities, instructor of cycle-touring, climbing, water-touring, skiing, snowboarding, etc.

The student textbook *Turistika a sporty v přírodě* (Neuman *et al.*, 2000) [*Turistika and Outdoor Sports*] motivated more publications on education in nature in the Czech Republic. Doctoral theses by Turčová (2005a) and Bartůněk (2008) were particularly important. The journal *Gymnasion* was first published in 2004, and this helped to promote the area at the beginning of the new millennium. Up to now, it has published many papers related to theory and practice of experiential learning, outdoor education and outdoor learning.

Education in nature today

Although the term “*výchova v přírodě*” appeared in the Czech Republic as a translation of the English “outdoor education”, we understand it today as a Czech term. It is mainly connected with the education of young people in youth organizations. Czech experts connect “*výchova v přírodě*” (education in nature) mainly with non-formal education outside schools, whereas in Britain “*outdoor education*” is understood in relation to formal education in schools. Therefore, it has been substituted recently by “*outdoor learning*”, because it includes all different groups of people (Turčová, 2005).

In the last two decades, Czech people have woken up from the dream that the way to prosperity will be fast and easy. In politics, the dominant position of traditional parties has been weakened and new political movements have appeared, as a result of dissatisfaction with corruption and “hesitation” about EU politics (e.g. issues of migration, rising bureaucracy, etc.). There is a general feeling that lifestyle choices have narrowed, although increasing numbers of Czechs travel outside the country to the mountains and sea. As a consequence, traditional Czech outdoor activities like “*turistika, pobyt v přírodě*” (outdoor stays) or “*táboření*” (camping) are often overlooked.

Educational organizations, both at school and tertiary level, continue to show both Czech and international audiences that it is possible to find inspiration in historical outdoor Czech traditions and still participate in them today. However, it is recognized that younger people are strongly influenced by global marketing and commercial trends in outdoor activities and equipment. In Czechia, the lack of sport equipment over many years has led to the rapid development of sport and outdoor equipment production over the past two decades. Equipment has played a significant role in the change of the “outdoor culture” in the Czech Republic (Kvasnička, 2004). These trends are observable in all generations. However, not having the correct high-tech equipment may be perceived as preventing access to participation in some outdoor sports or activities. New trendy outdoor sports have gradually established their own subculture (Hofmanová & Šebek, 2013).

There is a boom in different forms of walking (Nordic walking), running (jogging), cycling (cycle touring, mountain bike, cross, single tracks), climbing (artificial walls, bouldering, via ferrata in the Alps), in-line skating, skiing (cross-country, carving skiing, ski touring, telemark

skiing), snowboarding, skateboarding and kiting (land, snow, water). The most common outdoor activities that Czechs undertake in their free time are – cycling and cycle-touring in summer, and downhill and cross-country skiing in winter, and also running and in-line skating. A very popular outdoor activity is picking mushrooms.

The adjective “experiential” has become an increasingly used term since the end of the 1990s. Features of “*Erlebnisgesellschaft*”, the “experience society” (see the German sociologist, Schulze, 2000), also appear in Czech society. Part of society is oriented to life goals of satisfaction, happiness and immediate experiences offered by the consumer society, which is characterized by hedonistic values and often moves far away from characteristics like overcoming obstacles and effort, solidarity, patience and asceticism. Some former “outdoor sport” or *turistika* courses have recently changed their names to “experiential” courses.

The trend, identified by Salome (2013) as “indoorisation”, is observable in many outdoor sports. It is only a question of time before there will be an artificial skiing hall in Czechia. This trend has advantages for non-seasonal sport training, but also for beginners or people who do not want to lose time traveling to the outdoors. It is also nature-friendly. Besides the outdoor industry, there is a great opportunity for the commercialization of indoor adventure. However, it can be argued that activities in which participants are in contact with natural environments and outdoor activities contribute to personal and social development and health promotion.

To sum up, education in nature in the Czech Republic is today understood as a process of experiential learning, which is realized mainly in the natural environment. The main emphasis is on relationships (between people, and between people and the environment) and different outdoor activities are used to reach these goals. They can be realized in schools, in non-formal education, and in the commercial sphere; and they are aimed at all groups of the population. Education in nature can also be understood as a method using the natural environment in all spheres of education. It uses direct experiences, not textbooks and other classical teaching methods.

In today’s world many norms have ceased to be valid, and we melt in global space. Society is not structured in the same way any more and has changed into a network (rather a matrix), in which we live our virtual lives. People understand the world through abstract terms, not through direct

experiences, and so the experiences we gain through direct contact with nature are becoming more and more important today.

Outdoor terminology problems

The term “outdoor education” is used quite broadly to refer to a range of organized activities which take place in predominantly outdoor environments for a variety of purposes (Neill, 2008). Practices of outdoor education vary according to culture, philosophy, and local conditions (Brookes, 2006; Ford, 1986; Freakley, 1990; Lugg, 1999; Turčová, 2005; Neill, 2008). The often-used terms such as outdoor education, adventure education, outdoor learning, experiential learning, outdoor adventure education or adventure programming have different meanings in different countries (Turčová, Martin & Neuman, 2005). Neuman, Turčová and Martin (2013) concluded that the field of outdoor experiential education still suffers from cultural terminology misunderstanding. There is a need for more collaborative cross-cultural (language) research to provide greater understanding of these context-specific differences and perspectives.

Researchers at the Department of Outdoor Sports (UK FTVS) have been trying to find connections between the Czech tradition in education in nature and new trends from abroad (*turistika, pobyt v přírodě, tělocvičné aktivity v přírodě, sporty v přírodě* versus outdoor activities, outdoor education, adventure education, experiential learning). The leading researchers developing the Czech concept of “zážitková pedagogika” (experiential pedagogy) are Ivo Jirásek and Radek Hanuš from the UP FTK Department of Recreology. Jirásek (2004) characterized “zážitková pedagogika” as reflecting upon experiential events with the aim of acquiring learning that is transferable into the wider life situations. The term “dramaturgy” plays a key role in Czech creative and holistic outdoor experiential programme design. It involves the dramaturgical arrangement of activities into a meaningful wholeness, with physical movement activities, original games, art, music and drama activities, social and group problem solving activities, psychological and reflective activities – all as potential elements of the whole (Martin *et al.*, 2004). The indigenous nature of the Czech *turistika* activities and the holistic balance of the dramaturgy methods of creative course design provide challenges using different personal dimensions, other than just physical

outdoor activities. Dramaturgy approaches provide opportunities to enrich programmes internationally, reflecting different unique cultures and style, and examples of the approaches and lessons that can be found in traditions that are currently underrepresented in the English-language dominated outdoor experiential education literature.

We argue that the Czech concept of “zážitková pedagogika” is an inspiring methodical approach, based on the philosophy of the educator Comenius, which helps participants in different ways and through powerful learning experiences to enhance their personal development and form their own worldview. When we compare the Czech term “zážitková pedagogika” to the English “experiential education” and the German “Erlebnispädagogik”, the English and German are more closely associated with method and philosophy, whereas the Czech approach indicates that it is a philosophical and pedagogical discipline. Inconsistency in terminology (using the term “experience”) is also discussed in the literature by Becker, Braun and Schirp (2007); Breuning (2005); Fox (2008) and Payne (2002).

International cooperation

Czech outdoor educators have been cooperating internationally since the 1970s. Jan Neuman visited Outward Bound Germany in 1987 and 1989-1991. In 1993, Centre of Outdoor Activities (CAP) started to organize outdoor programmes for secondary school students from Germany (Project Viking) and the first outdoor management training course in the Czech Republic. The international seminar *Outdoor Activities* in Prague in 1994 started a series of international conferences related to outdoor activities and outdoor education. The first seminar was very successful and connected many European and overseas experts. In the following years, the Czech Republic participated in founding the European Institute for Outdoor Adventure Education and Experiential Learning (EOE) in 1996. In 2004 the first biannual International Mountain and Outdoor Sports Conference (IMOSC) was organized, and in 2018 UK FTVS hosted its 9th conference. In 1999, the project “Authentic learning in the context of landscape” connected representatives from five countries (Austria, Czech Republic, Germany, Sweden, and United Kingdom). Two international courses followed from this project within the EU grant-awarding programme Comenius Action 2, coordinated by

the Kinda education centre in Sweden. Representatives from 12 European countries participated in the project “Non-formal education through outdoor activities” (2004-2006).

Groups of Czech teachers and experts joined the international project “Outdoor Learning” (*UK PedF*), and “Outdoor Education” (*Slany*). The Czech Republic also hosted the European conference of the Association of Experiential Education (AEE). Recently, representatives from UK FTVS participated in establishing the European Network of Outdoor Sports (ENOS), which we consider to be important for the sustainable development of outdoor activities in Europe. UK FTVS also started the international exchange of students within the Erasmus programme. Students began to study in the UK, Sweden, Norway, Germany, and Portugal.

Outdoor education research

In Czechia there has been an increased interest in outdoor education topics since 1989. A number of bachelor and master theses have been written on outdoor education, outdoor activities and outdoor sports. There are only 3 PhD theses on outdoor education (e.g. Turčová, 2005; Bartůňek, 2008; Jelínek, 2013), about 10 on experiential education or learning (e.g. Kuban, 2003; Kirchner, 2006; Másilka, 2006; Hanuš, 2008; Zappe, 2011) and several on outdoor sports (e.g. Baláš, 2007; Chaloupský, 2008; Vomáčko, 2009; Chaloupská, 2014). Researchers have the possibility to publish in a limited number of Czech journals. The *Journal of Outdoor Activities* is published by the University of J. E. Purkyně in Ústí nad Labem. *Gymnasion* and *Gymnos Akademos* (e-journal) are published by UP FTK Olomouc. Since 2004, *Gymnasion* has managed to publish many theoretical papers and also practical experiences about leading and organizing experiential programmes, most of them using the natural environment for learning and education. *Envigogika* (e-journal) is published by Charles University Environment Centre, devoted to environmental education. There are also eight Czech journals in the area of physical education and sport, where it is also possible to publish outdoor education research.

The programme “*Turistika and Outdoor Sports*”⁵

The programme “*Turistika and Outdoor Sports*” already began in 1954 and until now it continues to be one of the most favourite compulsory programmes (it is compulsory for all physical education and sport students). Sometimes, high school and primary school students, as well as adults on life-long learning courses, participated in modified versions. It has significantly influenced the area of *turistika*, outdoor sports and outdoor education in the Czech Republic.

At the beginning, this programme did not have a fixed content. However, *turistika*, climbing, orienteering, outdoor exercises and outdoor games were always included. It was also devoted to environmental activities, creative activities and cultural activities in a clubroom or at the campfire. It lasted 14 days and took place in different locations. Later, more orienteering and cycle-touring were included.

In the 1960s more outdoor games and outdoor exercises were included, including the popular initiative games or ropes courses (influenced by Outward Bound). Learning hard skills was becoming less important and the use of experiences and game elements was increased. In this time, courses moved to southern Bohemia, to a residential outdoor centre where they take place until today. The aim is to create holistic programmes following the Czech tradition of tramping, woodcraft, scouting and *turistika*.

Since 1970s the course has been shortened several times, and today it is a seven-day intensive course. The role of the small group was emphasized at that time, and a holistic programme with a significant educational effect. The programme in the outdoor centre was combined with sleeping over in wild nature. This was a four-day expedition into bordering mountains, 65 km away from the centre (and at that time there was an iron fence between the Czechoslovakia and Austria – the border between the Eastern and Western European blocs). Students went there and back on bikes, slept there for two nights, climbed on rocks and cooked on an open fire.

Since 1974 the course is only of seven days. Its programme is very innovative in many ways. Individual programme parts are interconnected and the difficulty level has risen. Students are motivated in their own creative,

⁵ Adjusted according to Neuman (2003).

drama and art activities. They have to lead a one-day trip on bikes and their knowledge of orienteering is examined in an orienteering race. Theory is examined in a knowledge test. The enthusiasm and workload of teachers greatly exceed those of a normal working day. Therefore, it is for students a one-week – and yet permanent – experience.

The course content, its leading, individual programme parts and its whole dramaturgy have become a model for other colleges and organisations. Most FTVS graduates still remember the course and experiences gained in it, and how it has helped them both in their professional and personal lives.

Future trends in Education in Nature in the Czech Republic

In summary, modern trends appearing after 1989 have introduced new outdoor activities into the Czech Republic (e.g. Nordic walking, adventure races, ropes course, parkour, rafting, etc.). Despite this fact, cycling or cycle-touring, a traditional Czech activity, is still the most popular. According to Market Research, 63% of Czechs aged up to 54 years participate in sport activity, with 46% cycling (cyclo-touring), followed by swimming, jogging and *turistika* in the mountains. There is also increasing use of high-tech equipment and modern technologies (e.g. GPS) and the introduction of new safety standards aimed at making outdoor activities “more safe”. New artificial areas for traditional outdoor sports have been built – white-water canals, skate-parks, parkour parks, fitness areas in parks, etc. Activities have also moved indoors – climbing, spinning, parkour, running or walking treadmills, skiing and rowing.

Outdoor educators in Czechia continue to disseminate theoretical reflection on sustaining “education in nature” traditions such as *turistika* activities and summer camps, and to remind students of inspiring historical references. They also seek to reflect societal needs in educating physically active young and healthy people. We look forward to further international cooperation (IMOSC, Erasmus, EU projects). With international support, we hope to start a degree in Outdoor Education at Charles University, which will prepare experts in the area of outdoor education, respecting its theoretical determination as an intersection of outdoor activities leadership, environmental education and personal and social education. This degree initiative encourages joint international study programmes in outdoor education and experiential

education and will introduce students to the uniquely Czech tradition of education in nature.

More and more we are persuaded that promoters of foreign outdoor approaches may be able to adapt ideas from our country and integrate Czech traditions into their own programmes. We often witness that former forgotten activities appear again under modern English names, such as outdoor education, parkour, ropes courses, Nordic walking, tree climbing, boot camp, etc.

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6. THE KLADRUBY GAMES AND THE BEGINNINGS OF DISABILITY SPORT IN THE CZECH CONTEXT¹

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KLÁRA DAĐOVÁ AND ROMAN REISMÜLLER

Introduction

Movement and its beneficial effect on health had already been recognized in ancient civilizations, and so many different systems of health-related exercise have been developed in the past. People with disabilities or physical weaknesses first participated in non-competitive physical activities that were recommended under the names of therapeutic gymnastics, therapeutic physical education, etc. (Srdečný, 1970, p. 13 ff.). Pehr Henrik Ling (1776-1839), who is considered to be the father of therapeutic rehabilitation and physical education, had a significant influence on this concept of physical education. The work of his students and followers resulted in the creation of a system of healing gymnastics and specialized institutes (e.g. the Gymnastic Orthopaedic Institute founded in 1822 in Stockholm). (Kössl *et al.*, 2004, 56 ff.)

At the end of the 19th century, people with disabilities also started to participate in competitive sports. At first their participation in races and competitions was unusual, competing together with able-bodied athletes, but gradually competitions aimed solely for people with disabilities were organized, especially within rehabilitation and health institutes. In this context, sports began to be modified for the needs of various types of disability – starting with track and field disciplines, swimming, and selected sports games.

Competitions at that time were of local character – sport was initially carried out within individual institutes on the basis of local or regional rules (Kábele, 1992, p. 13). It was only with the organization of international

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competitions that there was a need for standardization of rules. Subsequently, many competitions were developed at different levels, which eventually resulted in the Paralympic Games, Deaflympics and Special Olympics, which enabled people with disabilities to enjoy competitive sports.

This development was mirrored in Czechoslovakia, with an initiative of Dr. Vojmír Srdečný, who founded the first competitions for patients with disabilities in 1945 at the Rehabilitation Institute of Kladruby. He was also the founder of the first Kladruby Games, that took place three months earlier than similar games organized by physician Ludwig Guttmann in Stoke Mandeville, England, that are officially considered by the International Paralympic Committee (IPC) as the first organized wheelchair competitions and as a milestone in the development of the Paralympic Games (IPC, 2018).

The beginnings of sports competitions for people with disabilities

Before the World War I there are some scattered reports of disabled people competing in sporting events (Reismüller & Parry, 2017, p. 82), and even of some events specifically for disabled people (Monestier, 1996; Srdečný, 1974). However, disability sport started to develop especially in relation to the two World Wars. During and after the World War I there is a huge increase in the number of injured adults and children in the population. This fact led, among other things, to the organization of various competitions for people with physical disabilities, e.g. the Sports Day for patients from the two surgery and rehabilitation facilities called “Royal Star and Garter Home” in England from 1923, which included, among other things, wheelchair races (Anderson, 2001, p. 86). Independently from these competitions, sport for people with hearing disabilities also developed. Already in 1888, in Berlin a sport club for the deaf was established, and between 1888 and 1924 six other national sports federations for the deaf were created, all of which participated in the 1st International Games for the Deaf in August 1924 in France (Depauw & Gavron, 2005).

In Czechoslovakia, interest in sporting activities of people with different types of disabilities also began to appear in the first part of the 20th century, but the path to its development was long and thorny. The first competitions were organized in rehabilitation facilities for people with physical disabilities.

However, at the beginning it was important to persuade not only patients and staff, but also the management of institutions and senior staff (Srdečný *et al.*, 1978). An entirely unique role in the development of sports for people with disabilities in the Czechoslovakia was played by Mr. Vojmír Srdečný during his work in the Rehabilitation Institute Kladruby.

The Rehabilitation Institute of Kladruby

The Rehabilitation Institute of Kladruby (in Czech language – *Rehabilitační ústav Kladruby*, shortened as RU Kladruby further in the text) originated thanks to the proposal of the Vlasim Sanatorium Association to establish a sanatorium for people with bone tuberculosis in 1932. The building of the sanatorium started in 1937. In 1940, the finished building was taken over by the German Army and it was turned into a military lazaret until 1945. After World War II, in 1947, the RU Kladruby, officially named as The State Institute for After-Treatment, was opened to the public for the purpose of rehabilitation, starting with a capacity of 60 beds, later enlarging to 160 beds. In 1947 the institute treated 171 patients, and already in 1948 the number had risen to 423 patients (RU Kladruby, 2018a).

Dr. Vojmír Srdečný - his life and times

Vojmír Srdečný was born on October 6, 1919 in Albrechtice nad Orlicí in eastern Bohemia. During his studies at the grammar school in Kostelec nad Orlicí, he was placed in correctional/compensatory Physical Education lessons because of his health difficulties. His teacher was František Škvára, the founder of health-related physical education in Czechoslovakia. At that time, Škvára, as an enthusiastic expert, drew inspiration from German and Swedish literature and spread principles of exercises for relaxation and strengthening of muscles and overall support of body posture. (Later, Škvára worked as a lecturer at the Faculty of Physical Education and Sport of Charles University, Strnad & Srdečný, 2017). This experience had a strong impact on Srdečný and he later referred to it as important for his decision to follow his teacher into the Physical Education profession. (Musílková, 2018) In 1939, he was admitted to the Institute of Physical Education in Prague, but he was forced to leave his studies only after five weeks, when on

November 17, 1939 he was arrested by the Gestapo at the Student Residence Švehlova and together with other students was deported to the concentration camp Sachsenhausen-Oranienburg. After one year, one month and one day he was released. After his return, he worked as a trainee at an insurance company, was employed at a factory in a town of Holice, and then worked as an educator for war orphans. He eventually completed his studies in Physical Education in December 1947 (Hroza & Portel, 2000; Musílková, 2018).

The young Physical Education teacher Vojmír Srdečný was employed in the newly opened RU Kladruby from September 1, 1947, and from the beginning he was working on incorporating movement activities of a sporting kind into the treatment regime as a means of motivation. This was a simple step towards organizing sport competitions and other games. With the support of management, Srdečný bought the requisite equipment for sporting activities. Thanks to him, sporting activities became a part of the complex rehabilitation care at the Physical Education Department, together with the initiation of the First Kladruby Games for people with physical disabilities in April 1948 (Srdečný, 1948). The popularity of sports games with patients with disabilities was not always high at the beginning, but gradually sports became more appreciated. Dr. Srdečný (Seidl, 2016, p. 45) recalls a situation when he was walking with athletic equipment in the corridors of the Rehabilitation Institute and heard the patients saying: “Guys, look out! Here he comes again, and he will chase us!”

However, in 1949, a commission from the Ministry of Health visited RU Kladruby for a check, and subsequently sporting activity at the institute was banned as an inappropriate part of rehabilitation. Srdečný often recalls the memorable sentence of the Ministry’s inspector: “Do not mix sport with rehabilitation” (Hroza & Portel, 2000). Vojmír Srdečný was then given an opportunity to work at the spa in Velké Losiny, which did not belong under the Ministry of Health, and so it was possible to employ sports activities there. This spa was designed for children and youth after poliomyelitis (an infectious disease that swept Europe in the 1950s, before vaccination began, affecting tens of thousands of children). Working with children was new to him, but his games and competitions were quickly accepted by his small patients. Srdečný worked there for ten years and, among other things, initiated the Losiny Games (Musílková, 2018).

Dr. Srdečný still feels close to Kladruby Games, and despite his advanced age, he personally came to support their 100th edition in 2017 (the 100th Games fell in 2017, because from 1960 to 2002 the games were mostly held twice a year). He worked at RU Kladruby until his retirement, while at the same time he also taught at universities focussing on physical education and sport. Dr. Srdečný also cooperated with the Faculty of Physical Education and Sport of Charles University, especially with colleagues from the Department of Adapted Physical Education and Sports Medicine.

Dr. Vojmír Srdečný is a legend of Czech physical education and adapted physical activities. He is the founder of the Kladruby and Losiny Games, the author of the first textbooks devoted to the physical education of people with disabilities, and he has made a large contribution to the current concept of health-related physical education.

The Kladruby Games

The Kladruby Games were the result of Mr. Srdečný's efforts to introduce sporting activities as part of rehabilitation care. The First Kladruby Games were held in 1948. The communist regime in the period after the end of the World War II rather pushed people with disabilities to the margins of society, so in 1949, after the first two editions, the games were suspended (Musílková, 2018; Seidl, 2016; Srdečný, 2003). Srdečný was able to return to Kladruby only in 1959 and already on September 1, 1959, he organized the Third Kladruby Games – 10 years after the second edition of the games – with a modified structure and content.

In the following section, we will introduce the first concept of the games that was used for the First and Second Kladruby Games, and then we will briefly describe developments after their renewal, showing significant changes in their concept from 1959 to the present time. Finally, we will mention the 100th anniversary of the Kladruby Games held in 2017.

The First and Second Kladruby Games

The First Kladruby Games were held from 15th to 24th April 1948, lasting 10 days and with 82 contestants participating. The games were opened by a fanfare, the arrival of the contestants, followed by a speech from the director of the institute (Srdečný, 1948, 2003).

RU Kladruby patients were divided into four basic groups according to the type and extent of disability:

- Group A – upper limb disability;
- Group B – lower limb disability;
- Group C – lower limb amputation;
- Group D – paraplegia of the lower extremities.

The programme of the games was divided into three sections: sports, cultural and institutional competitions. In the sports section, the participants competed in:

- Men's Events: shot putt, medicine ball throwing, darts, basketball shooting, swimming, diving, underwater endurance (holding one's breath), high jump, long jump, 1 km run, 3 km cross-country run, table tennis and a board game;
- Women's Events: medicine ball throwing, darts, basketball shooting, high jump, long jump, table tennis and a board game.

The cultural section of the Kladruby Games included music, painting, poetry, chess, checkers, recitation and solo singing; and the institutional section included a competition in decency, order in the wards and attendance at exercise (Beran, 1974; Jarošová, Beran & Ján, 1996; Srdečný, 1948, 2003).

The Second Kladruby Games took place from July 9th to 23rd, 1949, with 95 participants. The first day of competition began with all participants meeting and making a solemn proclamation, in which they were reminded of the true purpose of these games. In order to optimize the competitions, the selection of disciplines was changed. The institutional section was omitted, as well as two disciplines – underwater endurance and medicine ball throwing. These competitions were replaced by loop-ball throwing (throwing a ball with a loop) and weightlifting of 13 kg and 25 kg at maximum repetition (Beran, 1974). In contrast to the previous games, the sports programme was extended to include competitions between “city” and “country” teams (competitions between people living in towns and those living in the countryside) in various games – see Table 1.

Table 1 – Results of the City vs. Countryside Match (names of the games are listed according to the original name).

	City	Countryside		City	Countryside
Basketball	11	7	Whisking	2	1
Volleyball	1	2	Skittles	100	175
Tennis	3	2	Russian skittles	174	176
Ping-Pong	5	0	Sitting Handball	1	6
Cowboy	6	0	Foot tennis	2	0
Water polo	1	4	Drifting	7	5
Water rugby	0	2	Board game	1	2
Final scoreboard – 7:7					

Source: Zpráva o II. hrách kladrubských, 1949.

Kladruby Games after 1959

The Third Kladruby Games took place in 1959 with a changed composition of competitions, and with a new structure of triathlon or tetrathlon competitions. New disciplines were also included in the programme: small-bore firearm shooting and climbing on 3m ropes (Beran, 1974; Srdečný, 2001).

Another important change occurred in the 1960s when the games expanded and began to be organized twice a year, as spring games and autumn games. This type of organization lasted until 2002 (Srdečný, 2003).

Table 2 lists the dates and numbers of contestants in the games held since the beginning to the games held in the year of 1973. Records from the years 1974-1981 are so far undiscovered, despite archive and publications searches.

From 1982 to 2006, the games were held continuously, with only minimal changes to the sports programme. Gradually, some sports were abandoned due to the risk element (e.g. weightlifting, shot putt, medicine ball throwing, javelin, high jump and long jump), and new sports were introduced (such as wheelchair basketball, handball and floorball, archery and air pistol) (RU Kladruby, 2017a, p. 5). By 2006, most of the athletic disciplines had been cancelled, except for a relay race and orienteering (Fox, 2017).

An important milestone was the year 2006, when aspects of the games' organization changed. Firstly, the competition categories were changed:

- A – physical disability upper extremities (hand, elbow, shoulder);
- B – physical disability lower limbs (ankle, kneeA*, vertebraeA*);

- C – less mobile (hemiparesis, paraparesis, hips, vertebraeM*+B*, kneeB*);
- D – wheelchair users (people who are able to undergo group exercise on mats);
- E – immobile (wheelchair users, who are not included in any group exercise).

*The classification categories were divided on the level of “overall burden” on the patient due to his abilities, skills and health condition.

B = beginner, M = intermediate, A = advanced

Table 2 – Overview of Kladruby Games 1948 – 1973 (Srdečný, 1974).

	Date	Number of participants		Date	Number of participants
I	14.4. - 24.4.1948	82	XVI	6.9. - 8.9.1966	138
II	9.7. - 23.7.1949	95	XVII	24.4. - 27.4.1967	139
III	1.9. - 12.9.1959	166	XVIII	20.9. - 22.9.1967	173
IV	14.6. - 25.6.1960	170	XIX	24.4. - 26.4.1968	156
V	19.10. - 22.10.1960	179	XX	28.8. - 30.8.1968	142
VI	25.5. - 10.6.1961	189	XXI	29.5. - 30.5.1969	135
VII	9.10. - 31.10.1961	176	XXII	22.9. - 26.9.1969	122
VIII	4.6. - 8.6.1962	184	XXIII	15.5. - 16.5.1970	129
IX	24.9. - 28.9.1962	181	XXIV	21.9. - 25.9.1970	139
X	1.7. - 6.7.1963	185	XXV	27.5. - 28.5.1971	121
XI	22.6. - 26.6.1964	178	XXVI	23.9. - 24.9.1971	130
XII	23.9. - 26.9.1964	167	XXVII	18.5. - 19.5.1972	135
XIII	26.5. - 29.5.1965	127	XXVIII	28.9. - 29.9.1972	145
XIV	20.9. - 22.9.1965	157	XXIX	24.5. - 25.5.1973	136
XV	25.5. - 27.5.1966	140	XXX	28.9. - 29.9.1973	147

Secondly, with the arrival of physiotherapist Štěpánka Foxová in 2006, there was an effort to improve mutual support among competitors, and thus competitors were divided into four teams by colours (blue, green, red, and yellow). So, for the first time, all participants were divided into 4 teams in which all competition categories competed together. Each team contained approximately 50 competitors, with all classification categories represented,

and coordinated by two captains/physiotherapists. In most disciplines competitors compete as individuals, but also bring points to their team (RU Kladruby, 2017a, p. 5).

At present, the Kladruby Games also include basketball exhibitions, with teams consisting of players with physical disabilities from the national team, with whom patients can play a basketball game in the last discipline of the games.

100th Kladruby Games in 2017

On 23-26 May 2017, the 100th edition of the Kladruby Games took place, in the presence of the founder of the games, 97-year-old Dr. Vojmír Srdečný.

The participants were divided into the five of the above-listed competition categories and four colour groups. The programme was full of sport competitions, games and other competitive activities and was accompanied by a social programme (RU Kladruby, 2017a, 2017b). These games were attended by a record 242 contestants, of which 37 were former patients who returned to RU Kladruby only for the sake of the games.

Prior to the start of the sporting events and competitions, during the meeting with the captains of individual teams, one of the three basic values of the rehabilitation institute was emphasized – team spirit (RU Kladruby, 2018a).

The programme included (among others) the following activities:

- Sports: track and field – relay, boccia, basketball, air pistol shooting, archery, table tennis, wheelchair handball;
- Games: table football, computer games, a board game (the Czech name is “Man do not be angry”), darts, mini-golf;
- Other competitions: hanging skittle, table skittles, wheelchair slalom, team race in the water, orienteering.

The programme was further enriched by an evening discussion (presentation of parabox, with a guest, Daniel Landa, famous musician, actor and martial arts propagator/fighter) and a basketball exhibition by players with physical disability of the national team.

Comparison of Kladruby and Stoke Mandeville Games

At the time of the origin of the Kladruby Games, other competitions and games for people with disabilities began to be organized, especially in rehabilitation and health facilities filled with soldiers from the World War II. Similar games, which are much more famous today, were founded by Dr. Ludwig Guttmann, neurologist, who led the Rehabilitation Institute in Stoke Mandeville, England. As a complement to healing, he used sports activities not only to improve the physical and psychological aspects of his patients and to give them hope and self-esteem, but also to show that people with disabilities can be useful to society, can participate in various activities and perform them as well as able-bodied people. That is why at the beginning he highlighted especially archery, in which athletes with and without disabilities could be measured against each other (Brittain, 2012, p. 2 and 4). Guttmann gradually introduced into the regime of the institute social activities such as darts and billiards, and later also other sports activities, such as netball, which later developed into wheelchair basketball (Brittain, 2012, p. 3).

On July 29, 1948, the first Stoke Mandeville Games took place, on the same day as the opening ceremony of the XIV Summer Olympic Games in London (29 July – 14 August 1948). Nowadays, the Stoke Mandeville Games are commonly considered to be a milestone of Paralympic history, being claimed as the first organized games for disabled people in wheelchairs by the International Paralympic Committee (IPC, 2018). In the following text we will emphasize that the Kladruby Games have overcome this “primacy” by three and a half months, and we will present a comparison of both games in other aspects (as inspired by Reismüller & Parry, 2017).

Time and duration of games

The First Stoke Mandeville Games took place on one day – July 29, 1948. That is, they were not in the true sense games, but rather a one-day match between two teams (Brittain, 2016, p. 10). Although it is not certain whether the date of the first games was deliberately or just randomly chosen on the day of the opening ceremony of the Olympic Games in London, Dr. Guttmann later used this fact in his effort to establish international games with the fame of the Olympic Games for Paraplegics (Brittain, 2016, p. 9 and 20).

The First Kladruby Games were held from April 15-24, 1948. Since its inception, the Kladruby Games have been more similar to the Olympic Games, i.e. an event that included more sports disciplines and games and which lasted for more than one day. In addition, the Kladruby Games preceded Stoke Mandeville Games by three and a half months, compared with the official statement about the primacy of Stoke Mandeville Games (IPC, 2018; Reismüller & Parry, 2017). However, the Kladruby Games were not the first games for people with disabilities or the first games organized for wheelchair users either (see above, competitions of people with disabilities after World War I in Anderson, 2001, 86). This fact is not reflected by the official tradition (IPC, 2018) and similarly also by the Czech media, which in line with today's official Paralympic version say, for example, that: "Paralympic games that were solemnly ended on Sunday have returned to places where sports combat disabilities began to develop. The first organized contests in Stoke Mandeville coincided with the London Olympics in 1948" (Vrábel, 2012, translated from the Czech original by the authors).

Accompanying events

The Stoke Mandeville Games featured the presentation of a bus that was specially adapted for wheelchairs and was meant to take patients around for a variety of events to make it easier for them to integrate into their communities. The bus was presented in the presence of prominent guests and accompanied by Royal Air Force (Brittain, 2012, p. 7). In the end, both teams and guests gathered at tea, and members of the winning team (Star and Garter Home) were given a medal. In his final speech, Dr. Guttman said a memorable sentence that he hoped that these games would one day be recognized as paraplegic games and that they would be equivalent to the Olympics (Brittain, 2012, p. 9).

However, the First Kladruby Games already included several elements important to the Olympic Games. They began with a ceremony including the director's speech and a fanfare. In addition to sports competitions, there were also artistic competitions (musical, artworks, poetry, recitation and solo singing), similar to the early Olympic Games (from the early days until 1948), when medals were awarded for art competitions. In addition, participants also competed in social games (especially board games), which

had an explicitly ethical aspect. Finally, there were the equivalent of the Olympics' medal ceremonies – after the event, a flag was created in the area of the court, and the winning athletes were awarded with diplomas (Beran, 1974; Srdečný, 1948, 2003).

Competitors

The First Kladruby Games were attended by 82 competitors/patients, only from the Rehabilitation Institute Kladruby, with different kinds of disabilities, both women and men. Only 16 competitors attended the First Stoke Mandeville Games. Participants at the Stoke Mandeville Games were physically disabled veterans at orthopaedic departments from two institutes (Stoke Mandeville and Star and Garter Home for Injured War Veterans – Richmond in Surrey), 14 men and 2 women (Brittain, 2012, p. 5).

Number of sports and categories

The First Stoke Mandeville Games in 1948 included only one sport (archery) for one category of disability (paraplegia), both women and men. This sport was chosen because of its suitability for paraplegics (Guttman highlighted in particular the natural strengthening of the upper part of the body, which depends on the well-balanced upright position of the paraplegic) and at the same time for the possibility of joint competition between athletes with and without disabilities and thus easier socialization of patients within archery clubs (Brittain, 2012, p. 3 ff.; 2016, p. 8). Up until the 8th Games held in 1955, the number of sports increased by one each year (Brittain, 2016, p. 10).

The First Kladruby Games had a wider range of competitions from the very beginning, which included 14 sports and 7 cultural activities. Participants competed in individual sports (e.g. swimming, running, jumping and throwing balls) as well as in team sports (e.g. table tennis), for men and women in four categories (competitors with upper or lower extremity, amputation of the lower limb or paraplegia of the lower extremities).

International Aspects

At the very beginning, both games were attended by athletes of only one nationality. Unlike the Kladruby Games, which have never had international

ambitions and remained primarily for the former or current patients of the rehabilitation centre, Ludwig Guttman tried to promote Stoke Mandeville Games as much as possible in the United Kingdom. and abroad (Brittain, 2012, p. 44; 2016, p. 10 f.). From the beginning, Dr. Guttman aimed to expand the Stoke Mandeville Games to an international type of Olympics (Brittain, 2016, p. 11 n.). This effort was reflected in the character of the games themselves: in 1951, four foreign patients participated in the teams: one Frenchman, one Australian, one Greek and one patient from South Rhodesia (present-day Zimbabwe); in 1952, a team of contestants from the Netherlands joined the United Kingdom team for the first time (Brittain, 2012, p. 11 ff.) and in the following years the number of foreign teams gradually increased. The games themselves also begun to take place in other countries – for the first time in 1960 in Rome, several weeks after the 17th Summer Olympic Games (Brittain, 2016, p. 11).

Discussion

It is important to emphasize that the primary goal of the games in both Kladruby and Stoke Mandeville was to promote sport as part of the healing process for the patients with disabilities and at the same time to highlight the socialization aspect. Both games were conceived as games designed specifically for patients with disabilities, and therefore their concepts differed from currently more familiar Paralympic Games, in their emphasis on recreational and rehabilitation concepts instead of a focus on high performance.

Interestingly, the Kladruby Games resembled from the outset the form of an Olympic-type Games, although this similarity was not emphasized and was not seen as desirable, given the fundamental goal of promoting rehabilitation treatment. RU Kladruby has not changed its concept of games up to the present day. Perhaps that is why these games are currently enjoying the abundant participation of both current and former patients. Since the first years, the games have sustained participation between 150-200 participants (Fox, 2017; Rehabilitation Institute, 2007). Thanks to Dr. Srdečný's activities, the Kladruby Games are still part of the comprehensive rehabilitation system of this institution, and they contribute significantly to the general awareness of the positive influence of movement not only on the quality of life, but

also on the physical and psychological resistance to dealing with various life obstacles. Employees of the Rehabilitation Institute generally strive to include every client in game-like physical activities and so they perform a social function.

This is a considerable difference from the Stoke Mandeville Games, which began as a much more modest one-day competition of two teams of paraplegics in one sport. Nevertheless, the vision of their founder, Dr. Guttman, and his vision of an Olympic-type event, linked with an international dimension, and an emphasis on paraplegia and the integration of people who use wheelchair into society, eventually led to a new concept and to the realization of international Paralympic Games. However, this vision altered the original mission and focus of the games at their origin, and eventually caused them to leave Stoke Mandeville.

Conclusion

The Kladruby Games, whose origins date back several months before the world-famous games in Stoke Mandeville, England, are historically a significant event. In spite of the initial 10-year interruption of games for political reasons, they can take pride in a long tradition as they celebrate its 102nd edition in 2019. These games undeniably contributed to development of sport activities for people with physical disabilities in Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic. A most important role was played in this regard by Dr. Vojmír Srdečný, a teacher of Physical Education and instigator of the games, who has remained active in support of the contemporary games into his old age.

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PART II

RESEARCH IN PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SPORT IN BRAZIL

7. THE INFLUENCE OF DALCROZE'S GYMNASTICS IN THE INSTITUTE OF PHYSICAL CULTURE IN PORTO ALEGRE 1928-1937

JANICE ZARPELLON MAZO AND MÔNICA FAGUNDES DANTAS

Introduction

Porto Alegre was established as the state capital of Rio Grande do Sul in 1772 and, from 1824, received a great number of immigrants from different countries. This year also marked the beginning of the immigration flows of Germans into the country, bound for Rio Grande do Sul, where the city of São Leopoldo is located today, in the metropolitan region of Porto Alegre. Until 1914, when the First World War began, several groups of German immigrants settled in different locations of the state.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the political and economic situation in Germany favoured migration. Brazil, especially the southern region of the country, was considered a propitious region for the arrival of immigrants, who occupied the vast unpopulated lands, coveted by neighboring countries. Rio Grande do Sul received a significant number of German immigrants. To the present day, their descendants preserve the practices and expressions of their culture and identity.

Migration flows from Europe were a major factor in spreading the gymnastics in Rio Grande do Sul (Mazo, 2003). In Porto Alegre and other locations, the presence of German immigrants was decisive in promoting physical activities and sports. German gymnastics spread the idea that physical development could bring benefits to the body and to the morality of the individual (Assmann & Mazo, 2017). Similarly, it was an important means to unify those traits that would constitute the German-Brazilian identity. The spread of German gymnastics in the state occurred in close connection with the creation of the first gymnastics societies and sports associations by German immigrants, from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. For Labra and Figueiredo (2002) there is a community aspect to the

creation of associations, established by individuals with common interests and principles that guide collective action.

When moving to Brazil, these migrants carried a particular *habitus* of their culture. In this research, *habitus* is understood as “incorporated social knowledge” or a “second nature.” According to Elias (1997, p. 9), the category *habitus* refers to the:

[...] social composition of individuals, as that is the soil from which springs personal characteristics by which an individual differs from other members of society. Thus, something springs from the common language that the individual shares with others and that is certainly a component of social habitus – a more or less individual style, something that could be called as an unmistakable individual orthography grown from social writing.

From the moment their social life began to become more complex, German immigrants sought ways to maintain and spread the culture of their homeland, primarily through the creation of spaces for leisure and sociability. In addition to gymnastics, the associations promoted various activities such as singing, reading, dancing, archery and other sports. They also aimed to create solidarity networks to help members of their communities. Thus, the structuring of several clubs, leagues and associations, as well as the diffusion of physical practices such as gymnastics, figure as a strategy to acquire social spaces for this ethnic group (Mazo, 2003).

The first German-Brazilian association of Rio Grande do Sul was *Turnerbund*, the current Porto Alegre Gymnastics Society (*Sociedade Ginástica Porto Alegre*), known as SOGIPA (Silva, 1997), created in Porto Alegre in 1867. Gymnastics was the first physical activity developed by this association. The participation of women in physical activities offered by the *Turnerbund* took place from the early twentieth century when, in 1904, they gained the right to take the course for gymnastics instructors. The department had 37 women, classified as married or single. The exercise sessions were initially offered to married women only. In 1907, single women were also allowed to participate (Daudt, 1942). Although there was resistance among members, decades after the creation of the *Turnerbund*, women eventually won space in gymnastics.

Among the descendants of German immigrants, two women stand out: Philomena Black and Leonor Dreher Bercht, better known as Mina Black and

Nenê Bercht. Mina Black had completed the training course for gymnastics teachers in Munich, studied at the Jaques-Dalcroze Institute in Hellerau, and was a student of Mary Wigman in Dresden. Nenê Bercht graduated from the gymnastics programme of the *Turnerbund* in Porto Alegre and, on her trips to Germany, had contact with what she called “Modern Physical Culture”. Between 1926 and 1927, both were in Germany, where they met and planned the creation of an educational space to spread new ideas and new ways of physical exercise for women.

In 1928, following their return to Porto Alegre, they founded the Institute of Physical Culture (ICF), a place for teaching physical activities for women. Mina Black and Nenê Bercht, besides being the founders of the Institute, assumed the duties of teachers and, respectively, technical director and artistic director.

This study aims to understand the influence of the Dalcroze method in the ICF through the physical activities offered from 1928 to 1937. The timeframe favours the first two years of the ICF, since in this period its pedagogical and artistic principles were consolidated, and inspired by the Dalcroze method. In 1937, Mina Black left the direction of the ICF. She, as the person who had contact with the Dalcroze method in Germany, was primarily responsible for the teaching programme of the Institute¹.

The study is developed within the theoretical and methodological horizons of Cultural History (Burke, 2005), because it allows the researcher to interpret representations of a time not lived in, building a plausible version of reality. For that, we accessed those Porto Alegre newspapers with the largest circulation at the time, such as *Diário de Notícias*, *Correio do Povo* and *A Federação*, in addition to the catalogue of *Revista Globo* (Mazo, 2004).

O *Diário de Notícias*, founded in 1925, was the source that provided the greatest volume of information about the ICF. This newspaper had become the flagship in the dissemination of the arts in Porto Alegre, due to the creation of the session *Páginas Literárias* (Literary Pages) and the migration of several authors of the *Correio do Povo* newspaper, including the important artist and arts critic Angelo Guido, to its editorial board in 1927.

The newspaper content analysis was conducted in the Porto Alegre

¹ The reason behind Mina Black leaving the board of the ICF is unclear. It might be due her marriage and moving from Porto Alegre to Rio de Janeiro (Black, 2018).

Historical Museum Moyses Vellinho and, especially, in the Museum of Social Communication Hipólito José da Costa. Iconographic sources that reported the physical practices taught in the ICF were also consulted, both in the newspapers, as well as on posters, concert programmes and promotional material of the Institute. This material belongs to the personal archive of Thaís Petzhold and to the Centre of the Memory of Sport of the School of Physical Education, Physiotherapy and Dance of the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul.

Physical practices of the Institute of Physical Culture

The ICF was established in May 1928. In November, it already had about 150 students enrolled. The courses were offered to women (children, youth and adults). Boys under 12 were also accepted, but there is no evidence of their actual participation. The training course lasted four years, and the content was organized in a progressive manner. The first year was devoted to the teaching of Rhythmic Gymnastics, General Gymnastics, Corrective Gymnastics and Acrobatic Gymnastics². In the second and third years, Choreographic and Improvisation Studies were taught and, in the fourth year, *Plastique Animée*³. The methodological approach in ICF was influenced by German gymnastics, the expressive dance of Mary Wigman and, especially, by the Dalcroze method. The Rhythmic Gymnastics of Émile Jaques-Dalcroze was conceived as a means of preparation for the arts, specifically for dance, theatre and music.

Since its founding, ICF performed shows in spaces consecrated by the Porto Alegre elite, such as the São Pedro Theatre, and performed at least one show per year. The spectacles followed the order of the ICF teaching programme, starting with an exhibition of Corrective Gymnastics and Acrobatic Gymnastics, followed by demonstrations of Rhythmic Gymnastics and *Plastique Animée*, generally associated with representations of Hellenic

2 The newspaper *Diário de Notícias* (18/08/1929) also refers to Acrobatic Gymnastics as Acrobatic Dance.

3 We do not know if the French term *Plastique Animée* was translated into German when Black Mina studied in Hellerau. We know, however, by the sources of the time, especially the newspapers, that the French term was used in Porto Alegre. In the literature in English, the term *Plastique Animée* is also used.

culture. The final part was dedicated to choreographies inspired by Eastern cultures or by elements of nature.

The students had their names published in the advertisements and the exhibition programmes, following, respectively, the numbers that would be presented. The group of students was divided and identified as “girls” and “ladies”. There is no evidence of the participation of married and/or older women in the exhibitions, but it is possible that they attended some of the sessions offered by the ICF.

In 1928, the first ICF spectacle in the *Hora da Arte* (*Art Time*) festival was held, sponsored by the São Pedro Theatre (Hora da Arte, 1928). The ladies class performed a programme consisting of three acts.

Rhythmic Gymnastics

In the articles published by the newspaper *Diário de Notícias* (05/04/1931), there is evidence of the central purpose of the ICF in the development of Rhythmic Gymnastics, which was the main reference in the educational programme of the institution. The influence of Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century echoed in the ICF, when rhythm was worshiped in different fields, such as medicine, philosophy, literature, music, painting and dance.

The idea that everything had rhythm – movements, breathing, blood circulation, our own emotions and thoughts – and that they gave expression to life, reinforced the preference for a practice that included a musical feature. This design also emerged from the pursuit of a perfect balance between the intellectual, emotional and physical faculties, seen as important at that moment (Do Valor, 1929), supporting the idea that the return of primordial rhythm was a medium to recover from the crisis of modern society.

The first promotional document of the ICF, written in German, explained that, primarily, the institution aimed to explore the development of feelings. The importance of rhythm acquisition through solfeggio practices, called *Singspiel*, was emphasized alongside the first contact with body expression activities. The descriptions provided by this first ICF promotional material demonstrated the strong presence of the Dalcroze method, as the physical representation of musical notes was included in the exercises of rhythmic acquisition. Although Rhythmic Gymnastics was the central axis of the pedagogical approach of the ICF, other

types of exercise were also taught, especially General and Corrective Gymnastics, the inheritors of Swedish Gymnastics⁴.

The *Diário de Notícias* highlights:

[...] rhythmic gymnastics includes Corrective, Respiratory and Acrobatic Gymnastics, and its action is not limited to muscle development, but it digs deeper, so to speak, to the psychic being, as it acts on feelings as on the intellect (Do Valor, 1929).

These other forms of gymnastics were considered the basis for the students' physical development, aimed at postural correction; however, they were not sufficient for the full development of the female body. An activity that cultivated sensitivity and intellect was needed, as we read in the *Diário de Notícias*:

The Rhythmic Gymnastics emerges as a new educational method that is different from other gymnastics, as it is considered as science and art at the same time (Do Valor, 1929).

In the ICF, Rhythmic Gymnastics should educate the body through rhythm, in order to achieve the development of the body as a whole. In this sense, rhythm would be the physical expression as a manifestation of the soul; it leads gestures and would be present in the vibration of movements, and the alliance between movement and rhythm allow a more complete physical communication.

The purpose of the exercises developed in the ICF was to develop musical sensibility through relatively simple movements, such as clapping, walking, moving the arms, singing and playing an instrument. Such activities became more complex by alternating between slow and fast patterns and aimed to improve the sense of hearing, by internalizing the perception of tempo. These movements also included the challenge of recognizing and enhancing certain notions of spatiality.

4 At that time Swedish Gymnastics, also known as Ling Gymnastics, were taught in the ICF, by Frederick Guilherme Gaelzer, Inspector of Physical Education of the General Board of Rio Grande do Sul. He was a vigorous defender of Swedish Gymnastics in his speeches on Physical Education in schools (Begossi, 2017). As an instructor and inspector of Physical Education, Gaelzer attended an event on Swedish Gymnastics in Stockholm in the 1930s, and other events in Europe.

In addition to the acquisition of rhythm, Rhythmic Gymnastics was seen as an important element for the development of artistic abilities, such as imagination, sense of balance, awareness and harmony of proportions, shapes, lines and volumes (Do Valor, 1929). Thus, Rhythmic Gymnastics was also considered an art when compared to the visual arts and music, as it fostered intellectual and emotional improvement, as well as the refinement of the senses (Ginástica, 2004).

The Plastique Animée

Plastique Animée programme was also undertaken by the ICF. It was carried out immediately after the Rhythmic Gymnastics elements, and was associated with the Expression Studies. *Plastique Animée* is identified as poses that remind us of Greek statues. In Expression Studies, the students sought to represent emotions such as pain and joy, and perform exercises that imitate natural elements, for instance the sea, the clouds and the wind (Como Conduzir, 1929).

From the Dalcroze method perspective, *Plastique Animée* focused on the rhythmic possibilities of music, by exploring the variations of musical dynamics and its duration, but also enabled students “to create ornamented and expressive forms of movement without the support of sound, but with the exclusive support of inner music.” (Dalcroze quoted by Souza, 2011, p. 192).

We believe that *Plastique Animée*, besides seeking the representation of Greek statues by developing body expression from certain Hellenic cultural representations (Diário de Notícias, 18/08/1929), sought precisely to facilitate the fluidity of movement. This term drew closer to the activities in the field of arts of the ICF, specifically dance and visual arts, as it indicated the presence of plastic elements, such as lines and shapes, in the body practices cultivated in Institute (As Qualidades, 1929).

Choreographic and improvisation studies

The Choreographic Studies aimed at creating choreographic pieces, by choosing different themes, and in which memorization, exploration of movements and scenic interpretation skills were developed. These items can be identified in the performance programmes, as there was always a

space for the performance of different choreographies. In the spectacle “*The Legend of the Moorish Princess*” (1930), for example, several traditional dances were included, inspired by the imaginary of exotic cultures, especially Eastern cultures (A Princeza, 1930). These dances had an increasing spatial and rhythmic structural complexity, when compared to the gymnastic demonstrations.

The Improvisation Studies were designed for students who already had some physical *repertoire*. They sought to develop spontaneity by creating movement. Such an approach was probably based on the teachings of Mary Wigman, who belonged to the Expressionist Movement. She understood improvisation exercises as a way to compose her choreographies. It is worth remembering that Mina Black was Wigman's student when she was in Germany.

Parallel to the presence of Wigman's principles, representations connected to the Duncan style were identified. Isadora Duncan's ideas inspired teaching techniques on dance in Europe and particularly in Germany, where the founders of the ICF studied. At the time, the press in Porto Alegre published information on two new dance trends that would change the ICF's perspective. The first approach linked to Duncan's style and expressionist paradigms was being disseminated as a new art style at the end of 1930. According to the press, the aesthetic expression of German Expressionism had a revolutionary flavour (Chinita, 1931). The second approach was associated with Serge Diaghilev's “Ballets Russes”. In Porto Alegre, as in Europe, these approaches were considered as great accomplishments, due to the great value of their visual and aesthetic elements.

Since then, the ICF began to build performances announcing changes in the teaching programme and the incorporation of a new practice in Porto Alegre's society. In this sense, it begins a period that would characterize a new phase for the ICF, linked to the incorporation of classical dance. Such a practice was promoted by one of its students and future teachers, Lya Bastian Meyer, through Classical Dance lessons.

In 1930, ICF presented the *ballet*, performed by the city's artists and students, to the society of Porto Alegre, as a spectacle where the main attraction was the choreography called “Legend of the Moorish Princess” (Diário de Notícias, 27/11/1930). In one scene titled “Enchanted Garden”, the girls performed one of the first choreographies with “elements” of ballet,

(Revista do Globo, [1930?], quoted by Mazo, 2004). In the ICF's documents, ballet is also called academic ballet, but the reason for this denomination was not found in the sources available.

Final considerations

The first phase of the ICF, delimited by the period between 1928, the year of its foundation, and 1930, was the time when the institution had its greatest impact on the city of Porto Alegre, mainly because of the innovations introduced in the field of physical practices for women, inspired by the Dalcroze method. In this period, the local elite perceived the ICF as a subsidiary of the Institute Jacques Dalcroze of Applied Rhythm, giving it the status of an eminently European institution. This perception was reinforced by the shows performed at the São Pedro Theatre, a distinguished space in Porto Alegre's society at the time.

Rhythmic Gymnastics was the main practice of ICF and was included in the new normative demands of society. This physical practice, in particular, and others that have been systematized by the ICF, were used as a way to instil a certain way of being and acting in the social actors involved, in this case, economically privileged women and girls. Girls from 12 years old were accepted to participate in the classes and remained for several years attending the ICF.

It should be emphasized, in agreement with Suquet (2012), that in Germany and elsewhere in Europe, dance schools are places of pedagogical, artistic and theoretical experimentation. Across the 1920s, the ambiguity between dance and rhythmic gymnastics was a constant. Thus, while Rudolf Bode is creating Expression Gymnastics (*Ausdruckgymnastik*), akin to dance, Mary Wigman is developing a form of dance gymnastics (*Tanz-gymnastik*), similar to gymnastics. From 1930, the teaching of gymnastics and dance are officially separated, while the generation of dancers trained by Rudolf Laban and Mary Wigman will resemble the ballet.

In Europe, the confusion between dance and gymnastics reflects on the modern dance that was born in the 1920s. However, it is with gymnastics that modern dance shares many of its concerns, particularly around the issue of rhythm and its importance to the revitalization of the individual's psychophysical expression. This influence echoed in Porto Alegre at the

end of the 1920s, when the ICF was created. Through the physical practices adopted by ICF, representations associated to the field of dance were also produced.

The evidence allows us to infer that the accentuation of the choreographic character in the spectacles presented by the ICF, anchored in Rhythmic Gymnastics, *Plastique Animée* and Choreographic and Improvisations Studies, was a factor that contributed considerably to the nature of dance in Porto Alegre. These practices were the result of a process of the formulation of new concepts in the field of gymnastics and the arts, leveraged at the heart of theatre, music and dance. In addition to these fields, such concepts also echoed years later, in 1940, when the first higher education institution in the field of Physical Education in Rio Grande do Sul – the School of Physical Education (Escola Superior de Educação Física – ESEF) was founded. Rhythmic Gymnastics, Choir and Rhythm were included among the subjects on the teacher education curriculum. That is another story, however, that is interdependent with the ICF's, and the field of dance and physical education in the state of Rio Grande do Sul.

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8. BUT AFTER ALL, WHAT IS PHYSICAL EDUCATION?¹

ADROALDO GAYA

This is a simple question, often asked. However, when we face periods of crisis or change, periods that are characterized by being difficult to understand and go through, or when we lose the clarity and certainty on the mission of our work, “it is necessary to go back to the simple things, to be able to ask simple questions. Questions that, as Einstein used to say, only a child can ask, but after asked, are able to bring a new light to our perplexity.” (Santos, 1991, p. 6.). Well, that is why I see the need to return to the question: *But after all, what is Physical Education?*

If we review the literature, we find numerous attempts to answer this question. We can refer for example, in the French context, to the initiative to place it in the perspective of a “science du mouvement humain” (science of human movement) or “psychocinétique” (psychokinetic), as suggested by Le Boulch (1971), and a “science de l’action motrice” (science of motor action) or “praxéologie motrice” (motor praxeology) by Parlebás (1971, 1981). In Belgium, Renson (1989) argued in favour of “kinanthropology”. In Spain, Cagigal (1968, 1979) referred to a “ciencia de la educación física” (science of physical education). Pedraz (1987), Moreno (1990) and López (1991) argued in the same direction. In England, Brooke and Whiting (1973) discussed a “field of human movement studies”.

In the United States, we note the proposal of physical education as an academic discipline. Brooks (1981), for example, published a book in which authors such as Henry, Rarick and Park, among others, discuss the epistemological and methodological aspects of a potential relatively autonomous field of knowledge. However, while for some this academic

¹ This chapter is a revised version of the article *Mas afinal, o que é Educação Física?*, originally published in Portuguese in the section Controversial Themes, of the journal *Movimento*, v. 1, n. 1, 1994. Considering its relevance for the epistemological discussions on physical education in Brazil, and in view of the purpose of this book to encourage an academic dialogue between Brazilian and Czech scholars, the editors gained the permission of the author and the editors of *Movimento* to include it in this collection.

discipline should remain as “physical education”, for others it should be called “kinesiology” (Newell, 1989, 1990), or “movement science” (Higgins, 1989), or “exercise science” (Katch, 1989) or “sport science” (Sabo, 1993; Sage, 1987; Glasseford, 1987; Feltz, 1987).

In Germany, the “sport sciences” perspective is widely addressed by Haag, Grupe and Kirsch (1992) and Willimczik (1992). In the same line of investigation, but based on philosophical anthropology, the work of Meinberg (1991) stands out. It attempted to define sport pedagogy as a discipline of sport sciences. A collaborative work, carried out in the former East Germany and coordinated by Bauersfeld (1989), deals in detail with the methodological aspects of sport sciences, with a predominant focus on a “science of sport training”. With the same perspective of a science of sport training, we find a book published in Portuguese by Adam *et al.* (1977) under the title *Desporto e desenvolvimento humano* (Sport and human development), in which Marxist authors discourse on the organization of a “sport science”.

Based on empirical observations conducted in Denmark, Eichberg (1989) presents another important study with a historical perspective referring to the conformation of a “paradigm of body culture”.

Likewise, in Portugal, the identity of physical education has been periodically questioned. It is also possible to identify a number of views that have often taken radical positions and expressed the need for excluding the term “physical education”. I refer to the arguments posed by Sergio (1987) in his thesis on the “ciência da motricidade humana” (science of human motricity). Other Portuguese authors assume different positions. Sobral (1976) and Proença (1993) advocate for “physical education”. Bento (1987), Constantino (1992) and Marques (n.d.), strong supporters of sport, suggest a project that involves a clear conceptual definition of physical education as a curriculum subject and sport as a cultural phenomenon, although Bento and Marques favour sport as a topic of physical education.

In Brazil, Oliveira (1983) published an essay with the title *O que é educação física?* (What is physical education?). Throughout the text the author questions: Is it sport? Is it gymnastics? Is it education? In the same year, Medina (1983) published a work in the same provocative and controversial way, entitled *A educação física cuida do corpo ... e “mente”* (Physical education takes care of the body and ... “mind”), which reflects on the practice of physical education in Brazilian society.

Perhaps we can say that these two works marked the starting point of a series of reflections in Brazil, expressed in several articles, essays and books, on the role of physical education. Costa (1987a), for example, asked: So, what do we do with physical education?, and proposed its reconstruction from the perspective of leisure and recreation (Costa, 1987b). Santin (1987) refers to physical education as a philosophy of corporeality. In another article, I pointed out that, when physical education tends to become a discipline of education and/or health sciences, it loses its characteristics and loses its identity (Gaya, 1989). Teixeira (1993) resumed the issue by proposing the study of “human movement” as a source of order for a scientific subject, a profession and a component of the school curriculum, and suggests the adoption of the term “kinesiology” for replacing the term “physical education”. Similar concerns arise in the works of Carmo (1987), Tani (1988) Canfield (1988, 1993), Farinatti (1991) Bracht (1992) and Lovisolo (1992). Thus, many scholars have devoted themselves to the subject.

However, although this scenario may apparently represent a set of multiple conceptions, when we analyse the arguments more rigorously we can see that, with minor nuances, they reflect beliefs that are expressed in two main trends. The first, extremely dominant, set up physical education as a relatively autonomous science – an academic and/or scientific discipline. The second, sceptical about the hegemonic pretensions of scientific knowledge, understands physical education as a philosophy of corporeality.

From the first trend results two perspectives:

- The first perspective encompasses: science of human movement, exercise science, kinesiology, kinanthropology, psychokinetics and praxeology, which intend to bring together within a single research area different forms and expressions of physical culture. In other words, they want to construct theories able to cover sport, dance, ergonomics, body expression, games, labour and circus activities; besides including all scientific disciplines that, in a given time, address these objects.
- The second perspective comprises sport sciences and sport training science. Although already limiting the approach to sport, they intend to create a space able to accommodate all and any scientific discipline that, somehow, addresses issues relating to it.

From the second trend two perspectives also result:

- An existentialist perspective, which sets physical education as a philosophical discourse of corporeality, emphasizing the playful and alternative practices of body expressions;
- A culturalist perspective, which supports the reconstruction of physical education from the viewpoint of leisure and traditional and popular games.

But after all! What is physical education? Is it science or is it philosophy?

Physical education as a normative discipline

What I want to suggest is that these trends inferring the possibility of reducing physical education exclusively to a science or to a philosophy, eventually deprive it of its social meaning and, more than this, point to the mischaracterization of its professional identity.

Let us go to the arguments. I begin with the following assumption: physical education is embodied in pedagogy – in other words, in a normative discipline, which is realized through a pedagogical practice with formative goals. Thus, it cannot be restricted to particular gnoseological principles, whether of a scientific or a philosophical nature.

Let me elaborate a little more on this assertion. Initially, what does it mean to frame physical education as a pedagogy (a formative praxis)? In my understanding, it means setting it as a body of knowledge (a discipline), which puts in a concrete form (lessons, actions or pedagogical practices) a set of abstract formulations (ethical, moral, political and aesthetic) that indicate how something should be, in any situation where judgments of values are accepted.

This viewpoint implies, therefore, that physical education is concretely an action. Physical education is operationalized in pedagogic practice. It addresses normative values when it judges, for example, between right and wrong, good and evil, the beautiful and the ugly, the disciplined and undisciplined, etc. It is normative in terms of knowledge when selecting what should be taught or learned as relevant – the lifestyle, sport and health promotion, for example. Moreover, it is normative in terms of attitudes,

skills and behaviours when defining body stereotypes, motion models and postural attitudes.

However, we cannot forget that, understood as a normative discipline, it is implied that physical education is based, in principle, on a set of values. In this respect, knowledge, attitudes, skills and behaviors have as reference an axiology, a system of values – in short, assumptions prompted from philosophy or philosophical anthropology. Thus, teaching physical education presupposes an intentionality, a certain worldview and, ultimately, a philosophical conception.

Nevertheless, even though it is a fact that the practice of physical education requires philosophical assumptions, this does not mean that one can reduce it to philosophy, even if a philosophy of corporeality or physical culture is intended. This is because, first of all, physical education is an intervention in the real world, while philosophy does not assume that prerogative. Physical education is engaged in the concrete world, the world as it is, not remaining in the domain of what it should be.

On the other hand, it is likewise evident that the practice of physical education is formed according to the principles of scientific knowledge. The biological, psychological, sociological foundations, etc., are determinants of its practice. In this context, where knowledge converges from different areas, there is however a profound lack of common focus and objectives, leaving physical education devoid of an epistemological and methodological framework capable of responding to its needs for pedagogical intervention.

Physical education as a pedagogical project

Therefore, reducing the physical education to its philosophical assumptions, or a set of knowledge from various scientific disciplines, deprives it of its effective role as a pedagogical project.

Physical education, we must recognize, is education. It is part of general education, if we understand it as the physical, motor, intellectual, emotional and moral development of human beings, aiming at their role in society.

Hence, it is a path between philosophy and science, in which the first is not a beginning and the second is not an end. Between both, there is no opposition, confrontation or distance. There is correlation, dialogue and integration.

Physical education, when limited to philosophy, remains in the abstraction of a speculative discourse of an axiological nature. Physical education, when limited to science, remains in the proposition and validation of technical and operational strategies.

However, physical education as a pedagogical project engages philosophical and scientific knowledge in the action of teaching, in the action of formation (which is the etymological meaning of pedagogy).

Physical education as a pedagogical project requires the axiological foundations of philosophy; it requires from science the selection and validation of content and knowledge capable of structuring effective intervention techniques. However, it does not end in these forms of knowledge. It is necessary to materialize them, which is only possible through pedagogical action, through classes and commitment to the formation of human beings. Finally, we must realize the idea of “physical education as a pedagogy” in the context of an anthropological project. It should be clear that physical education is an intervention in the tangible, with practical purposes.

In conclusion, I assert my belief in the importance of physical education as a pedagogical discipline, as a formative activity (of values, attitudes, skills and behaviours), which is expressed in the pedagogical act of a pedagogical agent (the physical education teacher). This, arising from the elements of human movement culture (sport, play, dance, gymnastics), requires intentionality (a value system) that is essential (due to their specificity) for the education of children and youth.

As we consider physical education as a pedagogical project, we are re-establishing its professional identity. We assert the centrality of the physical education teacher – an educator, a pedagogue.

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9. OLD SCHOOL MASCULINITY: HONOUR AND VIRTUE IN WEIGHTLIFTING IN A WORKING CLASS GYM IN BRAZIL

HUMBERTO LUÍS DE CESARO AND ALEX BRANCO FRAGA

This study is part of a project developed by the research group Education Policies in Physical Education and Health (POLIFES), under the Post-Graduate Programme in Human Movement Sciences at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS). Since 2009, the group has been investigating issues related to educational processes in physical education in relation to the fields of education and public health. The POLIFES welcomes projects that examine, preferably from a biopolitical perspective, the implication of the principles of an active/healthy lifestyle in the body movement culture, in the education of bodies and in health regulation. The text presented here is based on a Master's dissertation entitled: *The Village's 'Alchemists': masculinity and hypertrophy practices in a weight lifting gym in Porto Alegre* (Cesaro, 2012). Given the characteristics of the research and the uniqueness of the findings, this work exemplifies what has been produced by POLIFES, especially within the Master's and PhD's programmes in UFRGS.

The purpose of this research was to understand the reasons why a group of regular gym goers of a weightlifting gym, located in a working class neighborhood in Porto Alegre², incorporates certain body care practices in order to achieve a body adjusted to certain contemporary aesthetic standards. We also look into how they deal with the ambiguity of certain practices that are situated on the border between what is perceived as masculine and feminine.

1 The expression "Village's Alchemists" was created in reference to the characteristics of participants in this research, all of them being regular gymgoers in a working class neighbourhood in Porto Alegre. One of the features of this group is its persistence in achieving muscular hypertrophy, but without any regard to scientific recommendations. This practice, making use of a metaphor, reminds us of the early days of alchemy: the intuitive search for the "philosopher's stone", but, in this case, muscles instead of gold.

2 Porto Alegre is the capital of Rio Grande do Sul state, located in the far south of Brazil with about 1.5 million inhabitants.

In Brazil, body care is traditionally associated with femininity, whereas masculinity is associated with a certain disregard for the appearance. This is intensified among popular groups, which are described by the anthropology literature as conservative and resistant towards change, especially concerning language, vanity and body uses, which are understood as statements of a virility weakening (Oliveira, 2004; Fonseca, 2004).

Based on this context, we focused the analysis on the following investigative questions: How did male gym goers of a weightlifting gym located in a working class district justify their attention to their body, eating habits, hair and clothes in that environment? How did they face the possibility that this behavior could raise questions about their virility in the community?

Theoretical framework of studies on masculinities

In the last years of the twentieth and in the early twenty-first century, we have witnessed the blurring of gender boundaries regarding body care, a time in which what is traditionally seen as male or female is unclear. Initially, the female body was affected more effectively by this care and beauty discourse. For some time now, a woman's beauty has ceased to be a natural attribute, something that every woman possesses or not, and has become an obligation, a duty in a society that values the body appearance (Sant'Anna, 1995). Male bodies, traditionally more inflexible to this avalanche about care, have recently become the new target for the industry and the market.

In this sense, two contributions about the male body can be mentioned as examples. First, the magazine *Men's Health* disseminates information on men's health and promotes a lifestyle based on body care (such as waxing and diets), traditionally linked to the feminine universe. Second, the advertisements of *Universal Nutrition*, a dietary supplement company that preaches a thorough control of daily physical practices. This attention to the body and nutrition constitutes a new way of "being a man".

In 2008, the visual artist Chad States published an article in an American advertisement website with the title *Are you masculine?* in order to find volunteers for a project he was developing. The project consisted of photographing men in situations where they were representing their masculinity. The result was a huge volume of responses: many men willing to be photographed naked, understanding that the main aspect of their

manhood would be their genitalia; others preferred to show their professional or sportive activities; and some wanted to show their body in different stages of nudity, but not explicitly. Some of the answers collected by the artist were provided by women and transsexuals, who were willing to expose their masculinity to the artist's lenses.

The wide range of responses obtained by Chad States shows what Gender and Sexuality Studies have already stated some time ago: masculinity is not a biological determination, it is not a unique and undeniable attribute derived from a physical aspect. Being male is a result of cultural processes, and the ways of understanding (and therefore producing) masculinity vary from one society to another and within the same society over time. As Connell observed, there is not only one masculinity, because it is "a configuration of practices around the position of men in the structure of gender relations" (Connell, 1995, p. 188). This suggests the use of the term "masculinities", in the plural, as masculinities are multiple in their association with class, generation, ethnicity and sexual orientation, among other social determinants, producing different ways of being and learning how to be a man; different conceptions of the individual and different ways of using the male body.

Another important contribution of Connell (1995) to the understanding of masculinity is the concept of hegemonic masculinity, which allows us to understand the dynamic interactions between various configurations of experience. Hegemonic masculinity is, in a given historical and cultural context, perceived as the ideal, if not the only, way of living the masculine.

As Seffner said, "the masculine way of living that enjoys the highest concentration of privileges in a system of gender relations will be considered as a form of hegemonic masculinity" (Seffner, 2003, p. 125). Thus, sharing the attributes of a hegemonic form of masculinity provides advantages and facilities, while adhering to other multiple ways of living the masculine creates problems and difficulties. That is because they are inserted in power relations that make some forms more accepted and stimulated, whereas others are depreciated or suppressed.

For Connell (2000), masculinities can be seen as a continuum, in which masculinities are hierarchically positioned between dominant and subordinate, and are considered more or less legitimate in relation to their degree of proximity or distance from the norm. The relationship between them can be peaceful or violent, as observed in the news on homophobic attacks, but there is no escaping

this connection between the different possibilities of living the male experience, since it is therein that the norm is established. In the words of Kimmel (1998), who studied the production processes of masculinities in the post-independence United States:

[...] as the hegemonic ideal of masculinity is established, it is created as opposed to a group of “others” whose masculinity was questioned and depreciated. The hegemonic and the subordinate emerge in mutual and unequal interaction (Kimmel, 1998, p. 103).

As examples, one can mention men who wear women’s clothes and those who have sex with men, as forms of marginalized masculinities. This position of marginalization is also evident in the works of Santos (2009) and Andreoli (2010) about men who dance, and their efforts to move closer to the hegemonic masculinity, since dancing is not one of its practices. Another example of subordinate masculinity can be seen in the weightlifting gyms in the interactions between senior and rookie “fitness freaks”. Beginners are also pejoratively called “cockerel” in Brazil, due their lack of muscle mass. The relationship established between a senior and a rookie is one of subordination, often associated with a mild hostility, involving jokes made by the more experienced practitioners about the beginners’ lack of strength, but not enough to be considered aggressive. In turn, the rookie projects onto the senior’s body his own image in the future; seeing the senior as a sort of mentor who will teach him how to get there, since the beginner seeks to belong in this physical elite that incarnates the form of hegemonic masculinity in the weightlifting gyms.

This relationship between the newbie and the experienced weightlifter points to another important characteristic of masculinities: they make use of the bodies as arenas of their construction (Connell, 2000). Men’s bodies do not determine masculinity standards, as a biological essentialism might suppose. Male bodies are directed to an ideal, defined and disciplined by the gender order of each culture. Bodies are places where gender patterns are produced, thus male and female cannot be understood as overlapping with the men and women categories, respectively, as masculinity and femininity are metaphors of the capacity for power and action, simultaneously and reciprocally accessible to men and women (Almeida, 1995).

Empirical field and methodological procedures

This research utilized a qualitative approach and an ethnographic method (Magnani, 2002; Santos, 2008). These choices were guided by the notion that the presence of the researcher in the field is a privileged way to understand the interactive dynamics among the subjects in the selected environment. In ethnographic work, living with the study's subjects is the ideal situation for the exercise of one of the main objectives of this type of research: getting to understand the world views present in every culture, since as it is in "the otherness that the premise of anthropological knowledge occurs." (Silva, 2006, p. 25).

The field study, conducted through semi-structured interviews and daily records in a participant-observation diary, was undertaken by a "stranger" to the gym, to the neighborhood in which it was located and to its customers. Cesaro, one of the authors of this text, is the one who has interacted with the group of gym goers during the seven months of work. One of the concerns prior to his entrance in the field was related to the degree of involvement between researchers and study subjects. At the time, we found some answers in the literature regarding our concern, but none of them indicated a standard recommendation, since this format of interaction depends on the availability of the researcher and on the characteristics of the research and of the group observed.

Wacquant (2002), for example, studied a boxing gym in the city of Chicago, in the United States, and chose a methodology called "participation observation", because he believed he would not understand boxing if he himself did not practice it. Wacquant gradually ceased to be a sociologist who watches boxing to become a boxer who makes ethnographic records about the lived practice. In Brazil, Chaves (2010) and Sabino (2004) opted for the same form of intervention: they enrolled in the fitness gyms where they chose to conduct the fieldwork for their doctoral theses. Sabino even underwent a body transformation and gained 14 kg of muscle mass.

We opted for a more "traditional" insertion, in which the researcher is identified and positioned as such from the very first contact, keeping a certain distance from the gym goers. It contributed to the definition of different positions within the group's dynamic. This decision did not affect the quality of the relationship with the participants; instead, it facilitated the

communication with them, especially during the interviews, as they valued the fact that they were providing a testimony to a researcher linked to a prestigious university.

We chose a weightlifting gym in a predominantly residential neighborhood on the outskirts of Porto Alegre, inhabited by working class families. To prevent the identification of the location, we use the generic term “Village Gym” (*Academia da Vila*). It should be noted that, in Porto Alegre, the working class settlements are removed from the exclusive regions and are commonly called “village”.

In addition to the Village Academy’s owner, who was also the main weightlifting instructor, 22 regular gym goers participated in the survey, who at the time met the inclusion criteria: male practicing weightlifting at least four times a week. The youngest was 17 years old and the oldest 43, and their occupations varied: two students, a security guard, a social worker, a physical education teacher who worked at the village’s daycare, a military policeman, several trainees from government apprenticeship programmes, and some who worked in the informal sector and exercised different activities sporadically. In order to preserve the anonymity of the participants, they all have names of famous alchemists, according to the alchemy metaphor referred to earlier in this text.

The village alchemists: what they ate and how they trained

The construction of a hypertrophied body requires strict control of three aspects: training, resting and nutrition (Sabino, 2004). The last aspect can also include food supplements and steroids, as their purpose is mainly to ensure the necessary biochemical substrates for muscle hypertrophy. It is precisely this triad that ensures the achievement of the pre-defined goal: a body with prominent and well-defined muscles. However, with regard to nutrition and training, the Village Gym customers have added some unique cultural references to the world of bodybuilding, weightlifting and fitness.

To build muscle: fruit, some beer and a lot of iron

In the world of muscle hypertrophy, nutrition gets as much attention as training. It is not restricted nor is defined by eating meat, eggs, bread, rice and beans. These categories are even replaced by fat, carbohydrate and protein,

since only the amount of each of these macronutrients are usually mentioned in prescriptions and product labels. Flavours and taste preferences are set aside in the name of the most appropriate combination of “macros” that will enable building and defining muscles.

This combination is not homogeneous over a complete year. There are periods of training where you need an intake higher than 5,000 calories and others where the daily intake of calories is less than 1,000. A detailed description of these nutritional recommendation can be found in Sabino (2004).

In the Village Gym, there was a distinct interest in relation to nutrition, characterized mainly by the absence of such cyclical periodization. There was no periodization of diets because there was no periodization of training. Therefore, it was not necessary to control the amount of calories throughout the year. It was only when enrolling at the Village Gym that a specific type of periodization was applied, which consisted of pre-training, preparing the body for muscle hypertrophy, as an adjustment of the individual’s physical capacity in order to lift heavier weights.

When I started working out, I was very thin, and spent some time working out without much weight. When I “got some muscles,” the training began for real. I started doing low repetition series, eight, six. Arms is six; legs is eight. (Eugene) I arrived at the gym weighting almost 100kg. I had no strength, got easily tired. Nicolas [owner of the gym] gave me exercises with small weights. When I got close to 80kg, I started working out harder. (Alberto)

Although there is no classical periodization of training, there is a division into two distinct periods, which does not repeat over the years. However, there was no specific nutritional care for each of the periods. Eugene, who at the time was training for more than three years, reported the following about his diet:

Researcher: How is your diet?

Eugene: I eat well and take supplements, those suggested by the coach.

Researcher: Which coach?

Eugene: Fausto³. He always gives suggestions about nutrition, supplements.

3 Fausto was an instructor who helped the gym owner with assisting and instructing the gymgoers. He has no education in physical education, but his advice used to be followed due the fact that he is physically the strongest one in the gym and had the best defined muscles among those there.

Researcher: And do you follow his suggestions?

Eugene: Just regarding supplements. Eating right is very hard. You have to bring pasta, chicken to work, you have to eat a snack every three hours. It is very difficult.

Researcher: And how do you take care of your nutrition?

Eugene: I always eat at home. My wife cooks everything for the kids. There is always salad, fruit, no fried dishes.

Andreas, one of the youngest and one of the newest gym goers, was 19 and started weight training after the start of this investigation. He was one of the few to attend training in the morning. Every day, more or less in the middle of his two-hour workout, Andreas ate a fruit, usually an apple, “to have energy to finish the workout,” he said.

Isaac was another regular bringing fruits to practice. His choice was bananas, and he explained:

I always eat a banana before practice because it has potassium, which helps to avoid cramps. I do not eat anything in the afternoon because I come straight from work, so there is no time to stop and eat. So, I eat a banana before I start training.

With regards to healthy eating, we live in a society that Santos (2008) calls “hyper-informed”, where the multiplicity of discourses on best ways to eat ourselves demands a constant state of alert and vigilance about new and well-established recommendations.

In the media platforms dedicated to nutrition and healthy food, daily consumption of more than one serving of fruit and vegetables is stimulated. This recommendation is so frequent that it is currently considered common sense (Santos, 2008).

This recommendation, however, does not make sense when the goal is muscle hypertrophy. The consumption of fruits, especially, need to be restricted and tightly controlled due to the existence of simple sugars in their composition. These sugars are the most potentially harmful to weightlifters and “fitness freaks”, as they easily turn into fat that accumulates under the skin, compromising the effort of weeks’ worth of training.

Eugene, Isaac and Andreas and two other regulars of the gym, Leoniceno and Trithemius, were somehow captured by the “healthy eating” discourse and they incorporated care to their eating routine, although the consumption of fruits and vegetables is not a recommendation for those seeking muscle hypertrophy.

Another aspect of the relationship between these gymgoers with nutrition was noted throughout the observations and interviews. Eugene, in the passage quoted above, attributed to his wife and the need for giving a good example to their children, the choice of a menu with vegetables, fruits and no fried foods. Alberto, nevertheless, reported he had acquired the habit of eating salad when he worked in the city centre and had lunch with two female colleagues. Leoniceno, in turn, mentioned his girlfriend as being responsible for his “nutritional re-education”:

I did not like to eat fruit; I didn't have that habit. After I started dating Sabrina, I started to eat more salad, fruits. Now I miss it when I don't have it.

Assigning the concern for a more balanced and healthy diet to women (wives, girlfriends, female friends) seemed to be a strategy that allowed the men speak about nutritional care without having their manhood questioned – a sort of shield, an insurance against any suspicions that the act of being cautious of excess calories, fat and fried food might arouse.

This interpretation is consistent with the study of Santos (2008, p. 44), which states that:

[...] in many cultures, a man's diet is marked by foods heavy in calories and proteins, that symbolize strength, power, masculinity and power – meat, for example, while women's diet is marked by low calorie intake, symbolizing lightness and femininity – such as fruits and vegetables.

The male gym goers, when reporting their care with a lighter nutrition, also sought to clarify that heavy foods and alcoholic beverages had not been banished from their eating routines, something not recommended for anyone who wants a muscular body. Francis, the youngest of the participants, when turning 18, organized a birthday party and invited almost all the gym members. On the menu, barbecue and beer, a beverage he claimed to consume since he was 15 years old. Beer was also consumed after the weekly soccer game that brought gym goers together.

Fargeli and Wandel (1999), when studying the gendered construction of healthy eating practices, point out differences between the way male and female identities are perceived in this particular niche: while men are perceived by what he eats, women are examined by what she does not eat. Men are allowed to eat without any restriction of quality or quantity: male voracity is generally well regarded or, at least, not criticized.

In the production dynamics of the different experience configurations of being a man, hegemonic masculinity is constructed by the suppression both of features perceived as feminine and those associated with subordinate and alternative masculinities (Connell, 2000). Having a strict diet, submitting oneself to calorie counting and the constant assessment of food that should be eaten, are not behaviours consistent with what one would expect from that group of men. By attributing to the surrounding women the decisions about having lighter and healthier food, and explicitly demonstrating the consumption of those items considered harmful to health or inefficient for muscle gain goals (fatty meat and beer), the men created a virile alibi, which allowed them to be loyal to the predominant masculine configuration in the working class.

It can't be with the syringe; it has to be with muscles

The nutrition of weightlifters is not only composed of food. Supplements and dietary supplements, anabolic steroids, growth hormones and other substances that can accelerate muscle hypertrophy are also part of the energy and nutritional intake. The nutritional supplements are products designed to complement a diet poor in nutrients, or to supplement it, giving the organism a larger daily amount of macro and micronutrients than actually needed. These ergogenic resources are for sale and are easily found in natural products stores, on online stores and in the gyms themselves, including the Village Gym.

There is also an extra set of training resources that are not easily accessible, those whose consumption is prohibited or released only by prescription. The most well-known are anabolic steroids, although other substances are used to achieve the weightlifters' objectives without many constraints. Even if their use is prohibited without medical prescription, they can be bought online in virtual stores hosted by websites abroad, or smuggled. These are called "pumps"⁴, in Brazilian Portuguese; an expression routinely used by weightlifters to refer to drugs such as Decadurabolin®, Durateston® and others, used to boost muscle gain.

Far from causing embarrassment for being illegal or apprehension towards the potential harm it causes to the body, the use of "pumps" tends to be

⁴ The term "pumped", a pejorative expression by which weightlifters are recognized in Brazil, whether or not users of these substances, derives from this term.

seen by the weightlifters as a sign of self-sacrifice on behalf of the body image. Renouncing everything, including life itself, is evident in a testimony collected by Sabino (2004) at a gym in Rio de Janeiro:

What good is in living long and being a loser? A poor soul that does not get a woman, who cannot be respected, cannot look himself in the mirror? It is better to have a short life and live a happy one, than living long but grim. If the devil showed himself to me and said, "Man, I'll give you everything you want, but I will let you live only another ten years" I'd take the chance right away! (Sabino, 2004, p.102).

In the Village Gym, except for Fausto, regular who had discreetly expressed the wish to consume such substances in the future, the use of "pumps" was not part of the plans or the practices of other gym goers. "Nobody uses it here," said the owner, "at least not inside the gym." Michel, one of the oldest regulars, was also adamant in his statement: "There are no drugs here [referring to anabolic steroid products]." Hermes, the only graduate in physical education among the regulars, also claimed to be unaware of illicit substance users in the gym:

Researcher: Have you ever seen someone here taking "pumps"?
Hermes: Dude, I think no one here takes it. Some guys ask questions, they want to know how it works, if there is any problem.
Researcher: Do they ask you because you are a physical education teacher?
Hermes: Yeah, they want to know if I have ever used, if I know how it works, if there really is any danger. I tell them it goes limp [laughing] and they never ask anything again.

In fact, during the fieldwork no one was seen using them, nor comments from the gym goers reporting the use were heard, nor was there any circumstance that could demonstrate the use of any illegal substance by any of the study subjects.

Therefore, we began to ask ourselves: what lead the men of that gym to refuse to use a resource that could enhance their efforts and reduce the time to reach their muscle hypertrophy goals? Three factors seem to contribute to their refusal to use illicit drugs in that gym.

The first factor relates to access. To legally buy anabolic steroids it is mandatory to have a doctor's prescription, which is specific and limited to cases of muscle mass recovery due to accidents, degenerative diseases or long periods of convalescence. A second possibility to obtain the "pumps"

is in virtual stores, especially those on websites hosted in the United States, which require international credit cards and money in the bank, a distant reality of the Brazilian working classes. Smuggling might be an “accessible” alternative to that group, which would require contact with smugglers to obtain the product, and something that was not reported by any of the participants during the seven months of fieldwork in the Village Gym.

A second factor is ethical, and was linked to the beliefs of the Village Gym owner on how to run the establishment. For him a good atmosphere and a good coexistence among the gym goers was important. On several occasions, he made it clear he liked to keep a “family” atmosphere at the gym – “family” both in terms of fraternal friendship that existed among the regulars, and in the need to share good examples, such as not allowing the use of illicit substances in the gym.

These two factors seemed not enough to explain the refusal to use anabolic steroids and other illicit drugs by regulars of the Village Gym. In fact, if the access problem were solved, the cost-benefit ratio of “pumps” would make the muscle hypertrophy process much cheaper. While expenses related to a balanced diet and supplementation did not amount to less than 45 euros per month, an ampoule of Decadurabolin® costs less than 2,2 euros. The low cost of anabolic steroids in relation to other resources was pointed out by Iriart, Chaves and Orleans (2009) as a reason for the customers of a gym in Salvador⁵ to prefer the “pumps” instead of taking dietary supplements, even acknowledging the side effects resulting from this practice.

A third factor, also ethical and perhaps the strongest, was linked to the symbolism of effort and merit in the male universe of the working classes, as highlighted by Michel’s quote, one of the Village Gym regulars:

If you want to stay strong, you have to sweat. There are no breaks and you have to come every day. Lift a lot of weight. It cannot be with the syringe. It has to be with your muscles. [...] These kids want to come one month, two, and get big, but that does not work. It is for life; you always have to come [...] Like an addiction.

In the words of Michel, we glimpsed what, in our view, would be the main reason for the Village Gym regulars not using illegal drugs to increase their

⁵ Salvador is the capital of Bahia state. The city has a population of about 2.8 million inhabitants and is located in the northeast of Brazil.

muscle mass: merit. For that group of men, refusing substances that made muscle hypertrophy easier was not related to legal matters (“pumps” being banned or having their use restricted to medical prescriptions). The issue was in the sphere of values – it had to do with time, persistence, discipline, honors. What the participants avoided was not an association with illegal acts, but procedures unethical to the male configuration that prevails in the Brazilian working classes. For those men there was no virtue in using resources, legal or not, to reach their objective of obtaining muscle mass quicker. What led them to condemn the use of banned substances was not the illegality of the act, or the alleged health risks, but the artificial acceleration of the process, the shortcut. On the scale of values of the men who attended the Village Gym, having a stronger body, bigger and better defined muscles was worthless if this body had not been obtained through natural effort and merit. Therefore, it was necessary to have discipline and persistence, show bravery and resilience when pursuing results. In that resides the sentiment of honors valued by the Village Gym regulars.

Final considerations

About six months after the completion of the fieldwork, when we looked for the Village Gym’s regulars in order to share the results of the research, we found out that the building where the establishment had been was demolished due the enlargement of an avenue. At the time, Porto Alegre was preparing to host World Cup 2014 and the changes in the city’s geography affected the social dynamics of some communities. It is curious that in the name of a city modernization legacy, this mega sports event ended up eliminating from the urban landscape a space that housed a peculiar type of physical activity. This episode not only hindered the opportunity of sharing the research findings with the participants, but also made it difficult to deepen the study in that location.

Although we have tackled only two of six categories of analysis described in the original work (Cesaro, 2012), we believe it was possible to present a peculiar trait of body culture of a group of working class men in Brazil who forge themselves into an aesthetically hypertrophied body, but without ceasing to be faithful to the canons of an old school masculinity.

In retrospect, it is also worth noting that the practice of weightlifting among those men was peculiar for two unusual reasons: 1) resistance to publicly recognize their concern with healthy eating habits, since attention to nutrition is generally assigned to the female body. Hence, regarding to his honour; 2) the rejection of using anabolic steroids to accelerate muscle hypertrophy, a trick seen as a fraud in the processes of gaining muscle mass, and an attack on manhood. In short, a lack of virtue.

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10. ORAL HISTORY: PRODUCTION AND PRESERVATION OF SPORTS ARCHIVES IN THE DIGITAL AGE

SILVANA VILODRE GOELLNER AND CHRISTIANE GARCIA MACEDO

Several spaces dedicated to memory preservation such as museums, archives and documentation centres have engaged with a significant phenomenon of contemporary culture: sport and its various manifestations. In this decade, Brazil hosted two mega sporting events: the 2014 Football World Cup and the 2016 Summer Olympic Games, which encouraged the emergence of policies and actions directed to the dissemination of culture, identity and history of sports in the country.

Considering this context, institutions dedicated to the identification, preservation and dissemination of sports archives were contacted, given their ability to provide information on the sportive memory of the country. In this regard, establishments that selected and guarded memory and its symbolism on collective identity representations were promoted. Considering these spaces as material, symbolic and functional, Pierre Nora refers to them in the following way:

Spaces of memory are born and live from the feeling that there is no more spontaneous memory, that it is necessary to create archives, that it is necessary to maintain anniversaries, to organize celebrations, to pronounce funeral eulogies, to notarize minutes because these operations are not natural (Nora, 1993, p. 13).

By investing in the preservation of traces of time passed, spaces of memory organize and produce records that are sometimes not accessible. In other words, “in some way, and according to previously established criteria, [these spaces] collect, process, retrieve, organize and make available to society the memory of a specific region or social group that are present in various materials” (Von Simson, 2000, p. 65).

If we consider that the spaces of memory systematize and select what should be preserved and what should be discarded, the political and pedagogical role of those who work in them gains relevance, as it follows from their

intentionality the registration (or not) of what was once experienced by individuals, groups and institutions. After all, these spaces:

[...] gather vivid experiences that help to understand the present, not in order to justify it, but to seek various possible answers to the various questions that today we can undertake. After all, memory does not imprison us in the past, but leads us to question the present (Goellner, 2009, p. 225).

This work is done by the Sports Memory Center (Centro de Memória do Esporte – CEME)¹ at the School of Physical Education, Physiotherapy and Dance of the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS). Created in December 1996, it seeks to rebuild, preserve and disseminate the memory of sport, physical education, recreation and dance in Brazil. Therefore, it has invested in actions such as the promotion of scientific production in the field of history and memory of physical and sporting activities and the realization of permanent and traveling exhibitions. Moreover, it organizes seminars, conferences and thematic events, makes available physical and digital archives, and organizes the oral archives. In summary, it manages the information on memory of physical and sporting practices in Brazil by free access to scientific information.

In addition to the systematic work with textual, iconographic, audio-visual and three-dimensional collections, CEME operates the “Digging Memories” Project (Projeto Garimpando Memórias)², characterized as an Oral History Program. Producing, processing, preserving and promoting the memories of those involved with sports and non-sport practices has been the focus of this project that, over its course, has expanded its actions, adapted to both theoretical and methodological discussions in the field and to new information and communication technologies. Considering its longevity, this paper analyses from a specific experience, some theoretical frameworks of Oral History and demonstrates forms of using it by adopting digital media tools.

1 CEME is part of the Museums and Archives Network of UFRGS and is registered in the State Museums System of Rio Grande do Sul State. More information is available at: <<http://www.ufrgs.br/ceme/site>>.

2 Approved by the UFRGS Research Ethics Committee under the number 2007710 in October 2007.

“Digging Memories” and Oral History

In Brazil, from the 1980s³, historical research in the academic field of Physical Education is consolidated by the dedication of researchers who sought inspiration in different disciplines. The “historiographic renovation”⁴ movement, which questioned the factual and descriptive perspective, expanded the possibilities of analysing sport by considering it as an important element in the constitution of the Brazilian cultural identity.

From this renewal scenario, emerge works and debates that have appropriated debates from different theoretical approaches, such as from the Annales School, Micro-History, Cultural History, New History, Social History, History of Everyday Life, Women’s History and Oral History. Despite different perceptions of what is Oral History, the work of CEME is based on the following understanding:

[...] a research method (historical, anthropological, sociological, etc.) that focuses on interviews with people who participated in, or witnessed, events, situations, worldviews, as a way of approaching the object of study. As a result, the oral history method produces reference sources (interviews) for other studies and can be assembled in an open collection to researchers. It is to study historical events, institutions, social groups, professional groups, etc., in the light of testimonials from people who participated or witnessed them (Alberti, 1989, p. 1-2).

It is noteworthy that since the mid-twentieth century several authors used Oral History in different ways and in different disciplines, both in the production of scientific and literary texts (Thompson, 1992; Ferreira & Amado, 1996). However, oral sources in the specific field of sport and physical education gained greater visibility and recognition in the Brazilian academic production only in the 1990s.

The “Digging Memories” Project was created in 2002 with the objective to preserve and promote the memory of sport, physical education, dance and leisure in Brazil, through interviews with people who have experienced or witnessed events of different physical and sport activities.

3 Other studies can be identified on the history of sports and physical education in earlier times, but these works were not carried out by historians, but for producers of history, as defined by Ferreira (2002). In other words, by authors who produce texts of historical nature without necessarily considering methodological issues.

4 On this topic, we suggest reading the text “Renovação historiográfica na educação Física brasileira”, by Oliveira (2007).

Initially, the work of the Center for Research and Documentation of Contemporary History in Brazil (CPDOC) was adopted as basic reference. Considering the specific thematic of CEME and the broadened theoretical references about the uses of Oral History, it was created in 2005 a document called *Practical handbook to clarify basic procedures to be performed in the interviews*⁵, understood as guidelines for the researchers teams involved. The document describes each step involved in the production of an interview from the choice and contact with the person to be interviewed, to its publication in the Lume – Digital Repository of UFRGS.

The handbook provides guidance on the criteria adopted for the selection of interviewees, and the scope must necessarily be related to the cultural universe of physical activity and sports. Once selected the person, the steps to formulate the script are described, which involve conducting primary research on biographical information available on different sources, such as books, media artifacts, academic and non-academic publications, among others. With this data, the script is developed considering both the specificity of the subject and of the investigation that is being conducted.

At this early stage, digital media is widely accessed in order to localize the people as well as to build the deponents network and, in some (rare) situations, conduct the interviews themselves. Skype and Facebook video calling are some of the tools used, especially in the processes preceding the interview, which is conducted in person and is recorded with a portable digital recorder. Completed the interview, its processing involves transcription, fidelity confirmation (listening to the recording to make sure the transcript matches the audio), the copydesk (adaptation to the text written to protect the content expressed), the research (insertion of footnotes which contextualize or explain words, expressions or quotes mentioned in the interview) and preparation of the summary (list of the main themes addressed).

Done this process, the document is sent to the interviewee and, if desired, the changes he or she considers relevant are made. At this stage, takes place the signing of a letter of concession that gives CEME the rights over the

⁵ The document is referenced in the CEME own publications, the CPDOC documents and in the work of authors like Verena Alberti, Antonio T. Montenegro, José Carlos Meihy, Fabiola Holanda, Marieta M. Ferreira, Janaina Amado and Carla B. Pinsky, among others. Its last update was in 2012, when it took part in the movement of open access to scientific information.

interview and authorize its disclosure in various media, including digital ones. When returned, the file is converted into a Portable Document Format (PDF)⁶ document and inserted into the Library System of UFRGS (SABi) and into the Lume – Digital Repository of UFRGS⁷. More specifically, on the *Testimonials* collection of the sub-community *Sports Memory Center*. The interview is available in full, followed by a factsheet that provides data on their execution and processing (full name of interviewee, date and place of birth, place and date of the interview, name of who carried out each step and additional information when needed – for example, if the person interviewed made changes in the content of the interview).

Interviews are usually done considering the research carried out by the more than 55 members of CEME, who are linked to the undergraduate and graduate programs, to individual and/or joint projects. In addition, there are interviews focused on the Sports Memory Center itself or on any topic that dialogues with specific themes of the academic and professional field of Physical Education⁸.

Moreover, the use of Oral History in the daily work of CEME has other specificities. According to Alberti, it “allows the registry of testimonies and the access to “stories within the story” and thus extends the possible interpretation of the past” (Alberti, 2010, p. 155). In other words, through rhetoric we observe several versions and representations of events and of times that have passed. Different perspectives broaden understanding, views and interpretations.

The “Digging Memories” Project and the research that derive from it start from the understanding that the memory reveals, simultaneously, collective memory and individualized interpretations. Thus, the project operates with memory as the reconstruction of a time that has passed, which implies that, when accessed, there is the possibility of failures, distortions, omissions or additions. Therefore, it is necessary to carry out further research on what was narrated in order to intertwine memory and history. This articulation,

6 Format developed by Adobe Systems in 1993, so that the files could be displayed regardless of the software that produced them, with a reading platform distributed for free.

7 Lume was created in 2007 in order to replace and expand the Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations of UFRGS (BDTD), which was active from 2001 (Pavão *et al.*, 2008).

8 In July 2018, the “Digging Memories” Project conducted 883 interviews, 620 of which are available for consultation. See: <<http://www.ufrgs.br/ceme/site/entrevistas>>.

besides promoting greater density to the produced document, has allowed the memories and stories told to be part of exhibitions, seminars, workshops, photographic exhibitions, video productions and, finally, of various activities that expose memory as a source. Besides that, it has enabled the recording of non-official narratives, since Oral History:

[...] allows us to listen to stories of individuals and groups who would otherwise be ignored; It allows you to expand the horizons of our knowledge of the world; and encourages questioning our own assumptions about the experiences and views of other people and cultures (Pathai, 2010, p. 124).

This is represented in the specificity of the work conducted, because large part of physical practices, especially sports, are narrated from the perspective of the winners and of institutions such as clubs, associations, sports federations, among others. Female athletes, members of indigenous and black communities, practitioners of popular manifestations and members of peripheral sport teams, physical education teachers, mega sport events participants who did not win, are examples of thematic groups that through oral testimonies transform their memories into visible stories. They are subjects that quite often are in the shadows of the official story, since they are not recognized as protagonists of resilience, victory and success narratives.

By choosing to observe life trajectories of subjects like these, we depart from the understanding that their recollections reveal individual and collective memories that do not represent the truth of what has happened, but what they recall and narrate. We assume, therefore, that between the lived and the narrated there is a mediation, constructed by the memory of the individual. Even though being guarded by an individual whose references are his or her own experiences and perceptions, memory is marked by the social group in which that individual has lived and socialized in (Goellner & Von Mühlen, 2010, p. 58).

These specifics of Oral History also relate to political values that CEME commits to during its work, in the sense of developing strategies to make these subjects visible and, in a way, promote narratives that allow various interpretations about the history of Sport and Physical Education in Brazil. Such intentionality does not just happen by choosing whom to interview (or not), but also by the way of conducting the interview and, above all, by making it available, as many of those memories narrate stories still not known.

The “Digging Memories” Project team has also been evaluating the impacts of new communication and information technologies present in culture. The speed with which new technologies on production and availability of memorial records have emerged generated changes in the methodological procedures adopted for producing and preserving oral resources.

The new information and communication technologies

The emergence of new technologies of information and communication brought changes in the field of historiography, affecting the ways of doing Oral History. They have enabled access to new sources, research tools and means of disseminating the knowledge produced in academia (Lucchesi, 2013). According to Bresciano (2010), before the implementation of these technologies, research had a relatively homogeneous structure:

The text exercised undisputed supremacy, and the complementary materials that were incorporated – graphics or iconographic – fulfil an illustrative or demonstrative function, always subordinated to the written word. By making use of digital resources when producing texts, the historiographic materials expand the possibilities of communication and experience modifications to its own nature (Bresciano, 2010, p. 27).

Aware of these possibilities, in 2012, CEME joined the movement for open access to scientific information, which led to several discussions and adjustments to the projects developed by its team regarding the use of new technologies. The main action undertaken was the creation of a specific subcommunity in Lume – Digital Repository UFRGS, in order to increase the accessibility of its archive and productions via digital technologies, including the interviews conducted by the “Digging Memories” Project. These, before available for research in loco and through the CEME portal, now constitute a specific Lume collection, called *Testimonials*.

The movement for open access to scientific information is characterized “by consenting barrier-free access, without requiring the use of passwords, licenses or even the payment of subscriptions to do research on the websites or the copies” (Crespo & Corrêa, 2006, p. 2), guaranteeing the universal right to information.

The UFRGS, since 2008, had already embodied policies positive to the movement for open access to scientific information on its political level.

According to Pavão *et al.*:

Information technology plays a strategic role in UFRGS, not only as a possibility for expanding library services or as an essential tool for classroom and distance learning, but also as a source of indicators management and integration with other educational and research repositories in the country. The vast amount of knowledge produced in universities makes necessary, in addition to its dissemination and use, its preservation, so the importance of projects like this. (Pavão *et al.*, 2008, p. 2).

The Lume – Digital Repository UFRGS is then its main tool. Institutional repositories, according to Masson (2008), have the following characteristics: a) are information technologies developed to organize, collect, disseminate and preserve information and knowledge; b) are tools designed to contribute to the advancement of research; c) their architecture has the form of interoperable networks, which enable new forms of evaluating of scientific production and performance of researchers, as well as enabling the interaction and democratization of access to information and knowledge, and enhancing collaboration between researchers and society in general; d) are flexible tools that can be adapted to constant and rapid changes in contemporary society.

Such features impacted the work of CEME and, therefore, the way of carrying out the interviews at the “Digging Memories” Project. From the participation in the movement for free access to information and the adoption of digital media tools, new systems and routines have been created in order to adapt to the inherent aspects in digital repositories. This adaptation has been implemented not only when conducting and publishing interviews, but also in the strategy to digitize analog documents and insert them in the Digital Repository, thus contributing to the preservation and universal access to the collection. According to Bresciano (2010), archives and digital repository are not limited to document storage; they invest in the development of search mechanisms by end-users through the production of detailed description tools, what implies making historiographic research easier.

In addition to these conveniences, changes related to the performance of museum institutions relativized, in a way, traditional notions of object, originality and preservation. Donated or leased collections by the interviewees were target of this relativity, since items such as photographs, videos, images of three-dimensional objects, certificates of participation in events and competitions, among others, were inserted in the Digital Repository as well.

According to Leticia Bauer, when analyzing the experience of the Person's Museum (*Museu da Pessoa*), a virtual museum created in Brazil in 1991, aimed at democratizing and appreciation of life stories, "virtuality is intrinsic to understanding the archive and its ways of preservation" (2010, p. 58). This assertion is based on the understanding that, when available in virtual archives, the documents grant universal access and "unlimited reproduction" – its preservation is secured by usage of its content.

There is no doubt that digital technologies have impacted the work developed by the "Digging Memories" Project. In addition to greater attention when carrying out the processing of interviews, the standardization necessary to insert them in the digital platforms demanded studies focused on the specificity of information and communication technologies. Such carefulness and rigor ensured great visibility to the project. Initially the dissemination of the work was restricted to the research conducted and the CEME portal; however, by publishing them in the UFRGS's Digital Repository, its presence was extended to tools not used before, for example, Google Scholar⁹.

The new technological means have also allowed a better distribution of the oral reports produced by CEME. The interviews published in July 2018 reached over 290,000 accesses and over 100,000 downloads¹⁰, a very satisfactory amount. According to Bresciano (2010), this diffusion is due to both technical and socio-cultural factors, such as the development and the cheapening of technological devices such as tape recorders and cameras, as well as the more widespread access to the internet. In a society that values the "spectacle of myself" (Sibilia, 2008), publications centred on subjects, such as biographical narratives, life histories and genealogies thrive – and those sometimes resort to orality as a source.

Although the Digital Repository is the primary means of disclosure of the interviews produced by the "Digging Memories" Project, other digital media are used for the same purpose. Among them is the CEME portal¹¹, in which there is a link called Interviews; the SABi – UFRGS libraries' online

9 Google tool to search academic texts such as scientific journals, theses and dissertations databases, conference proceedings and institutional repositories.

10 The numbers consider the period between 2012 and July 2018.

11 The thematic portal can be accessed at: <www.ufrgs.br/ceme>.

catalogue¹²; and the Monthly Newsletter of the Sports Memory Center, that share the activities developed by “Digging Memories” in every issue.

According to Bresciano (2010), the thematic portals and discussion forums are some of the possibilities that the digital era provides for the exercise of Oral History. These spaces facilitate the virtual communication between universities and research centres, through the dissemination of research sources, of publication of their results and foster the discussions of the methodological aspects of Oral History.

The sports archives and the contribution of Oral History

We understand the interview as a record of memory and thus as a form of producing sources that enrich institutional archives. The interviews are characterized as the starting point of preserving this oral process. This implies that, besides the interview being a source itself, the contact with the interviewees has broadened CEME’s collection, especially the iconographic and documentary. When recollecting aspects related to their lives, many people show interest in donating materials as they understand that the institution will preserve what maybe your friends and family do not show interest or care about. Another implication and necessary reflection is the maintenance of these archives. In other words, it is not enough to just record the interview and publish it, but also to ensure that the platforms are accessible and that dissemination and research actions are always active.

The preservation of documents and sources in digital format has implied new challenges to historical research, due to the distinct character from physical media:

While the physical file, our old acquaintance, is understood by its assumed perpetuity that it supposedly concedes to information over long periods, the Internet, according to Vitali, has been characterized by the opposite, the instantaneity – the supply of fresh information in an ever faster pace, close to real-time. Moreover, in contrast to the physical file, it offers information little stability and permanence (Lucchesi, 2013, p. 11).

12 The page can be accessed at: <<http://sabi.ufrgs.br/F?RN=877402387>>.

If the durability of the printed document is more predictable, the Internet, immaterial and flexible, by assuming different platforms, it becomes fast and, at the same time, ephemeral. In this sense, we cannot ignore that a great number of websites disappear by disabling or network errors, which ultimately undermine the reference sources and, hence, the historiographical work. That is, both physical and digital documents are subject to technological changes that turn obsolete modern programs and formats in a short time. It is essential to monitor technological innovations, since the development of new media often puts into disuse those that were originally used to produce the interviews.

It is also essential to consider the ephemerality of information in some social networks, as when new information is published, the older ones have less visibility and some tools are doomed to disappear.

In order to enhance the forms of preservation and the unlimited reproduction of interviews and products derived from them, the teams of the Data Processing Center at UFRGS and CEME decided to adopt the DSpace software. According to the Brazilian Institute for Information in Science and Technology (IBICT), this software allows the management of scientific production in any form of digital material, giving it greater visibility and ensuring their accessibility over time.

In “Digging Memories” Project, the problems related to the use of obsolete media or old software programming languages were partially resolved in the light of monitoring and systematic evaluation, and by ensuring the preservation of interviews and their disclosure in digital media, without being concerned about storage and backups. These institutional functions were assumed by UFRGS when the university joined the movement for free access to information – provided, moreover, in its political plan.

In addition to the technological issues, it is important to emphasize again the potential of place of memories in the preservation of these collections, and above all, the existence of actions aimed at maintaining physical and digital media. In this direction, there are several strategies taken in order to keep the archives and historical records accessible, such as the production of articles, printed and digital books, the organization of exhibitions and seminars, among others.

It is worth noting that when the CEME team elected Oral History as a source of research, it does not conceive that the narrative of the subjects

interviewed are “the truth”, but a reconstruction of what happened. A way of narrating and remembering. It is in the crossroads of memory and history that research is developed and, from them, the various actions involving analysis and dissemination. After all, we believe, like Keith Jenkins, that even being similar words, history and past are absolutely different because:

The past and history are not united to each other in such a way that there can be only one historical reading of the past. Past and history are free from each other; they are very far apart in time and space. This is because the same object of research can be interpreted by different discursive practices [...] at the same time that, in each of these practices, there are different interpretive readings of time and space (Jenkins, 2004, p. 24).

Aware of the political intentions of using Oral History as source, the “Digging Memories” Project invests in the production and preservation of sport archives, since it considers oral communication as fundamental to the historiographical production. It enables the creation of sources ignored by the official history, and it is easy to adapt to new tools and innovations arising from information and communication technologies. Thus, it meets a political and pedagogical purposes, that when avoiding oblivion, empowers individuals, groups and institutions through the recollection of their stories.

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11. INNOVATION, DIVERSITY AND TRANSFORMATION AND ITS IMPACTS ON KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION IN PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN BRAZIL

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Introduction

In the last decade of the twentieth and in the early twenty-first century, scientific organizations, researchers and teachers produced a considerable body of knowledge about physical education in Brazil, a process accelerated by the progress of graduate programmes in the country that enabled important conceptual and epistemological revisions. In this period, physical education established itself as a field of knowledge characterized by scientific and epistemological pluralism.

As other instances of Brazilian society, physical education development was also affected by the emergence of new information and communication technologies (ICTs). In the context of these transformations, universities (through colleges, faculties and departments of physical education), graduate programmes and scientific societies, such as the Brazilian Society for the Advancement of Science (*Sociedade Brasileira para o Progresso da Ciência* – SBPC), the National Association of Graduate Programmes in Education (*Associação Nacional de Pós-Graduação em Educação* – ANPED) and the Brazilian College of Sport Sciences (*Colégio Brasileiro de Ciências do Esporte* – CBCE) have a prominent presence.

In this study, we focused our attention on the CBCE's contribution to epistemological pluralism in the area of physical education. In order to do so, we organized the text into three sections: (i) an overview of the recent history of the CBCE; (ii) the contribution of ICTs for the production and legitimization of knowledge; (iii) and epistemological pluralism and conceptual innovations in Brazilian physical education.

A perspective on the recent history of CBCE

The CBCE was created in 1978 by a group of researchers interested in promoting the development of physical education and sport sciences in the country. The Brazilian Congress of Sport Sciences (*Congresso Brasileiro de Ciências do Esporte – CONBRACE*), a scientific event of this society, was first held in 1979, and is today in its 21st edition. In the same year the Brazilian Journal of Sport Sciences (*Revista Brasileira de Ciências do Esporte – RBCE*), the official scientific vehicle of CBCE, was released. The CBCE has members in all 26 Brazilian states and the Federal District (the Brazilian capital). It also has state departments, which carry out scientific events in their states and regions, and Thematic Working Groups (TWGs). One of TGWs main responsibilities is to bring together researchers who share a common interest.

In its early editions, participants at CONBRACE were predominantly researchers from biological disciplines (exercise physiology, sport medicine, and cineanthropometry, among others). With the re-democratisation of the country after 30 years of military rule, the 1980s were marked by heated debates about the role of the CBCE in this new political scenario. This brought a new dimension to the event: a larger share of researchers were interested in investigating themes of physical education and sport from the perspective of education and human and social sciences.

The scientific and epistemological clashes between these groups of researchers have resulted in what Bracht (1999) called “schism” in this area of knowledge, and the effects materialized in the tensions between groups and researchers who remained linked to the CBCE, and groups and researchers who organized and/or became members of other scientific societies. This had important effects on the diversity of the knowledge produced in the area of Brazilian physical education. However, the difficult coexistence and noisy debates between researchers of the subfields of basic sport sciences and sociocultural and pedagogy of physical education (Carneiro, Ferreira Neto & Santos, 2015) remains as an almost unconquerable obstacle in the path of inter-multi-trans-disciplinarity. From a conceptual point of view, the difficulty in dialoguing is established mainly on the academic subject of study: sport and physical education, physical activity, and body movement culture. Despite this conflict of positions, CONBRACE has grown significantly. In this sense, we highlight some milestones in its development regarding these matters.

The 10th CONBRACE held in Goiânia, in 1997, had the theme *Physical Education/Sports Science: Renovations, Trends and Interests*. The purpose of the event was to discuss what was being investigated in this field, which epistemological views were in evidence, which perspectives and theoretical approaches supported the role of physical educators in their different working environments, which intellectual movements were seasonal or transitory, and which kind of knowledge was already consolidated.

Added to this demand there were challenges: to identify the epistemological issues that remained unanswered and the paths to be followed in science, technology and education. The increasing use of ICTs posed significant challenges for physical education, especially regarding the new Brazilian Education Act (*Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Brasileira – LDB*), approved in December 1996, just 10 months before the 10th edition of CONBRACE.

At the opening conference, under the title “*Education and the Future: Looking Forward*”, Pedro Demo (1997) analysed economic competitiveness and employability as the result of education, knowledge, technology and innovation, and the new challenges posed by globalization and citizenship. His speech pointed out the new political and democratic attainments from the educational changes that were taking place at the time. He optimistically anticipated that the most promising prospect was overcoming technical competence (based on competitiveness) by the appreciation of human competence in the field of policy, leading towards the capacity of putting technology at the service of building “an alternative history, collectively responsible and economically sustainable” (Demo, 1997, p. 15). For this purpose, Demo highlighted human and political skills, as these, sustained by ethics, would offer tools to think critically about technological progress and, finally, proposed innovations for the normative ordering of education in Brazil.

In 1997, most CONBRACE speakers coincided in criticizing the neoliberal avalanche that hit Brazilian society and, consequently, also the area of physical education. These criticisms operated around two lines: a) the new Brazilian Education Act, and; b) the growing presence of ICTs in the scientific field and in teacher education, notably in the area of physical education.

Although there were already studies on the diversification and plurality of knowledge in previous CONBRACEs, the most significant aspect of the 1997 edition in terms of innovation, diversity and transformation, was its form of organization, as it contemplated and encouraged epistemological diversity by organizing the Brazilian scientific production in TWGs. According to Carneiro, Ferreira Neto and Santos (2015), this form of organization was due to “the influence exerted by Valter Bracht as President of the CBCE in the period between 1993-1995 [that] ensured the implementation of the TWGs’ systems to be guided by a multidisciplinary approach” (p. 39). The aim was to avoid endogamous dialogue and academic endogeneity of the groups. Paradoxically, the organization of researchers into working groups with common interests impelled each group to establish criteria and scientific modes of production different from the others. In addition, internal disputes emphasized certain research objectives rather than others, a fact that played an important role in the creation of new TWGs.

In the 10th CONBRACE, scientific research in physical education was still progressing toward consolidation, although there was an intense political discussion. The CBCE, during the presidency of Elenor Kunz, approved and made available to the scientific community 294 scientific papers, distributed in the following TWGs: school, 40; public policy, 24; communication and media, 13; teaching/learning processes, 34; education and working force, 40; recreation and leisure, 27; health, 23; high performance sports, 11; people with disabilities, 13; social movements, 36; epistemology, 33. This was a significant number for the period, considering that in 1998 only 147 masters and 32 PhDs graduated in physical education in Brazil (Brasil, 2016). Until then, the field of physical education, in a moment of neglect by the Federal Government of science and technology (Silva, 2008), had only seven master and four doctoral programmes.

Today, the CBCE has 13 TWGs. From the beginning, a trend remains: the TGW School and the TWG Education and Working Force receive the highest number of papers for evaluation. Currently, these specialized scientific communities invent the scientific development of their own TWGs in order to provide conceptual status of what is produced. Carneiro (2011), for example, examined the trajectory of TWG School. Azevedo, Costa and Pires (2008) analysed the 10 years of TGW Communication and Media’s production in CONBRACEs.

The number of submitted and approved papers at CONBRACE also changed substantially. In the 19th CONBRACE in 2015, 982 scientific papers were submitted. Over a period of 12 years, since the 13th CONBRACE in 2003, there was an increase of 99% (Molina Neto *et al.*, 2016). Thus, the scientific production within the CBCE community is increasing significantly.

At the graduate level, there was significant growth. In 2018, there were 32 master and 18 doctoral programmes. As a result, the number of graduated masters and doctors also increased. According to the CAPES¹ annual report published in 2016, “there were only 212 PhDs graduated by the end of the evaluation period of 2007-2009, 357 by the end of 2010-2012 (68%) and currently there are 541 PhDs (2013-2015) (51%)” (Brasil, 2016, p. 4). The document adds that at the time of the evaluation many programmes did not have a full formation cycle, showing that the number of PhDs tends to grow (Brasil, 2016). Helena Bonciani Nader (2017), president of the SBPC, based on the *Scimago Journal & Country Rank* numbers², states that Brazilian scientific production has multiplied by seven in the last 20 years, putting Brazil in 13th position in the international ranking. The field of physical education has also contributed to this growth.

In October 2017, we conducted an investigation into the National System of Graduate Programmes regarding scientific production in the field of physical education, covering the period from 2013 to 2017. We found 2,969 masters and PhD thesis. From this search, we identified the subfields of knowledge to which these studies were associated. We classified the productions according to the taxonomy proposed by Manoel e Carvalho (2011) in pedagogical, sociocultural and biodynamics. In the table below, these productions are presented according to the subfields of physical education.

1 CAPES is a foundation linked to the Brazilian Ministry of Education that operates in the expansion and consolidation of graduate studies in all Brazilian states and the Federal District.
2 See: <<http://www.scimagojr.com/countrysearch.php?country=br>>.

Table 1 – Theses and dissertations in the subfields of physical education 2013-2017 in Brazil.

Subfields of Physical Education	Dissertations		Theses		Total	
Biodynamics	1,829	77.20%	476	79.60%	2305	77.60%
Sociocultural	263	11.10%	72	12.04%	335	11.25%
Pedagogical	279	11.70%	50	8.36%	329	11.15%
Total	2317	100%	598	100%	2969	100%

Source: Prepared by the authors based on the data of CAPES Theses and Dissertations Catalog.

It can be observed that the subfield biodynamics has 77.60% (2.305) of the total production, followed by sociocultural with 11.25% (335) and educational with 11.15% (329). When analysing the products, 77.20% (1829) of the dissertations and 79.60% of the thesis (476) are produced in the biodynamics subfield. The sociocultural and pedagogical subfields have similar results on the total product and also when thesis and dissertations are considered separately. This disparity between the biodynamics subfield and the sociocultural and pedagogical subfields has been debated by the CBCE, while looking for solutions that lead to a better balance between them.

ICTs in the production and legitimation of knowledge

ICTs have affected people's living conditions, while the living conditions themselves stimulate the development of new ICTs. In this sense, they facilitate the work and rationalize the use of time and resources. However, they also pose complex and difficult-to-solve problems. This is not to deify or demonize ICTs. Without exhausting the subject, the purpose is to analyse how they have affected the social context and the Brazilian physical education as a field of knowledge.

ICTs are present in people's daily lives. Most of the population makes use of these tools and virtual environments. They are frequently used in schools, in different work environments, in media companies, among other spaces. Consequently, new ways of social interaction and new identities are constructed. While they promote predispositions and relatively homogeneous attitudes, paradoxically, they create local and regional community identities.

In Higher Education, the possibility for people to work remotely was the start of networking and online working methods that are undertaken in

universities today. It was also an important step towards the democratization of access to information, hitherto restricted to certain groups and communities. These combined facts triggered the development of inter-institutional research groups, the development of distance education, decentralization and circulation of different types of cultural capital, distance evaluation committees, electronic access to databases and, more recently, to books in digital format.

In Brazilian physical education, an example of how ICTs have facilitated education and educational innovations is the Distance Master Programme in Physical Education, a project involving teachers and students from different universities in the country. ICTs also allow us to effectively think and operate concepts such as internationalization and entrepreneurship at the university. It also permitted the creation of the Open University of Brazil and the Paulo Freire Platform, important contributions to the training of Brazilian teachers, including teachers of physical education (Brasil, 2017a, 2017b)³.

ICTs have also increased the stock of available time of the population and there are forms to extend its use almost indefinitely for those who can afford it. In a broad sense, we can affirm that ICTs have favoured the daily lives of people in general and made their time more flexible. However, it is important to remember that they have an important place in the context of conservative modernization (privatization of the public) undertaken by fast capitalism (Apple, 2003), masked by the idea of freedom of choice, flexibility (Sennett, 2000) and effective management.

When examining webpages, specifically social networks, we can roughly say that “everyone has an opinion about everything”. The democratic contexts encourage people in general to post their opinions, even without specialized knowledge or enough information about certain subjects. In the past, these practices were restricted to small groups. One could say important or irrelevant things, consequential or inconsequential, without

³ The Open University of Brazil is a system integrated by public universities offering higher education courses to the population that have difficult access to university education, through a distance education. Primarily, teachers who work in the Public Basic Education System are served, followed by directors, managers and employees at the Federal, Municipal and Federal District Basic Education Systems. The Paulo Freire Platform is an electronic system created in 2009 by the Ministry of Education and managed by CAPES, in order to carry out the management and monitoring of the National Plan of Training Teachers at Basic Education (Brasil, 2017a, 2017b).

any repercussions and effects. Today, the Internet and social networks have amplified the power of repercussion and impact. Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and other social media are tools that facilitate and popularize the debate, favouring privileged protagonists, but sometimes also consolidating beliefs and values that would deserve further discussion.

Confirmation bias or confirmatory strategy – a cognitive predisposition to choose and select information and arguments only to confirm our beliefs and preliminary impressions in an unthinking and uncritical way, leaving aside information and arguments that require effort and analytical capabilities (Freitas, 2014) – is enhanced by ICTs. This way of thinking and producing arguments on social networks, when taken to the political debate, leads to the polarization of positions and, when taken to the field of values, magnifies prejudices.

When this attitude pervades scientific work, it generates inadequate production methods, with biased analytical processes, inconsistent research hypotheses and assumptions, and conclusions that are not sustained by the arguments presented. This happens in different fields of knowledge, including physical education in Brazil.

Despite this contradictory character of ICTs, it is difficult to examine the epistemological pluralism and conceptual innovations produced in the last two decades in Brazilian physical education without a detailed examination of them. In this sense, we think that an important task to be carried out by researchers in the field of physical education is to identify and understand the pedagogical effects of ICTs in the social conditions, in the cultural and political processes and in the production of knowledge.

Epistemological pluralism and conceptual innovations in Brazilian physical education

In recent years, physical education in Brazil has accumulated interesting reflections about the knowledge produced in the area, notably from the graduate programmes and research groups registered in the CNPq Directory of Research Groups⁴, and from national and international conferences held in the country.

⁴ The CNPq Directory of Research Groups in Brazil is an inventory of groups active in the country.

In this sense, conceptual innovations and epistemological pluralism, although in an intermittently manner, had a progressive and constant acceleration at the end of the last century and early this century. Epistemic plurality is embodied, for example, in scientific papers and discussions that take place in the TWGs of the CBCE and in the different positions that are advocated regarding the questions of the field, for example, the different positions of the TWG School and the TWG Education and Working Force about the National Curriculum Guidelines for Physical Education Undergraduate Courses.

On the other hand, the different scientific and epistemological issues related to the field of physical education accumulated in the last 20 years in Brazil, makes a comprehensive analysis and synthesis that could exhaust the subject seem impossible. The broad spectrum of scientific studies on physical education allows us to broaden the dialogue and reflection on it. It invites us to identify, define and reflect on conceptual innovations in this field of knowledge and on the increasing of its epistemological pluralism.

Nóbrega *et al.* (2003, p. 182) present an interesting example of this movement of conceptual innovation by arguing that “an important contribution to physical education epistemology is in Foucault, particularly in his reflection on the humanities”. In this study, the authors identified the different epistemological affiliations of the studies presented at CONBRACEs in the decade from 1990 to 2000, characterized by the: (i) intense search for epistemological identity considering the different existing theoretical models, (ii) increasing difficulties in establishing the scientific “statute” of this field of knowledge, (iii) the diversity of opinions regarding human movement as an object of scientific study and, above all, (iv) the expansion of the sociocultural and pedagogical subfields.

The authors also pointed out that, during the period studied, all CONBRACEs encouraged participants to reflect on the epistemology of physical education. To illustrate the complexity of this endeavour, and considering the conflicts between unity-duality, disciplinarity or inter-multi-transdisciplinarity in the papers analysed, the authors proposed the metaphor of the rhizome (anchored in Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari) as a method of organizing knowledge in the field: “The metaphor of the rhizome leads to the image and organization mode, in which the elements necessarily refer to each other and also to the outer environment” (Nóbrega *et al.*, 2003, p. 183).

For the authors, this means that there is no single basis for the knowledge produced in the field and there is no way to estimate the locus of a conceptual innovation. According to them there are numerous possibilities of understanding the phenomena that form the field, the knowledge about them and the pedagogical practices of physical education.

In this perspective, the authors argue that the conflict between the disciplinary and the inter-multi-trans-disciplinary was a conceptual innovation axis in Brazilian physical education, leveraged by the work of graduate programmes in the area. The three subfields that comprise it (biodynamics, sociocultural and pedagogical) operated with two central concepts that define physical education. While the first operates with the concept of physical activity, the sociocultural and pedagogical subfields emphasized the different notions of culture as a central element of their studies and research.

It is important to note that the underlined growth of the sociocultural and pedagogical subfields of knowledge (Nóbrega *et al.*, 2003) in the 1990s, needs to be relativized, because considering the last decades and looking at the scientific production of graduate programmes, all subfields grew in terms of scientific production and, to some extent, it was an asymmetrical growth. This growth, according to Molina Neto *et al.* (2016) defined certain hegemony of the knowledge produced in the subfield of biodynamics in relation to the knowledge produced in the subfields of pedagogy and sociocultural in the first decades of the twenty-first century. Out of four scientific productions, three focus on biodynamics, a trend that already existed in the last decades of the twentieth century. This fact was stressed by the researchers of sociocultural and pedagogical subfields in the document called “*Scenarios of an Imbalance in Graduate Programmes in Physical Education and Demands to CAPES*”, produced in 2015.

Over the past 20 years (1997-2017), the field of physical education produced important conceptual innovations and made some progress in their production modes, in particular the expansion of theoretical and methodological models. Fersteinseifer and Lara (2016, p. 105) refers to these developments as follows: “We have arrived at different concepts, we have moved with different paradigms and different methodologies, which has unblocked our limited perception of how knowledge emerges”.

If the graduate programmes expanded our possibilities of understanding and thinking about physical education, they also brought a set of problems, named

by Lara (2016) as the “capital sins” of Brazilian physical education. Problems that, due to the prevailing *productivism* in the country’s graduate programmes (Stigger, Silveira & Myskiw, 2015) have been distorting the purposes of the programmes and of progress in the area. Physical education, throughout its constitution as a field of knowledge, scientific production and pedagogical practice, was influenced by different scientific disciplines. According to Bracht (1999, p. 30):

[...] in the production of knowledge prevails a disciplinary or monodisciplinary approach, determined by the so-called parent-discipline. Some of physical education’s identity crisis derives from this, from the desire to become science, and the observation of its dependence on other scientific disciplines (physical education is epistemologically colonized by other disciplines).

On the biological sciences spectrum, physiology, biomechanics and others stand out. However, on the spectrum of humanities and social sciences, the disciplines of history, sociology, anthropology, and others, have a strong influence on its constitution. Because it is a pedagogical practice, an important influence in Brazilian physical education was the pedagogy inspired by historical materialism, for example, by Celi Taffarel’s works, and by the critical sociology of education and sports (Bracht, 1997), during the reforming movement of physical education in the 1980s.

In our view, the major influence on the epistemological pluralism of the field was the so-called progressive pedagogical thinking (Snyders & Libâneo, 1986), manifested in three streams:

- The pedagogy of liberation, better known as Paulo Freire’s pedagogy, which along with the work of Jurgen Habermas, influenced the writings of the Brazilian scholar Elenor Kunz and sparked the debate between the knowledge produced in schools and the knowledge developed by the pedagogical vanguards;
- The libertarian pedagogy, with strong support in Célestin Freinet’s ideas, which constitutes a criticism of the traditional school, and focuses its pedagogy on the needs and interests of students and on teachers’ ability to work in a school open to labour and society. In Brazil, its best-known representative is Miguel Gonzalez Arroyo;
- The historical-critical pedagogy: that had a strong influence on the reformist movement of physical education since the 1980s, to the point

of being a landmark on the physical education that is conducted today. Strongly influenced by Marxist ideas about education, this pedagogical conception has as leaders in Brazil, among others, Demerval Saviani, Guiomar Namo de Mello and Carlos Jamil Cury.

In this sense, it is worth noting the work of Almeida, Bracht and Vaz (2015) that analysed articles published in Brazilian journals from 1979 to 2010 in order to understand the influence of historical-critical pedagogy on the production of knowledge in physical education in Brazil. For the authors, it was in this period that this critical perspective was “constituted and consolidated” (p. 318) in the country. They identified 117 articles inspired by this theoretical perspective, and in dialogue with contemporary criticism and within the Marxist tradition of John Thompson and Paul Ricoeur. They brought forward an epistemological analysis of both the reformist movement of physical education and its developments from the perspective of those who proposed to analyse this moment of critical review of Brazilian physical education. The results of the study allowed them to state that historical-critical pedagogy was “vital for the emergence of a critical perspective within Brazilian physical education” (p. 326).

Several authors were located in the field of criticism inspired by Marxism and sustained by economic determinism and have added other theoretical perspectives to their analysis by identifying their analytical limits. These authors contributed to the epistemological pluralism in the area by using other theoretical and methodological models, for example, socio-cultural studies, Foucault’s deconstruction, postmodern criticism, and ethnographic studies of anthropological orientation. It is worth mentioning that many authors who produced academic works under this Marxist inspiration in the 1990s, in seeking other theoretical inspirations, created new lines of research, produced creative theoretical essays, and developed new perspectives on old issues in the field. Based on empirical data, according to Almeida, Bracht and Vaz (2015, p 327):

We assume that the critical field is now marked by a plurality of theoretical and political perspectives that are not restricted to Marxism, marked by the historical-critical pedagogy (which is still active). This difference occurred because the very Marxist reference became more nuanced in physical education. In addition, other theoretical orientations began to circulate in the field. These new traditions, at least in relation to the concept of ideology employed in the writings analysed

here, operate with conceptual tools that, while critical, are distinct from those employed by the Marxism (in the historical-critical pedagogy). This changes the sense of critical intellectual and his/her task.

In view of this statement, it is possible to understand the current coexistence, sometimes tense, between studies founded on the critical tradition inspired by different streams of Marxism and on the post-critical discourses inspired on Foucault's poststructuralism. Therefore, we have theoretical devices that support our investigations and contribute to the epistemological pluralism in this area of knowledge. In addition to the orthodox critical tradition, we have the reformed or reconceptualized critical tradition, the critical multiculturalism, the post-colonial studies, feminist studies, socio-cultural studies, sexualities and queer theory studies, among others, theoretically supported by the teachings of Stuart Hall (cultural studies), Hanna Arendt (the human condition, discourse and everyday action), Michel Maffesoli (appreciation of the body, identities production), Michel de Certeau (history epistemology) and Zigmunt Bauman (liquid modernity).

We agree with Hallal and Melo (2017) in criticising the fragmentation of knowledge in the field of physical education and the prospect of overcoming this situation. These authors, through a historical review of the constitution of physical education in Brazil, propose to analyse its current configuration from different research perspectives. The authors consider the diversity of studies and scientific pluralism in Brazilian physical education desirable and constructive, while warning against the risks of pernicious, negative and obtuse fragmentation, which "obliterates" the possibilities of dialogue and problem solving. Emphasizing dialogue and coexistence between the subfields of knowledge, the authors encourage us to think about the future of and in the area. For them, we are at risk because the problems and major questions of the area of knowledge cannot be "fully" studied and answered by a single subfield of knowledge.

Before that happens, perhaps it is time to return to the past. Not in an idealized form, as the times that have passed also had their problems. It is about looking at the past to remember that, as an area, we were born and developed as a diverse fauna, made up of people and knowledge gained from different research traditions. If we do not act in minimally integrated manner, we risk existing even as a fragile institution (Hallal & Melo, 2017, p. 326).

Although it has been said numerous times, it should be remembered that science and scientific research, although with authorship, are collective undertakings, products of dialogue and cooperation among researchers, who are organized in scientific communities, according to their academic specialties and research interests. This is a necessary and fundamental step towards the constitution of scientific traditions.

However, let us not forget that sometimes doubt is repressed in the name of scientific confirmation. Questioning involves the exercise of otherness and induces theoretical and methodological creativity. Otherness for us, is not to deny the other, but listen to it in order to establish a dialogue. In this sense, we can find a provocative clue to the exercise of questioning in the interesting dialogue between Elizabeth Roudinesco and Jacques Derrida when the first gives to the second the following elaboration: “the best way to be faithful to an inheritance is to be unfaithful, that is, not taking it by heart, as a whole, but rather underlining its faults” (Derrida & Roudinesco, 2004, p. 11). Perhaps here it is interesting to make a reflection on innovation and “novelty”.

Bianco and Costa Moura (2017), by examining the status of innovation today, argue that innovation is distinguished from “novelty”. They use the example of the *smartphone*, arguing that we had no “need”⁵ for this device and that, paradoxically, its fully usage would only appear after its invention. However, the authors aver, “since there is such a device we cannot live without it, nor without the innovation through which the iPhone 6 will necessarily give way to and be replaced by the 7, the 7S, the 8 and so on” (Bianco & Costa Moura, 2017, p. 499).

At this point, perhaps, it is worth questioning ourselves in a different manner, even more appropriate to the theme that inspires this text, and particularly this section: what are the conditions to produce something that is really “a novelty”? We follow these authors, when they invite us to think that:

“Novelty” is related to invention. It is not the result of an accumulation of knowledge or the natural progress of knowledge. More specifically, it is an event, the act of a subject, of Newton, for instance, or of Galileo or Heisenberg, who invented calculus, the Galilean revolution or the uncertainty principle.

⁵ Authors emphasis.

However, innovation is produced under the mere combination of features, which generates new products, new processes, new markets, new forms of organization and new materials. While “novelty” is contingent, innovation is part of, and is already, so to speak, foreseen as such in the scientific operation (Bianco & Costa Moura, 2017, p. 499).

Taking this path, it is possible to think that a “novelty” says of the person, his/her actions and words (Arendt, 2005). A “novelty” reflects our craftsmanship, our political existence. That is why questioning and acknowledging the place of speech of the interlocutors is, in our view, a scientific principle to pluralism and to conceptual innovations that, respecting and guaranteeing the place of the old, is fundamental in the constitution of “novelties”. No wonder that in the initial section of this paper we recovered the 1997’s CONBRACE and the quotes of those who felt compelled to think about the “renovations, trends and interests in physical education/sport sciences”. In current times, by relaunching the question, we ask ourselves: What “novelties” can physical education bring to contemporary world?

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12. SOCIOCULTURAL STUDIES OF SPORT “IN LEISURE”: ITINERARIES OF QUESTIONS AND MEANS OF INVESTIGATION

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Introduction

This chapter presents a resumption¹ of “itineraries” about sport as a constitutive part of the leisure activities of ordinary people. “Itineraries” because it portrays a path – neither planned, nor linear – of production of knowledge at the Group of Sociocultural Studies in Physical Education (GESEF) of the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS), which has on the agenda the conduction of ethnographic research “in leisure”.

The GESEF’s studies represent an effort to understand sportive practices experienced in situations of leisure, by ordinary people in their daily lives. Triggered by an academic invisibility of this theme, the members of the Group, immersed in groups, living with people that would orient their actions towards (or by) sports practices, created an itinerary of ethnographic research that sought to expand, or at least problematize, the production of knowledge that is strongly marked by institutionalized, professional and spectacular sports.

The studies conducted by the GESEF were oriented to the field of leisure, more specifically to the spontaneous dynamics of self-organized sport groups. These are not understood as separate dimensions of life, but on the contrary, as moments that are part of life, that are equally meaningful in terms of learning,

¹ “Resumption” because we have already produced analysis and reflections about the paths taken by the GESEF/UFRGS. We refer to the works of Myskiw, Mariante Neto and Stigger (2014), which presents a reflection regarding the ethnographic research on sports cultures; Stigger (2015) deals with GESEF’s investigative paths; and Stigger, Myskiw and Silveira (2018) address the contributions of the Group to the production of knowledge on “leisure” studies.

development and daily cultural production, even if they are experienced as entertainment practices and classified as trivialities, not serious or informal events.

Such delimitation of the production of knowledge for the comprehension of sport will become clearer, as the itineraries are presented and commented. This will occur in view of our objective of demonstrating an articulated journey by mapping questions and results of studies, intertwined with different modes of investigation. We depart from the researcher who reflects on the academic invisibility of sport “in leisure” as a theme, followed by developments in terms of conceptual and theoretical production, as well as the resulting methodological learning’s.

First inquiries

The first inquiries that would later constitute the GESEF emerged in the early 1990s, based on investigations conducted by Marco Paulo Stigger – one of the authors of this chapter – concerning Brazilian academic production in the 1980s and early 1990s, which considered sport, on the one hand, as an instrument of positive virtues, and on the other, as an element of reproduction or alienation. This understanding of sport troubled the researcher, especially when moments of leisure were observed and studied. Generalized and *macro-sociological* explanations, undoubtedly relevant for this area of studies, needed to be stressed from the perspective of everyday life and of ordinary people, because rather than broadening the possibilities of comprehension, they sometimes reinforced the hegemonic discourse on sports.

In this perspective, a first ethnographic investigation was carried out in two public parks in the city of Porto Alegre, in the southern region of Brazil (Stigger, 1997). The researcher “entered the site” in a double sense, by taking part in the groups that played football in those two parks and making this as his field of ethnographic studies. By comparing experiences, he soon noticed that the way each group experienced football was different, which pointed out clues to question the understanding of the hegemony and the reproduction of spectacularized football. In each group, according to the sociability relations, different cultural productions emerged and materialized in football experiences.

This proposition was deepened in another investigation, in which the researcher inserted himself into three sports practice groups, this time in the city of Porto, Portugal (Stigger, 2002). Once again, by developing an ethnographic study, Stigger proposed to study the heterogeneity of production of meanings in different leisure and sport contexts. The researcher moved forward in relation to the study of spaces in Porto Alegre, in order to show the processes of diversity production of sports cultures and how these have happened in a relational way. Thus it is not advisable to make rushed and premature interpretations and classifications of “sportive living”. For instance, using categories such as educational, participatory and professional sports did not help in understanding what was produced in leisure, as this universe was characterized by a heterogeneity favorable to everyday interventions.

Ethnographies “in the groups” of leisure sportive activities

The two investigative experiments above opened the doors to a larger project, involving the production of other ethnographic research on sport sociability, mainly in urban spaces. This coincided with the creation, in 2001, of the GESEF, initially constituted by students conducting their first scientific researches during their undergraduate studies in physical education and, later, by masters and PhD students of the Graduate Programmes in Human Movement Sciences of UFRGS.

These first scientific researches, called *scientific initiations* in Portuguese, and the Masters and PhD dissertations, not without reason, started to have as a guiding question the heterogeneous production of meanings of leisure-sport activities. Initially, this developed from what we call an ethnography “in groups” in their own sports spaces, i.e. in ethnographic situations in which the researchers immersed themselves in specific groups of leisure-sports practices, with the purpose of understanding the dynamics of cultural production, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1 – Ethnographies “in groups” of leisure-sport activities.

Author, Academic Title, Conclusion Year	Study Title	Questions addressed and Objectives
Raquel da Silveira (Undergraduate, 2004)	The practice of “bocce” at SOERAL: between the game and the sport	Sought to understand how the members of the Sport Society Recanto da Alegria/ SOERAL experienced their free time, focusing on the practice of bocce.
Silvia Regina Godinho Bauler (Master, 2005)	Football moves more than just a ball: a study of the meanings of football in an urban periphery	Investigated the place of football in the daily life of a community in Porto Alegre, which was established around four football fields and was – after almost 30 years – relocated to a housing complex.
Rapahel Loureiro Borges (Master, 2007)	Adventure race and risk: an ethnographic study	Investigated four groups of adventure runners, seeking to understand the meanings of adventure and of risk involved in the activities performed by the members from a competitive perspective, and how these practices were inserted into their lifestyle.
Luís Eduardo Cunha Thomassim (Undergraduate, 2007)	Images of children in social sports projects	Focused the analysis on the behaviours of children when playing football, imposing their logic, competing with the teachers’ impositions. Observed that the children’s productions were based on networks, articulations and power relations that affected the social practices.
Raquel da Silveira (Master, 2008)	Sport, homosexuality and friendship: an ethnographic study about associativism in women’s futsal	Studied the association of women practicing a sport considered masculine, by trying to understand how and why women get together to practice such sport.
Marcelo Rampazzo (Master, 2012)	Skateboarding, a leisure practice during youth: an ethnographic study	Focused on young skateboarders and how they experienced their daily lives, by bringing elements that discuss leisure, family, education and labour. To do so, the author hung out with young skateboarders in a public skate lane in a neighbourhood of Porto Alegre.
Túlio Mateus Zambelli (Master, 2014)	Meanings of swimming for masters practitioners in a club in the city of Porto Alegre – an ethnographic study.	Tried to understand the meanings attributed to master swimming in a team from the city of Porto Alegre, by participating as a swimmer and competing as a member. Focused on the relations built in competitions and training sessions.

In the studies conducted by Stigger (1997, 2002), the issue of heterogeneity was posed, and the GESEF started to deepen the investigations to understand how this affected the cultural productions of questions and themes relevant to the academic universe of physical education and sports.

That is to say, in addition to arguing that “in leisure” a privileged space-time was embodied in the heterogeneous production of culture, the works “in groups” – presented in Table 1 – show the implications on the conceptions of aging, youth, generations, public policy, identity, gender, sexuality and sociability networks².

In the leisure activities investigated, these questions and themes could not be treated as random inventions, nor could they be reproductions of large social structures (material and/or symbolic). It was imperative to understand them in specific contexts, from the network of meanings, from the power articulations and relations that affect sports practices.

Regarding these conclusions, it is worth emphasizing that these ethnographies were produced from the experiences of researchers “in the sport groups” in view of the productions and appropriations of practices in relation to plausible and singular meanings. This means that the groups were understood as symbolic universes endowed with particularities, which are produced and reproduced in solidarity in order to sustain their units, their borders and identities in relation to the “other groups”. In our understanding, this enabled the production of knowledge from a comparative perspective (of different sports cosmologies).

The ethnographic studies mentioned above sought to make the particularities and the diverse processes of cultural production intelligible. During this academic endeavor, it is possible to state that most of the investigations mentioned were developed through an interpretative tradition, strongly impacted by the work of Clifford Geertz (1989). That is, it was a type of intellectual effort that strove not only to describe the characteristics of practices, stories, behaviors and sports artifacts, but also to unveil the meanings of practices and behaviors through the web of meanings in which they are and were being informed by. Regarding heterogeneity of sports

² Part of the results was published as a compilation named: *Sport in the city: ethnographic studies about sport sociability in urban spaces*, edited by Stigger, González and Silveira (2007).

cultural production, they were attentive to the significant structures in which sports were produced, perceived and interpreted.

In order to connect some of its results and contributions to the production of knowledge about ethnographic situations “in leisure”, we highlight the recurring aspects: sports-like leisure is not trivial from a social relevance point of view; in sports-entertainment, non-formal educational processes develop; these processes involve cultural productions that are particular to the groups; the productions, not rarely, escape from the institutional norm. We exemplify these aspects below.

If, on the one hand, it is not difficult to find those who say that sports-leisure practices are trivial (without importance beyond the ephemeral experience), on the other hand, we have studies that point exactly in the opposite direction. One of the studies carried out at GESEF, which shows the social relevance of sports-leisure, was developed by Silvia Bauler (2005). This researcher sought to understand the spaces of football in the daily life of a community in Porto Alegre. This “community” was established around four football pitches, but after almost 30 years, due to real-estate enterprises, was reallocated to a housing complex. However, even in a situation considered better from the point of view of housing and sanitation, a discontent was noted, which had to do with the absence of the pitches. The sense of belonging, the collectivity of the “community”, for more than two decades, had been through football dramas and celebrations. Many life stories were intertwined with the football stories experienced in those fields, which was very evident in the recollections. Therefore, the pitches absences had an impact on the very notion of “community”, which was no small thing.

Further investigating this social relevance, but now in a different direction – of non-formal educational processes – we mention the research conducted by Marcelo Rampazzo (2012). When studying how skateboarding practices were part of the life projects of young people and how these articulated with family, school and work contexts, the researcher came across different experiences of “being young” in relation to this sports practice. Living with young skateboarders on a skate lane in Porto Alegre, Rampazzo noted the existence of two groups, which he named “the stretch pants” and “the baggy pants”. These are not only denominations, but also symbolic spaces, correlated to the different educational processes that existed in relation to each other. The “baggy pants” pursued competitive experiences, had career

expectations, valued sponsorships, listened to rock and, obviously, wore loose pants. The “stretch pants” saw skateboarding as a leisure experience, valued the meet-ups with friends, were more heterogeneous in terms of tastes and motivations for practicing.

These understandings about skateboarding stress the fact that sportive sociability groups, according to their social arrangements and schemes, produce their particular elements for their experiences. By particular elements, we refer to the cultural appropriations of the sport based on the values, codes, interests and principles that are the foundation of sociability groups. This was explored, for example, in the study conducted by Túlio Zambelli (2014), in a group of master swimmers from Porto Alegre. Much of the author’s ethnographic experience involved two different appropriations of swimming: those who sought a “light” experience and those who valued “competition”. Each group, according to shared and solidarized concepts and interests, operated with different appropriations on the forms of swimming and the relationship that these forms had with the coaches’ instructions, with the equipment and with the technique. These are not necessarily antagonistic symbolic categories but, in relation to each other, they operate in a decisive way in the organization of the swimming ways among the master groups.

Still, in order to highlight what was recurrent in the “leisure” studies carried out by GESEF, we mention an investigation that addressed the cultural productions that escape the institutionally normative, even if they did not intend a confrontation or resistance. This study was developed by Luis Eduardo Thomassim (2007), by interacting with children and young people from a social project in a neighborhood of Porto Alegre. The researcher observed that the ways of organizing football practices in this project – which was also experienced as a “leisure” practice – involved disputes between the children’s logic and those of the teachers/interns (and their knowledge acquired at university). The children and young people asserted their logics, bringing into the game different meanings, other articulations and different power relations. In the game, they produced dialogues with the adults and teachers’ expectations.

With these four examples, which correspond to salient aspects in the GESEF research, we seek to express, specifically, about the comprehensions arising from the studies center on ethnographic experiences “in groups”.

Multi-localized “in circulation” ethnographies

More recently, the GESEF, by studying the production of sports cultures “in leisure” of ordinary people, has sought to develop ethnographic research characterized by the circulation of researchers not only in the context of “groups” of sports practices. The research itineraries moved to the construction of objects of investigation that place the paths and the textures of the sagas and urban stories at the centre of understanding sport.

In practice, it was a matter of shifting the interpretative efforts from cultural diversity articulated with symbolic limits of groups, which demarcated and reinforced the social-sportive differences, to a multi-localized perspective, understanding that the production of meanings comprises, not rarely, dynamics of circulation beyond the actual sporting context, but still inextricably linked to it. It meant, therefore, recognizing that sports culture production occurs not only in the sporting context itself, but also in the fluxes, in the interconnections of people, of stories, of artifacts, of ideas that “the groups” provide at the same time that they demand.

Thus, we are not advocating the end of “groups” of sports practices and studies on them, nor highlighting a perspective that there has been a “step forward” or a “breakthrough”. In contrast, we are emphasizing that it has become increasingly relevant what is connected in the sports constitutions, which does not always occur in the context of groups. So, the ethnographic experience of following, circulating, has a greater prominence. In Table 2, we present four studies that valued this type of ethnographic experience.

Once again, it should be noted that the assumption of cultural diversity, of heterogeneity of meanings, especially in leisure experiences, was the starting point of these studies. Nevertheless, and in addition, they face issues and themes that are relevant to the field of physical education and sports (such as sports organization, socialization expectations of children in sports, relevance of leisure, management and public policy), which implies that they had a disciplinary expectation in the production of academic knowledge.

Table 2 – Multi-localized “in circulation” ethnographies.

Author, Academic Title, Conclusion Year	Study Title	Questions investigated and objectives
Mauro Myskiw (PhD, 2012)	In the controversies of the “várzea”: ethnographic paths and portraits in a football championship in the city of Porto Alegre	Investigated the construction of meanings in football practices in the metropolitan region of Porto Alegre. These practices are intertwined with the urban fabric, and are involved in a multi-local, polyphonic and tributary construction of the different paths of socialization, and the different concrete possibilities of people’s and groups’ circulation.
Ariane Corrêa Pacheco (Master, 2012)	“It is leisure, alright, but it is serious”: the daily life of a female master volleyball team	Sought to understand the social relations dynamics that crossed and sustained a female master volleyball team and the negotiations that were part of the involvement of this group in championships, which occurred within a space/time recognized as leisure.
André Lazzari (Master, 2013)	The heterogeneity of meanings of football practice in a sports social programme: possibilities of articulation and sustenance of the programme	Investigated how the socializations expectations of coordinators, mentors, children and adolescents were articulated in the daily life of the sport social programme “Em Cada Campo uma Escolinha” (ECCE). It sought to understand how these related to the existence and maintenance of the municipal public policy agenda and the communities of Porto Alegre.
Leandro Forell (PhD, 2014)	Participating in the city: an ethnographic study about participation in the Sports and Leisure Public Policies in the Ararigbóia Park in Porto Alegre/Rio Grande do Sul	Sought to understand how the community’s participation was maintained in the management of public policies for sport and leisure developed in the Ararigbóia Park, in Porto Alegre, a space considered “exemplary” in regard to the implementation of municipal public policies.

Once it was recognized that the ethnographic itineraries set what, in the on-site experience, is transformed into ethnographic text, it became imponderable to consider that the pursuit of interpretative categories could be part of the investigative work. Hence the relevance of observing and understanding the sport culture in this interface with chains, trajectories, fabrics and juxtapositions of places, institutions and interests. This has resulted, to a large extent, in consideration of the works of Marshall Sahlins (1997a, 1997b) on the indictment of culture and contemporary issues of ethnography, of George Marcus (2001) on the development of multi-local ethnography, of James Clifford (2002) regarding ethnographic authority, and Bruno Latour (2012) who deals with proposals for an actor-network theory.

Such inspirations and considerations, when materialized in the studies, suggested some contributions to the debate on the themes of sport and leisure. In order to fulfil the objectives of this text, we point out two of them: leisure practices do not distance themselves from interests and obligations, but make them dialogue in singular and circumstantial ways; the existence of circuits of leisure sports in urban daily life involves, simultaneously, autonomy efforts and heteronomy of the more or less liminal universes.

Regarding this first contribution, we bring as an example the study developed by Ariane Pacheco (2012). The author developed an ethnographic study by engaging with a group of women who, at leisure time, performed training routines and participated in volleyball masters competition. This engagement occurred in the universes of training, competition games, dinners, parties, trips, and other meetings related to volleyball. By participating as an assistant, coach, player and member of the referee's team, the researcher started to wonder about an issue: differently from what much of the literature on leisure highlighted, she observed that, in that group of women, the practices were not constituted in opposition to obligations and interests, nor did they pose as antagonistic notions of seriousness and playfulness.

What Ariane Pacheco learned with this ethnographic experience, by following the interlocutors to different places, made her believe that leisure volleyball, was rather a universe of intermediation of cultural productions than a logic of opposition. Many of these unique and circumstantial productions – although permeated by tensions and ambiguities – permitted the dialogue of different aspects, such as: sportive result and hedonism, voluntaries and commitment, friendship and sport skills, motherhood and being a player. The

clash of leisure experienced in the master volleyball with those women was related precisely to the dynamics of mediation and juxtaposition that were, sometimes, changing.

Regarding the second contribution, we mention the ethnographic study conducted by Mauro Myskiw (2012) on a community football circuit in the metropolitan area of Porto Alegre, which mobilized thousands of players during the week, in the most diverse and distant regions. The researcher was immersed in different spaces: meeting rooms, pitches, squares, streets, bars, party halls, residences. He also followed trajectories of stories, artifacts, ideas, people and urban dramas, having as a guiding question the wonder of how that circuit, despite the very different existing ways of assembling teams, different playing styles, different ways of cheering and organizing competitions, was still understood as a unit.

At the end of the investigation, it was concluded that it was a paradoxical place. On the one hand, there were efforts to confer particularity to that football circuit at all costs, in the sense of endowing it with a particular and immanent logic, and relative autonomy, by connecting people, places, times and rituals, and enabling those who had a relationship with the event to affirm that they were part of that universe.

On the other hand, there was another set of efforts, no less significant and important, that tried to mix football with the paths, the dynamics, the appointments and daily lives of people and institutions in their urban lives. These evoked statements that there was a disorganization and a depreciation of the particular logics, something not necessarily negative, since it was precisely the improvisations, adaptations and the flexibility that made “things happen”. That is, they guaranteed ample possibilities of popular and community participation. By gravitating in relation to these two overlapping movements and, not rarely, inextricable movements, it is possible to understand that cultural football universe.

Following the procedure of the previous section, with these two examples highlighting the development of multi-local ethnographies, we intended to show that the studies carried out in the context of GESEF contribute to the expansion of the dialogue between sportive cultural productions with urban and daily life.

Final considerations

We began this chapter considering that the sociocultural studies on sports from the perspective of “leisure” reflect a discomfort towards the academic productions that, in Brazil, in the 1980s and 1990s, sought to announce comprehensions in relation to sport. Such explanations were strongly guided by the institutionalized, professionalized and spectacular practices, as well as by debates that, on the one hand, indicated a positive dimension of sport as a social tool and, on the other, portrayed dynamics reproduction of social differences, and crystallization of hegemonies and alienation. These understandings described in the academic articles caused intellectual discomfort, mainly because what was observed in leisure-sports in the daily lives of ordinary people indicated a cultural production endowed with singularities, which needed to be “understood” rather than “classified”.

This academic-conceptual discomfort, as we have tried to underline throughout this text, was and has been a guiding aspect of the existence and the research itineraries of GESEF. Faced with the hypothesis of heterogeneity of sports meanings, the researchers of the Group, in comprehensive perspectives, began to study social processes by which and in which ordinary people, in the links of sociability related to leisure, demonstrated protagonism in the cultural production about relevant questions that cross the intervention in the fields of physical education and sports. From the studies we have discussed in the previous pages, we observe issues such as aging, youth, generation, identity, gender, sexuality, socialization, public management and policy.

We discuss this not to affirm that, in leisure activities, the sociocultural productions occur in a positive way (to improve people’s lives, for example) or negative way (to alienate a mass of workers and consumers, for example), but fundamentally to say that, at this moment in life, practicing sports, a set of issues of extreme social relevance is clearly under construction and under debate. Hence the need of caution in proposing generalized and hasty classifications. In this line of thought, we present some research in order to suggest that sports as leisure are not banal from a social point of view. They involve processes of non-formal education, dynamics of cultural participations, many of them in the inter-spaces of institutionalized norms, because they are often shown as symbolic universes of mediation, in the sense that they are spaces that allow everyday interventions, marking the life paths of people and social groups.

The arrival to this point of reflection about sociocultural studies of sports in the perspective of leisure was possible by a journey of ethnographic researches that, in the experience of GESEF, have two important landmarks in terms of “methodological needs”. One of them refers to the need to study “in leisure”, that is, to start to live sportively “in groups”, in different contexts of experiences, alert to the singularities and to the relational dynamics of social and cultural constructions. The other suggests the need of understanding the interface of multi-local chains, paths, fabrics and juxtapositions, recognizing that the production of meanings are not only localized “in groups”, but also occur in the flows, in the interconnections of people, of stories, of artifacts, of ideas that are generated in relation to the “groups”.

In face of what we could expose here, before a constant and necessary situation of discomfort regarding the academic productions, we believe that to study the “sport phenomenon” in relation to the “leisure phenomenon” is, without a doubt, to keep the debate open, both from the point of view of meanings and from the methodological needs of this undertaking.

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13. ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF THE RIO 2016 OLYMPICS: A PRELIMINARY STUDY

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Introduction

This study analyses the economic indicators and sectors influenced by hosting the 2016 Rio Olympics. It is intended to answer whether the public and private expenditures¹ and investments² undertaken have reverted into gains for the country and for the city of Rio de Janeiro. The study considers the years from 2009 to 2016, which correspond to the period that extends from the election of Rio de Janeiro as the host city until the hosting of the event.

The plans to have the Rio 2016 Olympics as a driving force for the development of the city of Rio de Janeiro and that would have an impact on other regions of the country were announced at the very beginning of the

1 The expenditures in this research were not broken down and quantified separately. We consider expenditures or costs all public and private resources spent in the preparation and realization of the Rio 2016 Olympics, between 2009 and 2016, which includes different types of investments, as well as the logistics and operating costs of the Rio 2016 Olympics Organizing Committee. This is in line with the modelling of the Input-Output Matrix (IOM), adopted in the studies conducted by the Foundation Institute of Administration – FIA (Fundação Instituto de Administração, 2009, p. 19) and the Getúlio Vargas Foundation – FGV (Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 2016a, p. 12), for which the breakdown of the resources expended in the project realization does not matter, but only the amount invested and the repercussion in certain analysed sectors.

2 This study will consider the combination of incremental with non-incremental (or structural investments). The first consider investments when regional development projects are limited to consolidating the current growth process of a region, whose impacts generate only a fortuitous economic growth bubble and only for a few years. Structural investments, on the other hand, are large investment projects able to accelerate regional economic growth or to restructure the economic foundation of the region, considering the process of sustainable development (FIA, 2009, p. 4-6).

Brazilian bid and reaffirmed by the national authorities during the process (Fator Brasil, 2008). In addition, the hosting of these events was associated with other governmental projects whose objectives were to promote changes and raise the quality of life in large Brazilian cities (Damiani & Reppold Filho, 2018).

Since the Rio 2016 Olympics took place just over four years ago, the impacts induced by public and private expenditures and investments have not yet been the object of detailed studies. The present study is part of this preliminary effort to identify some economic impacts of these events.

As methodological procedures, we used documental analyses, with the collection of documents from primary and secondary sources which have not yet received analytical treatment – such as reports, assessment and other documents produced by entities directly involved or correlated with the object researched.³

Two studies commissioned by the former Ministry of Sports regarding the impacts of the Rio 2016 Olympics received special attention: the *Study on the Potential Impacts of the Olympic Games in the City of Rio de Janeiro in 2016*, conducted in 2016 by the Foundation Institute of Administration⁴ (FIA, 2009), which served as a basis for Rio de Janeiro's bid to host the 2016 Olympics; and *Socioeconomic Impacts and Legacy of the Rio 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games*, conducted in 2016 by the Getúlio Vargas Foundation (FGV, 2016a).

For the analysis and discussion of these materials, we considered the modelling used by the two foundations. Both studies used the Countable General Equilibrium (CGE) model, which provides a macro view of the economy of a country or region, together with the Input-Output Matrix (IOM) theory. It allows a detailed view of the productive structure and assessment of the degree of sectoral interconnection of the economy, as well as the impacts of variations in the final demand for products.

The IOM theory makes the equilibrium equation between intermediate

³ The documents used in this study are referred to throughout the text.

⁴ FIA's study, which dealt with prospecting the impacts of the Rio 2016 Olympics in two periods (2009-2016 and 2017-2027), considered the Rio 2016 Games enterprise as a whole. Therefore, the aspects and data analysed are also valid for the Rio 2016 Paralympics. If there are possible differences, these will be considered residual due the indicators analysed in this research.

consumption and final demand. This is because it decomposes the flows between economic activities and primary factors, describing the internal structure of each productive sector and of the economy as a whole. This is an important instrument to assess the interdependencies between productive sectors, making it possible to identify their multiplier effects on production, employment and income (Sindelar & Fochezatto, 2008).

The choice of the GCE and IOM models is based on the increasing use of these models to understand the complex interdependence between the agents that compose the economy and their relationship with development factors, as we will see below.

Impact on the gross value of production

FIA (2009) estimated that the public and private expenditure and investment of hosting the Rio 2016 Olympics would have broad and diversified multiplier effects on the country's economy, having a positive impact on several sectors over the years. The period of ten years after the Olympics would be enough to eliminate seasonal effects in order to assess the economic scenario after the sporting event.

The basis of calculation used by FIA's study was the budget for the organization of the Olympics, stipulated in the Rio 2016 bid dossier⁵, which corresponds to a total of R\$ 28.8 billion. Out of this amount, R\$ 5.6 billion was allocated to the structure and actions of the Organizing Committee and R\$ 23.2 billion in public and private resources to infrastructure and services required for the Olympics or to constitute the event's legacy. In the course of the preparations, this initial budget was altered, both by the addition of long-term infrastructure projects – especially transportation and urban revitalization – made by the city of Rio de Janeiro, as well as by the exchange rate variations.

The FIA study pointed out that the injection of these R\$ 28.8 billion would stimulate (or increase the value of production of) the Brazilian economy by R\$ 102.2 billion in the period from 2009 to 2027, due the multiplier effect in

⁵ The budget of bidding for the Olympics is presented in U.S. dollars. Rio de Janeiro adopted a parity US\$ 1 = R\$ 2, defined in 2008, in the first formalization of the IOC bid. The parity in Euro was €1 = R\$ 2.88 on the same date.

the production chain associated with the event. This impact was divided into two time-periods: 1) from 2009 to 2016, the impact on the country's Gross Value of Production (GVP) would be of R\$ 49.2 billion; 2) from 2017 to 2027, it would be of R\$ 53 billion, always taking into account the total public and private expenditures and investments, originally foreseen.

As pointed out by Rocha (2017), in a study conducted by IPEA, three main official instruments were established to help measure and monitor investments in Rio's Olympic project: the Responsibility Matrix (Brasil, 2017) and the Public Policy and Legacy Plan (Brasil, 2016)⁶, on the governmental side, and the Rio 2016 Committee Budget, allocated to logistics and operational expenses of the Olympics. The 47 projects of the Responsibility Matrix totalled investments in the order of R\$ 7 billion, most of them, about 60%, financed by the private sector. The 27 projects included in the Public Policy and Legacy Plan, amounted to around R\$ 24.6 billion, approximately 43% of which were financed by private resources. On the other hand, logistics and operational expenses for the Olympics were around R\$ 7.4 billion, private resources raised and executed by the Rio 2016 Organizing Committee.

The Getúlio Vargas Foundation's study, completed after the Rio 2016 Olympics, shows that there was an increase of R\$ 49.2 billion in the economy between 2010 and 2016⁷, considering all expenses, operational costs of the Organizing Committee, the investments of companies associated with the event and the public-private investments in general, including the requirements considered as legacies. This total generated a turnover of R\$ 79.5 billion in the mentioned period from 2010 and 2016, therefore, in slightly different time-period than that calculated by the FIA (2009-2016) for the first estimated period. In addition, the impact achieved was higher than that projected before the Olympics, as shown in the Table 1.

6 This article will not address the specific legacy resources detailed in the Public Policy and Legacy Plan of the Rio 2016 Olympics, which includes infrastructure projects and public policies in the areas of mobility, environment, urbanization, sports, education and culture.

7 In November 2016, the date of completion of the FGV study, the parity was US\$ 1 = R\$ 3.34 and €1 = R\$ 3.9. In April 2019, date of conclusion of this article, the ratio was US\$ 1 = R\$ 3.88 and €1 = R\$ 4.39.

Table 1 – Expenditure and Investments – Total Impacts.

	Expenditure/ Investment R\$ billion	Impact on GVP R\$ billion	Impact on GDP R\$ billion
FIA – pre-Games study (estimated 2009-2016)	28,8	49,2	22,0
FGV – post-Games study (estimated 2010-2016)	49,2	79,5	37,4

Elaborated by the authors. Sources: FIA (2009) and FGV (2016).

The evaluation of the data on the impact of the Rio 2016 Olympics on the Brazilian economy highlights that what was performed is higher than what was expected in the first study. Whereas, at the time of the Olympic bid, the estimated impact on Brazil's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was R\$ 22 billion⁸ for the period 2009-2016, the consolidation after the event concluded that the sum of direct and indirect impacts on the GDP reached R\$ 37.4 billion.

This increase was due the complementarity between the investments in the Olympics and the attraction of private investments, a relationship captured in the analysis model through the adjustment of the economy's capital stock in the long term, through an increase in the productivity of regional factors.

Impact on the salary mass

Salary mass refers to the magnitude of values, taxes and levies related to labour income or the remuneration of workers in sectors directly linked to the Rio 2016 Olympics, or in other sectors indirectly, considering both temporary or permanent jobs. The two studies (FIA, 2009; FGV, 2016a) consider that the increase in the salary mass promotes an increase in income and, consequently, an increase in purchasing power.

In the city of Rio de Janeiro, the salary mass has grown more than in any other capital or metropolitan periphery since 2013. The growth in per capita household income reached 30.3%, when comparing the first quarters of 2008

⁸ In November 2016, the parity was US\$ 1 = R\$ 3.34 and €1 = R\$ 3.59.

and 2016, going from R\$ 1,515 to R\$ 1,974⁹, discounting the inflation. The growth of the same indicator in the state of Rio de Janeiro was 18.78% and, in Brazil, 19.6%¹⁰ (FGV, 2016b). Thus, the most positive element identified in the refers to the income of city residents.

About the same indicator, the study by Rocha (2017) presents results on the average performance of labour, between 2012 and 2017, in the city of Rio de Janeiro, in Brazil, in the Southeast region¹¹ and in the cities of São Paulo and Vitória.

Again, the variation in Rio presented, in the period, a more favourable behaviour than in the other cases, showing a real gain in income for the cariocas [inhabitants of the city of Rio de Janeiro] much higher than those recorded in Brazil, in the Southeast and in those cities [São Paulo and Vitória]. A carioca's average income increased by 16.15%, in real terms, between the first quarter of 2012 and the first quarter of 2016, eve of the Games. It fell slightly after the event (4.35%), remaining at this level in the following quarters – still 11.1% higher than in the first quarter of 2012. In Brazil and in the Southeast region, the real gain was notably lower: 1.19% and 4.03% respectively. In the city of São Paulo, the increase was 8.77%, about half that of Rio. [...] Only Vitória had a similar gain to Rio's, but slightly lower: 15.73% (Rocha, 2017, p. 10).

The evidence shown in these studies is consistent with the hypothesis that the Rio 2016 Olympics helped maintain the inclusive growth process in the city of Rio de Janeiro, while the rest of the country observed an abrupt social deterioration due to the ongoing economic crisis.

These indicators confirmed the positive scenario pointed out by the studies on the economic impacts of the Rio 2016 Olympics conducted by FIA (2009) and the impacts obtained after the Olympics, by FGV (2016a).

We must reiterate that due to the methodology adopted (CGE) it is not possible to analyse each indicator, separately, as gross data. Thus, in order to analyse the repercussion of the increase of salary mass, which affects the

9 In the first quarter of 2008 the parity was US\$ 1 = R\$ 1.74.

10 Data obtained by the study conducted by FGV, *Rio Social Change 2009 – 2016: Is there a pre-Olympic legacy* (FGV, 2016b), which employed a methodology containing indicators from other social areas, besides employment, such as education, housing, public utility services, transportation, digital inclusion and social development. See: <<https://cps.fgv.br/en/rio2016>>.

11 The Brazilian federal states are organized in five geographical regions: South, Southeast, Midwest, Northeast and North. The city of Rio de Janeiro, capital of the state of Rio de Janeiro, is located in the Southeast region.

increase in income, we consider that the direct impact on the GDP generated by the state of Rio de Janeiro accounts for 100% of the total. This corresponds to R\$ 26.2 billion, generating an added value (or GDP in the form of income) of R\$ 25.9 billion, plus taxes on the production of R\$ 2.7 billion.

Taking into account that the group of directly employed workers reaches more than 1.5 million people in the state of Rio de Janeiro, when we add the indirect effects, these multiply substantially.

Therefore, the total impact on the GDP is R\$ 32.16 billion, corresponding to a multiplier of 1.24. This translates into 85.42% of the total impact on the country's GDP. The number of jobs generated are multiplied by 1.22, reaching 1.8 million jobs generated by the events.

However, it is worth considering that a significant part of this value is reserved to the government in the generation of added value in the sectors impacted by the Olympics. Of the total R\$ 32.1 billion GDP of the sectors, 7.75% were allocated to taxes on production. In addition, there is another substantial amount of taxes on income and property that the public administration collects which is included in the income generation calculus.

The chain impact demonstrates the weight of the salary mass or income in the total impact of the Rio 2016 Olympics, which amounts to R\$ 31.8 billion, as indicated by the FGV study (2016a).

Impact on job creation¹²

FIA's (2009) study predicted a gradual increase in the salary mass, which would resonate in the gradual increase in the population's purchasing power as preparations for the Rio 2016 Olympics progressed. There would be an increase in the number of jobs, especially in civil construction. The expenditures and investments originally foreseen to guarantee the Olympics would result in 120,833 people a year, hired directly or indirectly between 2009 and 2016, totalling 966,664 new jobs in the country.

The calculation done by the researchers was based on the Man-Year-Equivalent (MYE) indicator, which represents the sum of hours of work (temporary and permanent) paid to perform a given task, in this case, the organization and implementation of the Olympics.

¹² *Job creation* refers to the creation of jobs in sectors directly linked to the Rio 2016 Olympics, or other sectors indirectly linked, including temporary or permanent jobs, measured in Man-Year Equivalent (MYE).

FGV's (2016) study, using the same indicator (MYE), indicated that the Rio 2016 Olympics generated 2.2 million direct and indirect, permanent and temporary jobs over the period studied, 1.87 million of which were in the state of Rio de Janeiro. According to these data, around 1.2 million new jobs were created in addition to the original forecast.

The civil construction industry was the sector that received the largest direct and indirect impact over the years of preparation for the Rio 2016 Olympics.¹³ In an analysis of the situation of the construction personnel in the states of the Southeast region, Rio de Janeiro was the only one to register uninterrupted growth in the number of people employed in this sector between 2007 and 2014.

Rio de Janeiro benefited from the continued growth of the civil construction industry, due major urban, environmental and mobility infrastructure projects in the host city, as well as the construction and renovation of sports arenas and building of new hotels. These projects boosted employment in the construction field. However, the growth in this sector had repercussions in other states of the Southeast region, which also presented growth, as a reflection of the Rio 2016 Olympics.

Rocha (2017) corroborates this assertion by analysing the dynamics of increased employment. The author shows that in 2009, when Rio was chosen to host the Olympics, there was a promising economic scenario in the country. However, there has been a drastic change over the years of preparation of these events, culminating in the realization of the Olympics amidst an intense crisis and economic and political unrest in Brazil, with strong repercussions in the state of Rio de Janeiro.

At the municipal level, the author presents evidence indicating that, as a result of hosting the Olympics, even in the adverse scenario faced by the country, "in Rio, for some years, the Games acted in the opposite direction of this crisis, mitigating and delaying its effects on the real economy of the city" (Rocha, 2017, p. 9).

In spite of our study analysing the period from 2008 to 2016, it is worth considering, as did Rocha (2017), that the behaviour of the labour market, in

¹³ It is worth noting that from 2012 to 2014 it had an impact on the entire country, due to the 2014 FIFA Football World Cup, added to the growth related to the preparation of the Rio 2016 Olympics.

the period from 2012 to 2016, reveals a unique economic dynamism of the city of Rio de Janeiro, when compared to the country or the main Brazilian capitals, although its economy has been affected by the oil crisis in 2014¹⁴, one of the central elements at the origin of the economic and fiscal crisis of the entire State.

We used as a reference the vacancy rate, presented by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE, 2019), to analyse the labour market in the years of preparation of the Olympics. Thus, we identified that in Rio, the unemployment rate decreased by half, when measured in the first quarter of 2012 (8.1%), to 4.2%, in the second quarter of 2015. Brazil and the Southeast region, at the same points of time, had equal unemployment rates (7.9%), slightly lower than Rio, and both reached 8.3% at the end of the period. The cities of São Paulo and Vitória followed Brazil's and Southeast's trend, reaching 7.0% and 8.9%, respectively. However, in the phases of completion and conclusion of the works, between mid-2015 and mid-2016, this variable reversed this trend, reaching 7.3% on the eve of the event. Even so, Rio's performance was better than that of the other cases analysed here.

Nevertheless, in the second quarter of 2016, Brazil, the Southeast region, São Paulo and Vitória had exemption fees rates of 11.3%, 11.7%, 10.6% and 11% respectively – all much higher than the 7.3% recorded in Rio.

Impact on tax collection

According to FIA (2009), the country's profit from the Rio 2016 Olympics would also occur in the form of tax collection. The set of expenditures and public and private investments associated would generate, by 2027, an additional tax collection for the municipal, state and federal governments equivalent to 40% of the public expenditures and investments planned for the event.

The set of public and private expenditures, foreseen by FIA (2009), would generate, by 2017, an additional municipal tax collection of US\$ 269.8 million,

¹⁴ Rio was strongly affected by the oil crisis, which led to a decrease in Petrobras' (Brazilian Oil Company) investments and the dismissal of 17,800 of the company's employees, from 2013 to 2016, representing a 20% cut. Since December 2014, 114,000 people who provided services to Petrobras have been laid off, such as construction workers, administrative and operational personnel. At the shipyards, employment decreased from 82,000 people in 2014 to 43,700 in June 2016.

a state tax collection of US\$ 582.9 million (US\$ 261.4 in the state of Rio de Janeiro) and a federal tax collection of US\$ 4.8 million. This additional amount of public expenditure forecast for the Olympics includes investments in infrastructure and 25% of operational expenses. In other words, a significant part of the contributions to the Rio 2016 Olympics would return to the public coffers over time through tax collection. This means that government spending would act as an inducing element in the form of an “advance”, returning in the form of taxes and levies on the additional movement in the expected macroeconomic dynamics.

On the other hand, the FGV (2016a) study shows that expenditures and investments generated an additional tax return of R\$ 2.79 billion¹⁵ on the production triggered by the event, during the period studied, at the municipal, state and federal levels, without discounting tax exemptions provided by law¹⁶. Of this total, R\$ 2.70 billion (US\$ 808.38 million) was collected in the state of Rio de Janeiro.

In the case of Brazil, and especially in the state of Rio de Janeiro, which is currently going through a severe fiscal crisis, it may be tempting to assume that the fiscal effect of the Rio 2016 Olympics was negative. However, considering the previous experiences of countries that have hosted the Olympics¹⁷ it is important to be cautious of anticipated judgment. The effects need to be evaluated with adequate tools to verify if the Rio 2016 Olympics aggravated or mitigated the current fiscal situation. Only methodologically supported studies with consistent data can answer this question.

At this point, it is worth considering that the Federal Law 12.780 of 2013 (Brasil, 2013) ensured tax waivers applicable to operations directly related to the hosting of the Rio 2016 Olympics. Such tax waivers that compose the tax expenditures are exonerations that promote credit assumptions, exemptions, amnesties, reduction in aliquots, deductions and deferrals of tax obligations.

15 This amount was equivalent to US\$ 835.3 million, in November 2016.

16 Federal Law 12.780/2013 provides tax waivers for companies hired for the Rio 2016 Olympics. Exemptions are a requirement of the IOC to host countries and a practice of previous Olympic editions.

17 In Barcelona, for example, Brunet (1995) defends two conclusions: a) the fiscal balance of the Barcelona Olympics, until 1992, was quite positive; b) the fiscal balance, after 1992, was slightly negative. In the case of Greece, despite initial speculation about the relationship fiscal situation post-2008 to the 2004 Athens Olympics, recent studies (IOBE, 2015) concluded that hosting the Olympics had no substantial impact on the country's public finances – the tax burden derived from the Greek Olympic project was marginal.

In the case of the Rio 2016 Olympics the law may have been applied in order to fulfil certain purposes: a) to compensate for complementary actions to the typical governmental functions and developed by civil entities; b) to promote the equalization of income between regions; and/or c) to stimulate certain economic sectors, constituted as alternatives to the Government's political actions. These actions aimed at promoting economic development were not conducted with the original budget, but through the tax system.

The Statement of Effective Tax Expenses – 2014 (Receita Federal, 2019) presents the series of 2012-2017 and shows the evolution of some taxes and tax expenditures incurred in the period of preparation and realization of the Rio 2016 Olympics. It allows us to deduce that there was a relative increase in public expenditure with the hosting of such events with the intention of contributing to the economic development of the country.

We observed an increase in the number of exemptions and/or amount collected, especially in 2015 and 2016, Import Tax being most the significant, which rose from R\$ 26.8¹⁸ in 2014, to R\$ 35.5 million in 2016. Furthermore, the Retained Income Tax, totalling R\$ 10.8 million in 2014, increased to R\$ 725.1 million. The Contribution for the Financing of Social Security, which in 2014 was R\$ 443.5 million and reached R\$ 937.2 million in 2016, and the Contribution for Welfare, which increased from R\$ 28.7 million to R\$ 330.8 million in the same period.

This amount, comprising tax waivers, totals R\$ 3.2 billion (US\$ 958.08 million in the values in 2016) at the federal level alone (between 2012 and 2017)¹⁹, derived from the Rio 2016 Olympics. This result is limited to the federal sphere, since we did not find available data on tax waivers at the municipal and state levels – especially Rio de Janeiro – that directly or indirectly integrated the production chain associated with the event.

On the other hand, although not presenting data for the entire period analysed, the Ministry of Finance, according to the data from the Federal Revenue Service, estimates that there was an increase in tax collection

18 The parity in November 2014 was US\$ 1 = R\$ 2.54. In November 2016, it was US\$ 1 = R\$ 3.34.

19 The year of 2017 captures the taxes and tax expenditures incurred until the end of 2016. Available at: <<https://idg.receita.fazenda.gov.br/dados/receitadados/renuncia-fiscal/demonstrativos-dos-gastos-tributarios/bases-efetivas>>. Accessed on 18/3/2019.

between 2013 and 2015 of about R\$ 241.32 million (US\$ 64.27 million)²⁰, due to surplus collection obtained from companies authorized to use the tax benefits.

Economic impacts distributed throughout the country

The FIA (2009) study indicates that the positive effects of the Rio 2016 Olympics would not be limited to the state of Rio de Janeiro. The impacts were mapped in four geographical areas: the municipality of Rio de Janeiro, its metropolitan region, the rest of the state of Rio de Janeiro and the rest of Brazil. Considering only the time period until the event (2009-2016), 48% of salary mass and 46.7% of the jobs generated by the Olympics would benefit people living beyond the borders of Rio de Janeiro, as well as 46.4% of the GDP. As for production, 54% would occur outside the state of Rio de Janeiro.

According to the FGV (2016a) study, despite the direct impacts being entirely in the state of Rio de Janeiro, it can be affirmed that the indirect impacts were distributed differently among the other states, comparable to their participation in the national production chain. As for the indirect effects, the total impact on job creation was of 9.6% in the South and 6.6% in the Northeast²¹, a significant growth.

To present the impacts at the state levels, FGV ranked the ten states most impacted by hosting the Rio 2016 Olympics. Analysing the impacts at the state level, the ranking was formed taking into account the impacts on the GDP. In addition to the state of Rio de Janeiro, the states of São Paulo, Minas Gerais and Paraná, stand out, together representing almost 30% of all indirect impact on GDP and almost 10% of all impact generated by the Olympics. The Southeast and South regions were the most impacted by the Rio 2016 Olympics, representing almost 91% of the indirect impact, and 98% of the total impact.

20 Parity in November 2015 was US\$ 1 = R\$ 3.77.

21 The methodology employed by FGV allows us to verify the total impact, by region (North, Northeast, South, Midwest and Southeast); however, it demonstrates the 10 most impacted states pertinent to these regions.

Economic sectors impacted

In the FIA (2009) study, 55 sectors of the economy were identified that, at the national level, could benefit from the Rio 2016 Olympics. Among them, the six sectors with the greatest activity would be civil construction (18.6%), provision of services to companies (5.7%), machinery and equipment (4.8%), information services (4.7%), food and beverages (3.9%) and real estate services (3.7%).

The FGV study (2016a) confirm the prediction made in 2009 that the sectors most directly impacted by the Rio 2016 Olympics were civil construction (13.5%) and the provision of services to companies (8.6%).

Similarly, the FGV study identified that the six national sectors that benefited the most from indirect benefits were trade (3%), information services (8%), other non-metallic mineral products (8%), transportation, storage and posting (6%) and financial intermediation, insurance, private pension, and related services (5%), among others.

Thus, considering the sum of direct and indirect impacts, civil construction appears in the leading position in the FGV study, followed by provision of services to companies, trade and information services. This confirms, with small variations, the trend pointed out by FIA (2009) in the prospective study.

Final considerations

Based on the analysis of the economic indicators and sectors considered in this study, it is plausible to conclude that the public and private expenditures and investments made in the Rio 2016 Olympics, in the period from 2009 to 2016, returned gains for the country and for the city and state of Rio de Janeiro.

These events had significant impacts, even in the short term, which allow us to recognize positive effects, such as the geographic distribution of investments and benefits, with repercussions in the state of Rio de Janeiro and throughout the country; return in the form of taxes; increase in employment, in the salary mass and, consequently, in income. Ultimately, Rio 2016 Olympics leveraged the solution, albeit partial, of social and economic demands and were drivers of Brazil's development.

The process of evaluating mega sporting events – in any country that hosts them – includes different parameters, criteria, concepts, indicators, variables

and other aspects that may be adopted to trace their impacts. This study opted to analyse short term economic impacts of the Rio 2016 Olympics, albeit this analysis is restricted to some sectors and indicators affected by public and private expenditure and investments. It was also limited to the period of time that ended with event itself, so no reflections about the economic crisis that hit Rio de Janeiro from mid-2016 – and reached an even more critical level in 2017 – were captured.

The positive impacts identified in this study do not invalidate the recognition that negative impacts have also occurred in the period of preparation and implementation of the Rio 2016 Olympics. Those who study the mega sporting events know that the bid for the Olympics, the largest multi-sports event on the planet, has faced opposition in different countries. There are many people who criticize the holding of these events in their cities and countries because they understand that they are not a priority for the use of public funds. The positive and negative economic impacts and other benefits or losses resulting from these sporting events are widely debated not only in academic and political circles, but in society as a whole.

Finally, it is important to point out that there is still a lack of data and evidence to demonstrate, in a comprehensive way, the impact of the Rio 2016 Olympics on the economy of Rio de Janeiro and Brazil.

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