

Olympic Studies

Current Intellectual Crossroads



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Acknowledgements

This volume was written out of my teaching experience with the students of Universidade Gama Filho - Rio de Janeiro, Brazil and International Olympic Academy (IOA) - Ancient Olympia, Greece, and is an attempt to meet some of the problems which were part of those experiences from the last ten years. The book attempts to steer a course between Olympic legacies and speculative accounts derived from postponements and crises faced by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in recent years when dealing with internal and external confrontations in sport matters.

It has also been my working assumption from the contacts I had with students from many countries, that the Olympic Movement and its affiliate institutions worldwide lack timely and pertinent questions towards their proposals and problems. In fact, those questions often refer to today's intellectual

inquietudes far beyond domestic conflicts within the so-called Olympic family. It is then clear that this book is a product of scholarly discussions and of great exchange with other Olympic scholars.

Thus, first and foremost I want to express my gratitude to the IOA for providing the means and ambience for the illumination of my work. Without the frequent pilgrimage to Ancient Olympia there would not be either motivation or sensibility to investigate the roots and development of the Olympic idea. Without the personal involvement of Nikos Filaretos, the president of IOA; Kostas Georgiadis, the Dean; and Nikolaos Yalouris, the vice president, it would have been difficult to have the Greek legacy behind my perceptions of present-day Olympism. Without Themis Lainis, Stella Skaliaraki, Penelope Amelidis and other staff members, I would not have felt at home either in Olympia or Athens. Without the friendship of Byron Amelides - who passed away recently - I, as a Brazilian, could not have mirrored myself in the Greek way of living to end up playing soccer.

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In Brazil, my home country, this book is more a matter of commitment than cooperation and exchange. Thus, I present this volume as a result of an agreement with Dr. Carlos Nuzman, IOC member and president of the National Olympic Committee of Brazil, in order to bring our National Olympic Academy to an international level. Moreover, similar commitment I had with the Masters and Doctoral Program of Physical Education of Universidade Gama Filho, located in Rio de Janeiro, in respect to Olympic Studies Research Group. In this case, the production of a volume such as this involved the supervision of Prof. Dr. Helder Rezende, head of our program, as well as of Prof. Dante Gastaldoni, coordinator of Editora Gama Filho. Now, at the end of the international project of this book, I want to express grateful recognition to their collaborative work.

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with ideas from the past. And from this mutual enlightenment we conclude that Apolon - the ancient Greek sacred vision of light and perfection - should be placed as the symbol of our accomplishment with Olympic Studies.

Prof. Dr. Lamartine P. DaCosta
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Olympic Studies Research Group, 2002

PROLOGUE



CHAPTER 1

Olympic Legacy or Post-Olympism?

The primary objective of this book is to contribute to the growing debate on how far Olympism, the Olympic Games and the Olympic Movement have moved beyond tradition. Claims that we have entered a post-traditional period of the Olympic idea have gained momentum in recent years. Nevertheless, these claims have been now more frequently exposed to qualification inquiries, revision and even criticism.

For example, the so-called “IOC bribery scandal” made public at the beginning of 1999, “threatened the entire existence of the International Olympic Committee” for revealing that “at least 5-7% of IOC members had taken or solicited bribes from bid cities” ¹. In consequence of this transgression,

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several IOC members were expelled, a permanent “Ethics Commission” was created and the “IOC 2000 Commission” was charged with reforming the entire structure of the Olympic Movement.

The 1999 IOC crises also triggered off the foundation of the “Olympic Advocates Together Honorably - OATH”, a non-governmental organization with the aim to “respond to the crises of values in the Olympic Movement”². The OATH first meeting took place in June 1999 in New York with the participation of 75 scholars, leaders, students and lay citizens who advocate the renewal of the values of sport in today’s society.

During the 2000 Olympic Games, the impact of the IOC crises continued and it was specially noted in scholarly events also located in Sydney³. For instance, at the Fifth International Symposium for Olympic Research (The University of Western Ontario, Canada & University of New South Wales, Australia), Angela Schneider reporting on the “Olympic Reform, are we there yet?” concluded her presentation with the following remark⁴.

“The IOC faced a crossroads – down one path was a sports business extravaganza, a world-sized circus of sport complete with sideshow values and ideals. The other path heads closer to the ideals of the Movement’s founder, a vision of the Olympics as a movement for social change. The IOC has taken the first tentative steps in the right direction, but the siren call of the circus is still strong. It is up to those who value this movement, and the things it stands for to help them stay on the course”.

Again during the Sydney Games, some new accomplishments suggested indirect repercussions from the IOC crises,

such as the first election for the IOC Athletes Commission and the start-up of the Independent Observers Program from the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA), which aimed to promote open and transparent doping control. Summarizing, both initiatives reflected the IOC's intentions of improving accountability and transparency of its operations⁵.

Emerging Oppositions

Actually, neither crises nor reforms have been novelties for the IOC since its creation in 1894. Given the conflicting moral status between amateurism and professional sports, Pierre de Coubertin placed this opposition as the central theme when he called upon the participants to the Paris 1894 International Congress that re-established the Olympic Games and founded the IOC as well⁶. In short, the IOC emerged as a tool of reform in order to avoid corruption by means of athletes' remuneration. Unsurprisingly, in 1893 Coubertin had written that "l'athlète dégénéra jusqu'à devenir le gladiateur misérable dont l'héroïsme payé dut satisfaire la plus vile et la plus bestiale des passions populaires, la passion du sang"⁷.

Throughout its 100-year history, the IOC has been exposed to both commercialization interests and political confrontations, and the Olympic Games have regularly faced crises and criticisms. In this concern, questions were raised about the future of the Games in 1936 and 1972 Olympiads, when it was argued that the core meaning of Olympism – that is, to contribute to world peace – was seriously compromised.

Symptomatically, Coubertin in the same article written in 1893 had drawn attention to the imbalance between the "marketplace and the temple" in elite-sport, a metaphor that should be often used in his writings henceforth when comparing professional athletes' deviations with the presupposed disinterest-

edness and devotion of amateurism. In all, in this historical text Coubertin condemned the emphasis of money on sport, calling it as “*métal de corruption*”⁸.

Tracing the circumstances in which the IOC was founded and subsequently functioned, it becomes evident that the Olympic Movement has been historically searching for the limits of immoderation in sport. One meaningful interpretation from this claim was simply put by Willi Daume in 1989, when addressing answers in the quest of a future for the Olympic Games and the Olympic Idea. Blending the condition of intellectual and IOC leader, Daume formulated a blueprint of survival concerning today’s Olympic leadership which ought to “fully comprehend and put into coordinated action the Coubertin balance of idealism and realism, the perfect effort at intermingling new and old, of traditional and ultra-progressive ideas”⁹.

Tradition v. Innovation

In other words, Daume’s discourse was similar to the challenges posed by Schneider eleven years later. And both scholars met Coubertin’s retraditionalization of the Olympic ideal as well instead of simply forwarding proposals of detraditionalization of the Olympic Movement if we use proper and helpful terms to compare past and present in the 100 years of the IOC’s life span¹⁰.

By contrast, Schneider’s claims of reform focused on the structure and governance of the IOC¹¹, an unprecedented intervention on account of modern Olympic traditions. By turning to OATH postulates, we can look more closely at this argument as follows¹².

“IOC members are representatives of the IOC to their countries rather than representatives

of the countries to the IOC. The purpose of this arrangement is to ensure the independence of the IOC from national politics. This independence is extremely important (...) On the other hand, however, the present structure means that the IOC is accountable to no one. In the absence of democratic accountability no other method has been developed to ensure that the IOC is responsible for its decisions to athletes other stakeholders, and the public it ultimately serves”.

Seen in this way, the IOC crises throughout its existence should represent a major result from the management style adopted by the so-called “Olympic family”, and less from business concern related to athletes and events connected to the Games. Moreover, the democratic accountability prescribed by OATH and Schneider should also stand as a real innovation in IOC’s governance in view of the inclusion of independent intervening actors in the “family”. As such, scholars, scientists, lawyers, technicians etc. might contribute with the IOC for the “culture of accountability” development, which requires specific reference to values and interests¹³.

The IOC first reaction to the 1999 crises was to seek openness in its internal affairs. In addition, independent advisers and scholars were invited to participate both in the Ethics Commission and in the IOC 2000 Commission. These facts in practice brought up to discussion the topic of the IOC members as trustees of the Olympic Movement.

In Coubertin’s invented tradition, IOC’s members play the role of “ambassadors” from the Olympic Movement to their countries. So far they have not been elected but selected to be nominated. In this regard, in an article written for the “Revue Olympique”, in 1913, Coubertin defended himself from accusations of preventing the IOC from following democratic

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procedures. Summarizing his answer, independence and stability were key conditions to promote the Olympic ideal among national sport bodies; conversely, the democratization of this selection on account of Coubertin's experience dealing with sport institutions would imply division not unity. Just as he had led up to an appropriate structure for the IOC, so he proceeded beyond the structure by assertively saying that "nous ne sommes pas un conseil de police technique; nous sommes simplement les *trustees* de l'Idée Olympique"¹⁴.

Ironically, 86 years later, the OATH declaration would use identical argument by making differences and updating the conception of trustee: "The IOC members are the guardians not the shareholders. The owners of this social movement can only know if their investment is being handled well if they can structure the activities of the guardians"¹⁵.

However, the aforementioned OATH document recognizes positive effects from Coubertin's choice for IOC's structure in a worldwide perspective¹⁶.

"The IOC has had a significant impact on world affairs: lessening cold war tension, contributing to the demise of South African apartheid and opening up channels of communication and agreement between North and South Korea. It may well have been impossible to accomplish these goals without the kind of independence IOC members currently enjoy".

These considerations show that Coubertin and OATH's approaches are not contradictory but represent outcomes from historically determined options, either idealistic or pragmatic (Daume preferred "realistic") depending on the circumstances faced by the IOC's process of decision. As a hypothesis it might additionally be said that the IOC and the Olympic Movement's

crises would be a product of either excess or accommodation to a particular focus on idealistic or pragmatic options.

The oscillation between those focuses would also explain the common change of political positions in the grounds of Coubertin's lifetime. And this would rather rest upon the conception of pendulum for historical processes to which Coubertin often gave explicit emphasis: "The law of the pendulum applies to everything"¹⁷.

Traveling along the continuum

Apart from Coubertin's complicity with historicism, the obsession with balance in all walks of life is a mark of his memoirs, as detected by Bernd Wirkus in 1987¹⁸. In effect, "harmony", "balance", "eurhythmics", "equilibrium" etc are recurrent expressions in Coubertin's interpretations, overall when redefining Olympism as a "spiritual attitude resulting from a double worship: that for physical effort and that for harmony"¹⁹.

Empirically speaking, both the oscillation in choices and the search for balance were also commonly detected in a research aiming to acknowledge Olympic Scholars' evaluative perspectives towards a moral crises in the Olympic Movement in its 1999 version.

Yet, this inquiry was carried on in 2000 by the author of this book in order to include its preliminary fact-findings in the debates of the Panel of Olympic Scholars, one of the academic events that took place during the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games, under the co-ordination of Richard Cashman from the Center for Olympic Studies – University of New South Wales.

Thus far, the sort of binary or oppositional logic that may identify Coubertin, Daume and Schneider's approaches to idealism versus pragmatism has also become apparent from

the assessment of the Olympic Scholars' responses. Indeed, it should be more precise to synthesize those respondents' opinions as an apparent opposition between tradition and innovation. And in this general context most of the other double-bind interpretations might remain ancillary.

Implicit in all this is an inherent opposition as referred to tradition when facing shifts from identity and authority, and in particular, social changes or crises. Though theories on the opposition between old and new ideas lie in the core of Enlightenment, only recently has "detraditionalization" become an expressive and important topic of research in social sciences²⁰. And then, of course, we could rather address the IOC crises from recent extraction to this new specialized area of knowledge, putting in the right measure contingent explanations such as corruption, professionalism, commercialization, etc.

By definition, detraditionalization implies a detraditionalizing process, which occurs jointly with retraditionalization, tradition-maintenance and tradition-construction. This working conception is basically acknowledgeable in terms of oppositions, as seen in the example of idealism v. pragmatism from the Olympic Movement story. Paul Heelas describing this formulation remarks that in each opposition one term is replaced by another when detraditionalization occurs as informed by a basic "past to present/future dynamic". The sense of this change is from "closed" (cold, repetitive, ritualized) to "open" (hot, experimental, revisable) terms²¹.

Arguably, Heelas attributes a key role to post-modernity and globalization for the growing concern about the detraditionalization theory²². After all, these cultural conditions have been stressing the new without losing the value and permanence of the old. By extension, it should be otherwise noted that the Olympic Movement is a pioneer institution dealing with globalization. And sport mega-events – Olympic Games included – are typical post-modern manifestations, too²³.

From this point of view, to quote Peter McIntosh is pertinent in order to introduce the conception of *continuum*, which is a natural link between oppositions with some mutual relationship of dependence. This theoretical linkage is often discerned in social phenomena. It had already been detected by McIntosh in the sport area when Sport for All development in England was scrutinized from 1966 to 1984. Here follows a conclusive statement of this research as referred to a new social function to be fulfilled by Sport for All from a national perspective²⁴:

“Sport as a means and sport as an end are not mutually exclusive. There is a continuum of emphasis from extrinsic to intrinsic rewards and from sport as useless enjoyment to sport as social machinery. Our suggestion is that Sport for All has traveled too far along this continuum towards social machinery. The next stage for Sport for All might be to travel back and to base both research and promotion on enjoyment rather than on social function”.

Of course, the generalization of these findings should be considered accidental since not all sport relationships have the same property of Sport for All in the location and time reported by McIntosh. Nevertheless, there is sufficient evidence found in the IOC's 100-year history suggesting a prevailing continuum between tradition and innovation as well as other subsidiary oppositions presenting similar relationship and oscillation.

Legacy v. Post-Olympism

This presupposition became the starting point of this book still in 2000, when 35 out of a total of 50 Olympic Scholars

forwarded their opinions on the 1999 IOC moral crises. This non-expected response to the investigation conducted by the author of this book reinforced not only the search of in-depth interpretations involving “closed” (tradition) and “open” (reform) statements but also the continuation of the study. The former accomplishment has been completed and it is about to be published elsewhere in another book, having Richard Cashman as editor. The latter has progressed with a lively treatment that now embodies this book in some of its parts.

Other contributions to the making of this book were indirectly forwarded by two scholarly events scheduled to the end of 2002: (1) the international seminar “Post-Olympism? Questioning Sport in the 21st Century”, Aarhus University, Denmark; (2) the symposium on “The Legacy of the Olympic Games: 1984-2000”, Olympic Museum, Lausanne. Self-evidently in significant ways these academic activities fit in our line of reasoning for the elaboration of this book. And although their central topics have not been announced in terms of opposition, they raise an interrogative readiness whatever the accidental or deliberate variations.

In a nutshell, this book is an intellectual construction that narrowly discerns tradition – we might say also “legacy” – and innovation as key words for the development of Olympic Studies in years to come. To the extent that both expressions prevail as parts of a continuum or reveal themselves as dilemmas *per se*, they will stand as crossroads for Olympic Scholars, researchers, specialists and students in their academic commitments.

As the reader becomes aware of the gap in theory between legacy and post-Olympism, more appropriate questions are likely to come up in research projects in Olympic Studies. Summing up, the aim of this book is to acquaint the researcher and the student with questions and analyses that will help them select their own directions at the crossroads of the developments of today’s Olympic ideas.

However, this book is not designed primarily to be read sequentially but rather as an invitation to intellectual experience for those who love sport or those who have an interest in issues raised by engagements and pitfalls of the Olympic Movement. In taking this stance, we are making a point on the common understanding of many facets of sport sciences thereby strengthening the field of Olympic Studies as a whole. The result, we hope, is a book that is unmatched in raising questions for debate.

Conclusion: Olympism as a meta-narrative

It is important to mention at this point that this book does not follow a singular academic discipline. Each chapter refers to different contributions from various fields of research such as philosophy, sport history, anthropology, sociology, management sciences, etc. We felt we ought to pay special attention to the mainstream topics and substantive issues emerging during the 1990s as preceding the IOC crises and its consequences.

It has been a privilege to write this book as well as to include in its last part some of my associates' empirical contributions. While retaining interdisciplinary perspectives, we have constantly endeavored to view Olympic Studies as a vigorous field that will achieve success if we could discern a unifying paradigm or elaborate a sound working definition for Olympism.

In large part, the key to acknowledge Olympism is to consider it as a meta-narrative²⁵. The overall conclusion of this book enhances plural narratives of the Olympic accounts that are built cumulatively and collectively as a celebration besides their scientific, historical and philosophical interpretation. This celebration of sport is one missing link

between Coubertin's exegesis and today's critical assessment of Olympic Studies. And this sharing spirit distinguishes the Olympic intellectual from others also dedicated to the sport sciences. It is our hope that through the next chapters of this book, we all renew our motives to share the spirit and keep the celebration alive.

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Notes

1. Quoted in Mallon, B. The Olympic Bribery Scandal, *Journal of Olympic History*, vol. 8, no. 2, May 2000, p. 11.
2. See OATH Promotional Brochure, Sydney, 2000.
3. An academic event in which there was a debate on the topic of the IOC reform. It was the International Panel of Olympic Scholars promoted by the University of New South Wales located in Sydney during the 2000 Olympic Games (September, 2000).
4. Schneider, A. Olympic reform are we there yet? Paper presented at the Fifth International Symposium for Olympic Research, September 2000, Sydney, Proceedings, pp. 225-232.
5. For WADA event in Sydney see "Independent Observers Report – Olympic Games 2000", Lausanne, 2000, p.9.
6. Coubertin, P. Conférence du Secrétaire Général à l'Assemblée Générale de l'Union, Les Sports Athlétiques, 13 Juillet 1893, no. 172, pp. 2-4. In Mueller, N. Pierre de Coubertin – Textes Choisis, Tome II – Olympisme, Weidmann, Zurich, 1986, pp. 99-103.
7. Ibidem, p.101.

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8. Ibidem, p.102.
9. Quoted in Lucas, J.A. Future of the Olympic Games, Human Kinetics, Champaign, Illinois, 1992, p. 7
10. For the different focus on interpretation of tradition see Adam, B. Detraditionalization and the Certainty of Uncertain Futures. In Heelas, P., Lash, S. & Morris, P. Detraditionalization. Blackwell, Oxford, 1996, pp. 134-148.
11. Schneider, A. op. cit., p. 225.
12. OATH, Proposals for Reform of the IOC, OATH Report, New York, 1999, pp. 1-2.
13. Ibidem, p. 2.
14. Coubertin, P. L'Oeuvre Olympique et ses Rouages, Revue Olympic, Juillet 1913, pp. 136-140. In Textes Choisis, p. 610.
15. OATH Report, p. 2
16. OATH Report, p. 2
17. For the conception of pendulum adopted by Coubertin, see Wirkus, B. Pierre de Coubertin's Philosophical; Eclecticism as the Essence of Olympism. In Mueller, N. (ed), The Relevance of Pierre de Coubertin today. Schors-Verlag, Niedernhausen, 1987, pp. 179-190. The quotation from Coubertin is originally found in his book "The Olympic Idea", Hofmann, Schorndorf, 1966, p. 11.
18. Wirkus, B. Op. Cit., pp. 185-186.
19. Quoted in Mueller, N. & Messing M. Coubertin's Philosophical Concept of 'Eurhythmie' and German Tourists' Balance of Sport and Art Interests in the Barcelona and Atlanta Olympic Games. Paper presented at the Fifth International Symposium for Olympic Research, Sydney September, 2000, Proceedings, pp. 185-194.
20. The theory of detraditionalization is described by Heelas, P. in

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- the Introduction of “Detraditionalization”, Heelas, P., Lash, S. and Morris, P. (eds). *Op. Cit.*, pp. 1-20.
21. *Ibidem*, pp. 2-3
 22. *Ibidem*, pp. 6-8
 23. See Welsch, W. *Esporte-Visto Esteticamente e mesmo como Arte?* In Rosenfield, D. (ed.). *Ética e Estética*, Zahar Editor, Rio de Janeiro, 2001, pp. 142-165.
 24. McIntosh, P. & Charlton, V. *The Impact of Sport for All Policy, 1966-1984*. The Sport Council, June 1985, London, p. 193.
 25. Meta-narrative is a teleological collective reference which subordinates, organizes and accounts for other narratives either in terms of emancipation or speculation. As such, sport entities in general and the Olympic Games in particular stand as significant examples of this assumption as far as they create typically heroes, build values and celebrate victories and accomplishments. The issue of meta-narrative has been otherwise discussed since the 1970s in the context of post-modern condition in which scientific rationality rejects - and even substitute - the grand narratives while affirmative actions use them as a legitimacy of their humanistic claims. For more in the matter see Rorty, R. Habermas and Lyotard on Postmodernity. In Bernstein, R.J. (Ed), *Habermas and Modernity*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1988, pp. 161 - 175; Rorty, R. *Objectivity, relativism, and truth - Philosophical Papers Volume 1*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994, pp.197 - 2002.



CHAPTER 2

The aporetic nature of Olympism: sport for all or sport for heroes?

Writing of the philosophical foundation of modern Olympism in 1935, Pierre de Coubertin notes that “célébrer les Jeux Olympiques, c’est se réclamer de l’histoire”¹. Our times are clearly very different. All those sport academics who claim for more precise definitions of Olympism, surely have good grounds for doing so. But, only a few of them have been making use of adequate historical accounts in order to support their arguments.

There are some attempts to move beyond this epistemological challenge. Hans Lenk aimed to relate Olympism to a social

philosophy. Nobert Mueller takes another view since this philosophy should be educational. Jim Parry in turn proposes a philosophical anthropology. Lamartine DaCosta forwards a “process philosophy” in the sense of an ongoing development of Coubertin’s traditional conception of “philosophy of life” embodied by the Olympic Charter². But are we right in understanding Olympism in an ought-to-be framework? Aren’t we simply applying intersecting viewpoints from different disciplines of knowledge to construct Olympism?

Yet at this point it may rightly be retorted that the way in which we all have stated the problem is misleading. Perhaps most of the efforts to define Olympism have been unhistorical in their nature, that is, in observing its qualities in practical circumstances. And to solve an epistemological problem, historical standpoints are still one the best preferred option among philosophers. After all, history is often considered the *locus classicus* of epistemology³.

Following the suggestion pointed out in Chapter 1 that Olympism is mostly a composition of narratives on Olympic *ethos* created and celebrated by its adherents, let us in the light of such assumption search the subject-matter of the actual Olympic past. Doing so, we aim to disclose core meanings of Olympism in the overall historical process of the Olympic idea development. To begin, it is convenient to proceed to another presupposition raised in the Prologue of this book, i. e. the experiences of Olympism involve characteristically tensions originated by oppositions when shifting from a social or cultural situation to another.

The Socratic foundation of Olympism

This initial hypothesis has as an argumentative ally the narrative of Socrates’ judgement that lies in the foundational thinking of western thought, including Olympism as far as

Coubertin had reshaped the Olympic idea from ancient Greek culture. Thus far, in the famous judgment against Socrates in 399 B.C. a reference was made to Olympic athletes that is still thought-provoking to contemporary observers. As Plato describes in his *Apologia*, Socrates appealed to his judges for the same treatment meted out by tradition to Olympic Games heroes, if fraternity in the *polis* was the point at issue rather than public accusations. The verdict has remained an important issue in moral discussions ever since. Socrates was condemned to death for alleged corruption of youth, despite a life dedicated to making his fellow citizens good and wise.

In fact, the philosopher and forefather of ethics suggested his own condemnation for the sake of the Athenian city-state, giving no alternative to the judges, who had to obey the law when the accusations were acknowledged as truthful. It was equally clear that the institution which provided justice should be preserved even when doing wrong.

This Socratic decision remains, for skeptics, an instance of ethical relativism, an ambivalence expressed and defined in an Aristotelian epigram: "Fire burns both in Hellas and in Persia; but men's ideas of right and wrong vary from place to place". It is no coincidence that Olympic athletes were referred to by Socrates when he called for recognition of his efforts to improve the citizens' social and political relations.

As depicted *inter alia* by W.K.C. Guthrie, by the 5th century BC the Olympic Games were a gathering of poets, musicians and sophists as well as athletes, all of them competing in public performances⁴. This peculiar spirit of competition was in contradiction with the ideal of Socrates, in his search for the truth, as he proposes an exchange of arguments without winners or losers, in exact opposition to the sophist teaching. This contradiction explains the skepticism and relativism with which Socrates was interpreted by Protagoras and Gorgias, eminent sophists of Ancient Greece.

Judging Olympism as an *aporia*

By contrast, the far-reaching repercussions of Socratic conduct on western philosophy are due primarily to the fact that justice and fairness are more easily recognized by their opposites. Socrates played on this in order to sacrifice himself as a moral lesson to the *polis*. This historical hint has, eventually, been followed up by modern institutions which encourage ethical attitudes, including the Olympic Movement of our time.

As a result, Olympism is primarily bound up in paradoxical choices, namely how to curb corruption in sports competition and management and preserve sports organizations – usually the source or agents of misconduct – while pursuing purely educational and pedagogical goals (the so-called *Kalos Kagathos*). For their part, sports leaders today raise objections and questions about unfairness in athletic behavior, without necessarily putting forward any answers.

The emphasis on the educational purposes of Olympism can thus be seen as a source of the contradiction which exists within sport, namely the attempt to keep institutions alive while pointing out their mistakes and defects. But if Socrates' ethical philosophy is fully taken for granted otherwise, his dramatic moral attitudes imply a real impossibility of finding answers. Among philosophers this situation has then been called *aporia*, the Greek word of puzzlement, meaning the cognitive perplexity posed by statements in opposition. This natural outcome eventually brought out by interrogations seems furthermore to be at the heart of the practical problems of present-days top sport.

Coubertin himself became “aporetic” when he began to criticize the misconduct of sports practice shortly before his death in 1937. If we review a variety of contributions to the International Olympic Academy in recent years, we can also identify a regular pattern of aporetic interpretation, in which a

harmony can be found between new problems and old prescriptive positions. So far, the question put by Fernand Landry in the 1980 Session - "Sport, education and Olympism: towards a break or great harmony?" - might still constitute a synthesis of the persistence of objections without satisfactory answers, as it is equivalent to Coubertin's demands without reply.

In this instance, the ethical questioning of Olympism should not be about choices, as usually stated, but about how to reconcile opposing attitudes. In other words, the supposed opposition will become real if Olympism decides to treat its difficulties in the context of a crisis, a choice similar to that of Socrates at his judgment. Conversely, however, assuming that sports conflicts are a natural risk, the Olympic Movement will be dealing with aporias, implying a constant exchange of arguments and solutions, as the early Socratic basic thinking suggested for those seeking a virtuous life in the *polis*.

On the basis of these facts and speculations, it is possible to contend that sport, in seeking *areté* (excellence), is naturally aporetic. Paraphrasing Alasdair MacIntyre when he discusses excellence, sport involves rules as well as achievements so far we cannot reach the latter without accepting the former. Although this interplay justifies competition - *de justus est disputandum* -, individual's achievements in sport usually put aside external authority⁵. In short, according to MacIntyre, this apparent contradiction has to be understood historically because "the sequences of development find their point and purpose in a progress towards and beyond a variety of types and modes of excellence"⁶.

Then, skeptics of former times as well as many sports scientists and philosophers of the present day apart, historical experience should be ahead of knowledge production, favoring an attitude which perceives sport in terms of its contradictions. Indeed, alongside proposals for education, self-realization and cooperation based on modern Olympic ideals unresolved

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conflicts have emerged persistently over the years since the first Olympiad of modern times in 1896. Experience is therefore likely to reveal that Olympic ethics lags behind the ongoing process of cultural, economic and political change in many societies.

Of course, spectacle, professionalism, nationalism and sectarianism are factors which have played a historical role in the weakening of the humanistic values of sport, but when facts are compared with updated interpretations of Olympism, an element of incompatibility still remains. On the other hand, the reactions of sports institutions and leaders have been characteristically reductionist and contingent, expressing the inside view of sport, as concluded by Jorge Bento in his study of European fair-play campaigns⁷.

For this ethicist, a dependable ethics for top sport should be related to contextual factors so as to fit in with the plurality of values on which today's sports practice is based. In short, the gap in sports ethics is primarily due to the mistaken isolation of top sports organizations - with the inclusion of IOC - from the external social environment. This solipsism is often criticized by philosophers because it represents an attempt to avoid refutations, a rationale of many religions and movements supported by ethical codes or principles. Such isolation was envisaged by Coubertin, as reported by Juergen Moltmann in a past IOA session, where he defined Olympism as a modern religion (*religio athletae* is an expression commonly found in the writings of Pierre de Coubertin but in the sense of conscious and full dedication to sport)⁸.

Now, if Olympism is to be seen in the context of broad cultural relations its radical reliance on ethical principles simply does not make sense, given the so-called "moral crisis" of nowadays which levels down all social conventions in any country or region. This argument is in itself sufficient to confirm the applicability of the notion of aporia as a *prima facie* interpretation of high - performance sport in general and

of the Olympic Movement in particular, alongside their historical and philosophical foundational approaches.

Moreover, a comparison of sports with art can shed light on the aporetic meaning of sport both on the competition ground and in its management. As continually emphasized by analysts of current trends, the fragmentation of social relations, the prevalence of individualism and commercial attitudes, the increasing domination of the mass media and even the breakdown of values have given rise to insurmountable conflicts in cultural production of many kinds. Steven Connor, for one, referred to this phenomenon as “self-dissolution” or “renunciation” of the arts, and used the expression “post-modernism” in the interpretation of the contemporary scene⁹. Actually, post-modernism may be seen as an opposition to modernism rather than a reform of it. It is therefore not easy to define what post-modernism might be. Much of this new trend generates questions without answers, both in sports and in various other spheres of culture. Here, post-modernism should be the aporetic context for analysis of sport and its ethical conventions.

Solving Olympic aporias

Again, rather than simply arguing “for” or “against” supposed distortions of sport, debates concerning the development of Olympism should take the reconciliation of opposites as an introductory step, adopting an aporetic line of reasoning. And on account of post-modern changes this choice is valid either in addressing social or cultural interrogations of present times. For that, the old Greek philosophy is still helpful since the Aristotelian tradition attempted to solve aporias by introducing them initially into a higher totality as a means of reducing their problematic content.

As Otto Szymiczek, one of the IOA's most distinguished deans, understood Olympism, this higher totality was already accountable in 1980. In his words¹⁰: "The Olympic Movement, is open to all; its purpose is not to allow a limited few to collect gold medals. On the contrary, it seeks to provide the opportunity for all men, regardless of age and sex, to practise sports, for the slogan which can now be heard the world over is: Sport for All". Missing from Szymiczek account, however, is an account of what plays the role of opposition to this overall mobilization. Let us then make the Szymiczek's statement a working hypothesis and evaluate briefly rival accounts taken from the history of Sport for All within the Olympic Movement.

The idea of mass commitment to sport effectively began with Coubertin, who was deeply involved in sport as a means of collective education. According to DaCosta & Miragaya (2002) this proposal has had limited impact in day-to-day practices of top sport institutions¹¹. Symptomatically, the IOC officially adopted the concept of Sport for All (SFA) in 1985, despite previous initiatives by Coubertin started in 1919¹². Despite the indifference of the IOC to Coubertin's claim to bring democracy to sport practices, SFA initiatives in many countries was successful in promoting types of sport events without winners or losers but just participants in health or leisure activities provided by institutions or community initiatives.

It is noteworthy that DaCosta & Miragaya's survey had remarked upon an agreement joining the IOC with YMCA during the 1920s that might be interpreted as a basis for 1960s onwards successful SFA accomplishments worldwide. But, the IOC became unhistorical in relation to SFA only rediscovering Coubertin's "sport pour tous" conception in the 1980s without even mentioning its own past experiences¹³. Such oscillation may be seen then as a rejection of Szymiczek's totality as well as the confirmation that elite sport is actually the centered social grounding of the Olympic Games, the Olympic Movement

and by extension of Olympism as well. However, Szyciczek's words may find their legitimacy in the meta-narrative that usually portrays Olympic discourses since Coubertin's days.

Generally speaking, the conciliation between SFA and top sport failed because the envisaged high totality has been assumed by the later, therefore dissolving the former. Most comprehensively formulated, the aporetic inconsistency that marks both kinds of sport activities has been overcome by giving up one of theses involved in the inconsistency. Perhaps, most of the IOC conflict-resolution actions has led to abandon the reconciliation enterprise, preferring cognitive vacuity to risk of error. One significant exception to this traditional IOC's reaction is the ongoing adaptation of Olympic Games' sites to environmental requirements in recent years, which has been progressing by means of dialog between contradictory interests.

A considerable support to the thesis of conciliation regarding natural oppositions embedded in today's Olympism is well-formulated by Hans Lenk As he puts it, "the multicompatibility and multiidentifiability of the Olympic idea and Olympic movement have to tie in"¹⁴. Focusing on other contexts without direct connections to the nexus of aporia, Lenk has been advocating a new "Olympic Philosophy" since 1964, showing no hesitation in giving the right measure to the common critiques to Olympism as he provided an explanation in 1994¹⁵:

"In this, even ambiguity and vagueness of many components within the Olympic Idea can and did lead to a social gathering and uniting impact and toward a real social effect of multicompatibility and multiidentifiability of the Olympic movement. A somewhat more concise definition of the term 'Olympic Idea' would necessarily comprise this pluralistic structure of values, norms and basic features of the Olympic movement."

The oscillatory nature of sport as referred to social and cultural adaptation is already acceptable to Lenk but mostly regulated by characteristic traits of human beings. Arguably for him, “if life is creative action, achieving and performance, *homo creator*, *homo movens* and *homo performer* are necessarily connected with one another”¹⁶. Rather, if it is not acknowledged his and her “many essential traits (...) a theory of man seems to be doomed to one-sidedness and, thus, failure”¹⁷.

Notwithstanding, according to Hans Lenk the “Olympic man” is the essence - or subject-matter, in our analysis - of Olympism. And for him or her there is no irreconcilable positions between different kinds of achievement in sport. Once again, this is a Socratic representation in which there will be no winners or losers, but a heroic and dramatic narrative after all, one that can solve the intrinsic aporia of Olympism and guarantee a virtuous life for sport.

Notes

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 5. MacIntyre, A., *After Virtue. A study on moral theory*. University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame - Indiana, 1984, p. 190.
 6. *Ibidem*, p. 189.
 7. Bento, J.O., *A Procura de Referências para uma Ética do Desporto*. In "Desporto, Ética, Sociedade", University of Porto, 1990, pp. 23-39.
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 10. Szymiczek, O., *Olympism, Olympic Movement, Olympic Games*, IOA, 20th Session, Ancient Olympia, 1980, pp. 59-67.
 11. DaCosta, L.P. & Miragaya, A., *Worldwide Experiences and Trends of Sport for All*. Meyer & Meyer Sport, Aachen - Germany, 2002, pp. 751 - 785. For further comments in this theme see DaCosta, L.P., *How can the Olympic Movement promote Sport for All?*, IOA Report, 31st Session, Ancient Olympia, 1991, pp.149 - 153; Müller, N., *Olympism and Sport for All*, IOA, 29th Session, Ancient Olympia, 1988, pp. 188-200; Costa, L.P., *The Uniqueness of Non-formal Sports in Different Countries and*

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12. See the introductory speech of Juan Antonio Samaranch, president of IOC, under the title of "The bases of Sport for All", presented at Sport for All International Congress, Frankfurt, DSB / IOC, 1986. It is also relevant in this theme the comments of Brisson, J. F., Olympic sport equals Sport for All. Olympic Message, no. 16, December 1986, p. 9. In addition, see in the same number of Olympic Message, a review of the 1986 address in DaCosta, L. P., Sport for All, past, present and future, pp.17 - 23.
13. DaCosta, L.P. & Miragaya, A., Op. Cit. pp. 28 - 29, note no. 1.
14. Lenk, H., The essence of Olympic man - Towards a philosophical anthropology of Olympism. In Nissiotis, N. A., Religion, philosophy and sport in dialogue. In memorial collection of papers, Athens, 1994, p. 339.
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CHAPTER 3

Questioning Olympism: pluralism, multiculturalism or what else?

Most histories of the Olympic Movement are methodologically naive. In their usual form the focus is on particular descriptions with less attention to the context. Therefore, omissions of reactions from cultures hardly known by analysts lead to mask controversies and ambivalence. Intellectual disputes, otherwise, become less visible without contextual recognition. This is particular true when the French cultural milieu is not taken into account in historical studies of the Olympic idea's initial stages.

A substantial support to this thesis is a critical review of the Le Havre Olympic Congress that took place in 1897. This event succeeded the Congress of Sorbone which inaugurated the Olympic Movement in 1894. Indeed, it was in Le Havre that IOC members, Coubertin included, and some intellectuals interested in sports raised interrogations and reflected upon the Olympic idea. It was also there that typical oppositions emerged from Olympism's proposals and played a meaningful role. There the point of the question was that two distinguished participants, Dr. Philippe Tissié and Father Henri Didon, engaged in a "courteous" dispute on "distinct pedagogic claims, even in opposition", as reported diplomatically by Pierre de Coubertin himself ¹.

This confrontation may be seen as a discourse of "making sport serious" as opposed to "reflexive cultural practices such as theory, literature and art". The suggestion came from a recent Douglas Brown's study on Coubertin's *oeuvre* in regard of French intellectual interpretations on sport and physical culture at the end of the 19th century². Generally speaking, then, the dispute Tissié (serious sport) versus Didon (cultural reflection) would be a result from different approaches to humanism which have also remained constant throughout the history of the Olympic idea. Consequently, the Le Havre controversy should be seen as the earliest intellectual crossroad of the development of Olympism which has not clear definition until today.

To put the matter straightforward: Olympism sought for one century to realize its humanistic narrative of placing "everywhere sport at the service of the harmonious development of man", as the Olympic Charter enshrines today. This principle of equilibrium is somewhat compatible with the attempt of define Olympism found again in the Olympic Chart as "a philosophy of life, exalting and combining in a balanced whole the qualities of body, will and mind" ³. However have these humanistic claims been given a direction

to Olympism historically accounted by oppositions ? Rather, repeating an authoritative question posed in 1994 by Yves Pierre Boulongne, the French author of a critical history of Coubertin's life: "was Olympism ever transparent or unequivocal?"⁴

This Chapter has grown out of the conviction that much of the debate about Coubertin's humanism and its corresponding Olympism is rooted in presuppositions that need to be questioned. The refusal to take it on as final devotional discourses or criticisms of the Olympic *ethos* rehabilitated the foundational approach in order to place Olympism within its original context as well as the contemporary one, making it less obscure and therefore more feasible.

We will argue at greater length in forthcoming analysis that by stressing the roots from which Olympism springs, the *prima facie* notion of equilibrium between oppositions becomes central in Olympism. In short, our aim is to open possibilities for thought and suggest descriptions in which we can recognize contemporary Olympism, and so undermine other past interpretations and future perspectives whose plausibility depends on working from a more limited set of underlying basis. To help in exploring this strategy, we use Coubertin's writings as guides and take issue with his interpreters in order to draw new meanings and to redefine distinctions.

Reading Coubertin

The voluminous writings from Coubertin's intellectual life were often suited for the occasion, as the French intellectual Bernard Jeu once remarked⁵. So far, one cannot expect conceptual rigour at first sight and much less scientific or philosophical coherence from the 60 thousand printed pages which represent the literary work of Olympism's founder⁶. Undoubtedly this limitation concerns to present-day reviewers, as Coubertin's works

also answer to questions that motivated his texts in different historical situation. This hermeneutic understanding should then be elaborated by a reconstruction of the traditions in which Coubertin's literary production originated.

Despite the simplicity of this methodological claim, only a few interpreters have been capable of setting aside his or her horizons of understanding in researching Coubertin's historicity. The lack of interplay between the past and the present is furthermore criticized by other French sport historian Jean Durry (September 2nd, 1937 is the date of Coubertin's death): "Depuis le 2 septembre 1937, le monde a changé. Comme ont pu changer la perception et l'analyse de Coubertin et de son oeuvre. Elles se bornèrent d'abord à l'affirmation et la transmission quasi-automatique d'un certain nombre de clichés, et l'on en demeure encore souvent à ce premier niveau"⁷.

Indeed, from today's point of view the unsystematic writings of Coubertin are likely to be seen as superficial, intensely diversified and even contradictory. However, if eclecticism is the interpretative focus to these supposed relativistic statements and loose relationships of knowledge, the significance of the texts cannot be called on to articulate conceptions in an unequivocal manner but preferably to reconcile diverse ideas for appropriate selections and options. This has been the general comprehension of the so-called "eclectic philosophy" since Pico della Mirandola's Renaissance book "Oratio de Hominis Dignitate"⁸.

Again, eclecticism was an important direction of thought during the eighteenth century, with Diderot being celebrated as an "eclectic philosopher", a portrait similar to that of a freethinker of the French Enlightenment⁹. In nineteenth century Britain the same designation frequently identified John Stuart Mill for his insights into Enlightenment and Romanticism, both of which subscribed to what he called the "school of experience and association"¹⁰. But the culmination

of eclecticism occurred in nineteenth century France with the emergence of an explicit line of thought delimited by Victor Cousin (1792 - 1867) as a development from Maine de Biran (1766 - 1824) psychological stoicism.

For contemporary philosophers Cousin's views remained as a reinterpretation of humanism in contrast to August Comte's (1798 - 1857) positivism. Both tendencies of thought thereafter revealed more points of similarity than differences, in addition to equally providing sources of social salvation. In all, French eclecticism experienced the tension between the sciences and humanities and, as a result, it was progressively dissolved after Cousin's death in the mid-nineteenth century¹¹. Nevertheless, the philosophical positions of eclecticism continued to compound with pragmatism and other enlightened and evolutionary humanism which typified western thought henceforth¹².

When we read Coubertin's writings in comparison to Cousin's proposals, we may find more than analogies. In fact, there is a common identity shared by both intellectuals who were equally social reformers. For instance, Cousin in his leading book "Du Vrai, Du Beau et du Bien" (1853) demonstrated that systematic thinking proceeds from doctrine to facts, while the eclectic approach follows the opposite procedure legitimized by experience. The same text also favors "a doctrine that conciliates all systems, integrating all facts which consolidate them"¹³.

Should these rationales be inserted into a critical framework of Coubertin's life-contexts as those elaborated by today's Olympic scholars such as Boulongne¹⁴, Hoberman¹⁵ or MacAloon¹⁶, the striking mixtures of influences from which Olympism emerged might become a model of eclectic thinking and behavior. This clear-cut symmetry is precisely the origin of either acclamations or rejections from those interpreters from both French and Anglo-Saxon intellectual extractions. This is

why Coubertin stands as “honnête homme”¹⁷ and Olympism as “a cult of reconciliation”¹⁸; or he acts as an “homme de lettre”¹⁹ and Olympism is seen as a “paradox” because the Olympic Games “generate completely contrary experiences”²⁰.

Not surprisingly only few investigations have grasped the eclectic meaning of Coubertin’s texts. For example, Bernd Wirkus pointed to Cousin’s “*école écletique*” as a basis of Coubertin’s method of thinking as well as labeled Olympism an eclectic “prescription”²¹. For this interpretation, Coubertin considered himself as a follower of Cousin and Jules Simon (1814 - 1896), the latter being another adherent of eclecticism and famous politician²². Nikos Nissiotis was more accurate when he recognized Coubertinian eclecticism as a strategy of renovation. The consequence of this “non-systematic philosophy” was to stress the proportions, the balance and the aesthetic experiences between extremes²³. In turn, Paiko Petrov suggests that being an “idealistic protagonist” of his time, Coubertin “preferred to pick out eclectically only the ideas that best suited his own thesis, rather than tie himself in with a definite school of philosophy”²⁴.

These comments suggest that Coubertin’s “lack of epistemological order”, once mentioned by Landry²⁵, was more apparent than most of his interpreters could have assessed. Certainly, he possessed a method and a philosophy behind it, usually replacing synthesis with analytical procedures to reach a deductive approach recommended by eclecticism²⁶. Notwithstanding, very often his interpreters have been seeking synthesis to explain Olympism and other Coubertinian constructions through inductive reasoning. This opposition should explain the reason that most interpreters choose personal influences on Coubertin’s thought and behavior to survey his fundamentals.

Summarizing, Coubertin’s intellectual works may be inaccessible to many present-day interpreters, except if they

are familiar to the French tradition established in the last century by a combination of evolutionary epistemology, positivism, eclecticism and utilitarian humanism, blended with the idea of progress already reshaped by the enlightenment. Of course, matters become more complicated if those interpreters lack of a unified perspective. To confront this difficult it is worth mentioning a description elaborated by Robert Nisbet:

“The great objective of social philosophers and of naturalist too was the discovery of a unified law of progress. Condorcet, Saint-Simon, Comte, Hegel, Spencer, and Marx were among those who featured their respective ‘laws’ of progress. Progress, declared Spencer in his ‘Social Statics’ , ‘is not an accident, but a necessity’. What Spencer called the law of progress meant exactly in his mind what others might call a law of evolution or of development. Spencer himself used the words interchangeably “²⁷ .

Could we suggest, facing a broader context than the educational reform in France and the renovation of the Games, that Olympism is primarily a “law” of unification? Did the eclectic Coubertin participate in the dispute between the utilitarian humanism (Dr. Tissié) and the ethical humanism (Father Didon) of his time, attempting to frame them in a unified conception (equilibrium of man)?

Eclecticism alive

Following Coubertin I will use historical facts in a deductive analysis to ground primary answers to the questions previously raised. Since experience gives the necessary meaning to potential

answers in terms of eclecticism, my intention is to highlight the Latin America context of last century's intellectual life. Being historically a "laboratory" for European ideas, in this continent positivism reached an even greater influence than in France, especially in Mexico, Brazil, Argentina and Chile. Also the idea of progress penetrated with more strength the hearts and minds of *élites*, becoming a powerful myth among Latin Americans from any country. By the mid-nineteenth century eclecticism in particular had immigrated to Brazil embodied in Cousin's disciples, soon becoming the official philosophy of the Brazilian Empire.

The contradiction in terms of an "official" line of thought signalizes the importance of Brazilian eclecticism which had been incorporated to educational curricula in the country. The books of Cousin and Jules Simon were translated to Portuguese and during the second half of the century eclecticism was the major interest of Brazilian thinkers from several academic areas of knowledge. Medicine and Law were specializations from which original philosophical works emerged, such as those of Domingos Goncalves de Magalhaes (1811-1882) and Antonio Pedro de Figueiredo (1814-1859). According to Antonio Paim, a contemporary analyst of the "escola ecletica", the experience of eclecticism in Brazil finally encountered the philosophical problems left behind by Cousin and Simon and was forced to search for pertinent answers ²⁸.

In sum, the seminal philosophers of French eclecticism supported the idea that the moral was influenced by the sensitivity of individuals during voluntary physical efforts. In other words, there was a distinguishable physical component in moral judgment. Although difficult to be accepted by scientists, Maine de Biran's original conception marked most of the great thinkers of eighteenth century France, including the prestigious philosopher Henri Bergson (1859-1941). Coubertin also shared this belief, recognizing the "moral of

the will” (Biran) as well as the “creative nature of the experience” (Bergson). These latter remarks appeared in the Georges Rioux’s preface to the major collection of Coubetin’s papers edited up to the present²⁹.

However this point of view represented one of the weakest fundamentals of Biran-Cousin’s eclecticism, because critics argued the arbitrary assemblage of different phenomena without convincing analysis. In Brazil, the medical doctor and philosopher Eduardo Ferreira Franca (1809-1857) had tried to solve this central problem earlier, giving more importance to singular characterizations of each phenomenon in relation to experience³⁰. By the end of the century, the Brazilian eclectic school was favoring historical legitimization to such phenomena. At that time eclecticism had been defined as “the philosophy of conciliation and reconstruction as opposed to skepticism”³¹. After this stage, the Brazilian eclectic school had been gradually dissolved.

However, the specific outcome of these reflections is, in effect, a process philosophy, incorporating an “epochal” view of time. So eclecticism in Brazil — most likely the positivism in Latin America — is still alive and coexisting with other currents of thought. The peculiarity of a “living museum” of ideas and cultural manifestations was analyzed by Roberto Da Matta in a recent anthropological study on the so-called “Brazilian Puzzle”. For the eminent Brazilian scholar, the underlying logic behind contradictory ideas hierarchically arranged on different planes, as identified in many sectors of the Brazilian society by past and present observers, refers to the principle “the virtue lies in between”. This expression is not only a motto, but a state of mind, a fundamental element of Brazilian culture and of most parts of Latin America ³².

We could again find here an experience not transferable to other countries and cultures but we reinforce the assumption that eclecticism was a process philosophy in France and kept

this condition in Brazil. From this point of view, we reach in philosophical grounds the conception that if changes occur many descriptions can be made without contradictions.

Ultimately, Cousin's eclecticism was a work in progress, both in France and in its South American sanctuary. In this regard, further investigations are needed in order to ascertain the survival of eclecticism as embedded in today's post-modern culture. The hypothesis in this case is referred to a global trend of eclectic understanding encompassing any intellectual context which would possibly include Olympism. Here the updated quest for Olympism conception should be found in past discernment still being reshaped today, as occurs in many other post-modern judgment.

Moreover the dynamic interplay of Coubertin with his historical context gains significance. He was deeply involved in a work in progress, to which interpreters attributed to changes in the focus of his interests over the years³³. Since Olympism remained a recurring theme during all of Coubertin's intellectual life-time, as ascertained by Mueller and Schantz³⁴, it follows that the process adaptation proposal might represent the basis of a possible unification. Trusting Boulongne's overviews, Coubertin's constant evocation of Olympism was consciously assumed in accordance to what he called "central clarity" in a condition defined by universalism, that is "the great sets that one categorize along two very precise axes. On the one hand, the material world and the living conditions. On the other, the achievements of man throughout the centuries"³⁵.

In retrospect, the apparent confusion of Coubertin's writings can be seen as a result of his eclecticism which presupposes a unified conception for his analytic compositions. According to the traditions of nineteenth century French thinking, this suggested unity should be a "law" based on the idea of progress. A comparative review of eclecticism in France and in Brazil indicates that this tendency had been a process

philosophy, which finally explains the changing pattern of Coubertin's works and his conscious search of a universal value for Olympism.

From these conjectures we may consider acceptable by historical observation the hypothesis that Olympism stands as a pretentious claim of unification and, by argument, as an individual achievement by means of progressive effort. At this point it may be worthwhile to consider again Olympism as a meta-narrative and an aporetic construct in which the eternal mythology of unification of oppositions finds its energy and impetus (see Chapters 1 and 2).

Eclecticism and eurhythmy

The eclectic assemblage that gave origin to Olympism might otherwise have validation by quoting Coubertin when he approached to Olympism as a “state of mind instead of a system” introducing a statement of 1918 in his style of narrative:

“L'Olympisme est un état d'esprit issu d'un double culte: celui de l'effort et celui de l'eurythmie. Et voyez combien conforme à l'humaine nature apparait l'association de ces deux éléments — le goût de l'excès et le goût de la mesure — qui, d'aspect contradictoire, se trouvent pourtant à la base de toute virilité complète”³⁶.

This declaration was selected by Jean Durry in 1994 to demonstrate the relevance of the *oeuvre*³⁷ and it is here used as a key for mapping the conceptual framework of Olympism in Coubertin's horizon of understanding. Arguably, the thesis concerns to the primary relation between effort and

eurhythmy, the latter expression grounded by Coubertin as a “proportion”³⁸ (see Chapter 4).

In short, eurhythmy is presumably a “law” of equilibrium applied to individual achievements in sport, naturally submitted to excess. Not surprisingly, the quest of this supposed “law” finds an answer in the present-day definition of Olympism: whether “a philosophy of life” or not, the “balanced whole” of body, will and mind, is a central condition of the “harmonious development of man”.

However, in terms of philosophical argument, the condition of equilibrium is necessary but not sufficient, because Olympism deals with the individual’s autonomous and creative sport actions. Here lies an historical dispute of eclecticism and other sorts of humanism: to what extent harmonious control of actions (eurhythmy) should prevail over free-will (sport)?

This question can be posed to the conceptual framework of Olympism and, by extension, to find a new meaning for Coubertin’s reconciliation of opposed tendencies. Then it is quite understandable that Coubertin’s alternative to frame Olympism in a desirable concept of unification was to appeal for an association of control of actions and free-will. This eclectic assemblage was vaguely referred to as a “state of mind” (“état d’esprit”) that was never submitted to clarifications. Symptomatically enough, Coubertin proceeded like his contemporaries Brazilian eclectics, spending most of his lifetime analyzing in-depth “ the great sets that categorize the Olympism”³⁹; or seeking legitimacy of his proposals in history; or, last but not least, selecting combinations between extremes.

Another coincidence to be taken into account is the Antonio Paim’s finding that was Hyppolite Taine — one of Coubertin’s “maîtres-a-penser” — who severely criticized the eclectic school. The fact marked the decline of Victor Cousin and Jules Simon in French philosophy and also the beginning of a confrontation with positivism’s adepts in Brazil as well⁴⁰.

Of course, in France, Coubertin somehow managed both views, but future investigations are needed to evaluate of Jules Simon's true role in the theoretical construction of Olympism.

In sum, Olympism as an eclectic narrative was ultimately a process philosophy during Coubertin's life-span. In spite of this ongoing process of development, the notion of eurhythmy gave a direction to Olympism but not the necessary internal coherence. It follows that Olympism cannot be held as a philosophy but rather one of the several versions of humanism, a philosophical position which over the ages became a pluralistic construction.

Yet these forms of humanism are currently identified by a complement that connotes their doctrinal directions. In this context Thomas Munro ⁴¹ gives a significant example that could be applied to Olympism. This is the case of naturalistic humanism, in which the adjective is an account of all values that incorporate physical and cultural capacity for good experiences in life. The resultant equilibrium of this combination tends to favor harmony, moderation, justice, freedom and rationality. In this sense, Munro's humanism is an updated version of the preceding "effort" and "measure" from the last century's mixture, to which the necessary condition of effectiveness is harmony and other categories of equilibrium.

Thus far, are we, at the outset of the twenty-first century, arriving at one more humanism by shaping a pluralistic Olympism?

Toward a pluralistic Olympism

As a result of the diversified versions of humanism, Coubertin and eclecticism may reach a new level of assessment, nevertheless the challenge of transferring Olympism to practice still remains. This failure must now be placed in a new

humanistic scenario: that of pluralism, which is primarily concerned into a multi-faceted world with many genuine views and interpretations. Philosophers of this new kind of legitimacy are re-evaluating man's relations to others, himself and to the environment⁴².

What should be at stake in Olympism is that of a proper balance between its traditions and the new pluralistic humanism. Similarly, sport has already been surpassed this necessity. Indeed, a few scholars are reshaping a new humanism for sport activities by tracing their institutional and scientific domination in contrast to the growing search for autonomy by participants⁴³. For Jose Maria Cagigal, early in 1980, this dichotomy between control and self-determinism should be contended in terms of macro-relations and micro-relations: the former as barriers to humanism and the latter as development of human values⁴⁴.

To date, pluralist forms of humanism are prevailing. The characteristic dichotomy of present-day sport should be seen as a moral dilemma, here understood by a choice between domination and autonomy. In a broader context these opposites are pervasive and involve many of today's social relations, becoming contradictory in many ways. But to traditional institutions and lines of thought, that opposition often becomes a paradox or any other interpretation. Ellen Paul et al., reviewers of pluralism as an issue of philosophy and epistemology, assert:

“The (western science) tradition acknowledges pluralism in the positive sense, but rejects it in the normative sense: it acknowledges the existence of a diversity of cultures and moral beliefs, but denies that the validity of beliefs and practices can vary across cultures”⁴⁵.

Placing the focus on the historical search for universal truths as a distinctive cultural tradition of the West, the same authors make a conclusion also suggestive to the debate on Olympism issue: "as societies become more pluralistic, and as cultural issues become increasingly divisive, moral philosophy needs to take account of the diversity of cultural traditions"⁴⁶.

This assertion refers to Olympism as well, as far as recent studies presented to the International Olympic Academy scrutinize dilemmas, oppositions, paradoxes and other constraints of the Olympic Movement worldwide ⁴⁷. Then, philosophically the practical meaning of Olympism is more concerned with cultural claims than with scientific or pedagogical prescriptions. This argument moreover may be further re-elaborated by the productive metaphors of *homo athleticus* and *homo symbolicus* in order to explain the cultural pitfalls of Olympism. In principle, while athleticism requires control in macro-relations, the symbolic identity of man in his pluralistic environment comprises values and contingent experiences in micro-relations, demanding after all a new approach to equilibrium.

At the outset of Olympism, eurhythmy aimed at providing harmony and prudence to excess, passion, autonomous and creative body actions or individual free-will embodied by *homo athleticus* everywhere in this world. Today, *homo symbolicus* , on behalf of a pluralistic version of Olympism, should master and control his or her sport involvements by measure, wisdom or harmony in actions. Summarizing, for a new Olympism the notion of eurhythmy should be primarily addressed to *homo symbolicus* , with less attention to the long-admired *homo athleticus*.

While eclecticism can be seen as the missing link in the history of the idea of Olympism, eurhythmy presupposes holding the unitary and central foundation of Olympism at the same measure that equilibrium of man can be set in regarding each specific cultural identity. Overall, the right

measure is the local measure. Under such condition, pluricultural Olympism is a viable humanism. However, the self-circumscription adopted by Olympic leaders and scientists of sport in putting the Olympic idea into practice does not match such a theoretical construction.

Here, again, we might encounter an inspirational path in Coubertin's writings in order to solve the problem of local measure. Following there is one of his most meaningful statement regarding the multiple views of Olympism:

“L' Olympism n'est point un système, c'est un état d'sprit. Le formule les plus diverses peuvent s'en pénétrer et il n' appartient ni à une race ni à une époque de s'en attribuer le monopole exclusive”⁴⁸.

On account of this position we may finally return to French cultural milieu. In the past, much of the project of Olympism was articulated by the “sprit de geometrie” with which French intellectuals comprehended the world in the eighteenth century. By 1897, during the Le Havre Congress, Coubertin used the “sprit de finesse” — another typical French creation — to reconcile opposites. Should this strategy be contemporarily employed to build a pluricultural Olympism?

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CHAPTER 4

Anchoring Olympism in eurhythmics: equilibrium between extremes or balanced conflict- resolution?

The unity of proposals concerning to the Olympic idea is an original formulation either in terms of Olympism or Olympic Movement, since the Pierre de Coubertin's early writings from the late 19th century. The "Final Document" issued by the Centennial Olympic Congress (Paris, September 3rd, 1994) reflected this tradition when declaring that event as

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“the Congress of Unity”¹. However, for Coubertin, “unity” might be understood as playing a regulatory role jointly with justice and beauty. This foundational option was exposed in one of his texts from 1914:

“La justice dénonce l’excès, à ses yeux cause initiale de tous les maux. L’unité applique la classification qui conduit, croi-elle, à la coordination si désirable. La beauté compte sur un esthétisme fondamental qui existerait en puissance au fond de chacun de nous et qu’il suffirait de réveiller”².

Coubertin was right of course in his contention that the conception of unity stood in need of enlargement. The broader and interchangeable meaning of “unity” was finally forwarded by him in the context of equilibrium of man facing the complexity and challenges of life³. This particular notion of equilibrium is still embedded in present-days Olympic Charter to which the essential goal of Olympism is to place “everywhere sport at the service of the harmonious development of man”⁴. Moreover, the Charter defines Olympism as “a philosophy of life, exalting and combining in a balance whole the qualities of body, will and mind”⁵, as emphasized in previous Chapters of this book.

To have understood the polymorphous character of Olympism is presumptively to have rendered the Charter’s principles useless for utilitarian purposes. Conversely, as we have demonstrated elsewhere⁶, the *prima facie* notion of equilibrium of man was adopted by Coubertin as a result of the philosophy of eclecticism followed by him last century in addition to the conception of eurhythmia as the framework of Olympism, also found extensively in his writings.

Hence when we project the use of Olympism into practical life, it is always necessary to invoke a reference to equilibrium

facing the tensions naturally originated from a process of adaptation to the “balance whole”. In this Chapter, we will briefly re-elaborate the notion of eurhythmmy giving more substance to those earlier standpoints referred to Olympism. This clarification will pretentiously make a distinction between two modes of treating eurhythmmy concerning its key role in Olympism: (1) as a social and environmental integration and (2) as an eclectic composition.

The functionalist eurhythmics

The first approach to eurhythmics then may hang on the functionalist sociology of Talcott Parsons, supported additionally by norms and values. This proposal was primarily forward by Messing and Mueller ⁷ in 1999 and then consolidated in the 5th International Symposium for Olympic Research (Sydney, 2000) ⁸.

For these Olympic scholars from the Research Team Olympia - University of Mainz, eurhythmmy according to Coubertin was a “spiritual attitude” into which the pleasure from excess - typical of sports competitions - would comply with the pleasure from measure ⁹. By extension, as also interpreted by Messing & Mueller introducing their investigation in this theme ¹⁰, although this definition

“does not regard Olympism as a system but a spiritual attitude, his thoughts on eurhythmics expressed in numerous works can be systematically arranged and amplified. To this end four components of eurhythmics will be distinguished following Parsons’ classification of society in a cultural, social, personal and organic system of action, which are embedded in a ‘physical environment’ as a fifth component”.

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Effectively, the argument of a multifaceted eurhythmia seeking for order, balance and harmony in different walks of life, turn out to be convincing through the review made by Messing & Mueller with the texts from Coubertin's life-time ¹¹. Despite the difference of purposes from Parsons' categories, Coubertin's all-encompassing views of the world apparently lead to a system perspective allied to a primacy of norms and values. Even in empirical terms, Messing & Mueller have confirmed the adequacy of eurhythmia to the Cultural Programs from contemporary Olympic Games, again using a functionalist approach¹².

Perhaps, this overall adequacy may be explained by the opposites binary often envisaged by Coubertin in his writings, that is, "tension-balance" and "soft balance of powers", also described by Messing & Mueller by means of quotations ¹³. The former category is frequently recognized today by environmentalists as a conflict-resolution composition ¹⁴ ; the latter is ascribed by Coubertin to human matters that "resemble a pendulum, which strives after a balance, but which it reaches only momentarily on its untiringly followed way from one extreme to the other"¹⁵.

Here the metaphor of pendulum represents the link with the interpretation of eurhythmia as a philosophical eclectic composition. This second path of searching an explanation to that Coubertin's notion has been developed by DaCosta since 1997 by the way of exploring the idea of equilibrium of man¹⁶. Then in 2000 this author consolidate his arguments favoring the close relationship between eurhythmia and eclecticism ¹⁷.

The eclectic eurhythmia

Certainly, the French eclecticism was an important direction of thought in early 19th century, being understood as "a doctrine that conciliates all systems, integrating all facts

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which consolidate them”¹⁸. Of course, matters become more complicated if eclectic interpreters lack of a unified perspective. But Coubertin, as an adherent of eclecticism, searched that much-needed unification in terms of eurhythmy, grounded by him as a “proportion”¹⁹ :

“L’emploi ce terme proportion mais ce n’est pas celui que je voudrais employer. Le terme venant de soi-même sous ma plume serait celui d’eurythmie. Mais à cet égard nous entendons mal entre Français et Allemand. Les Allemands considèrent que, dans le mot grec “eurythmie”, c’est l’idée de rythme que domine. En français, on prête surtout attention à la première syllabe. On évoque d’abord l’idée de beau, de parfait. Est eurythmique tout ce qui est bien proportionné. L’Hellénisme a, par excellence, préconisé la mesure, la proportion créatrice de beauté, de grâce et de force associées. Il nous faut sous ce rapport revenir vers les conceptions helléniques pour contrebalancer les effrayantes laideurs de l’âge industriel que nous venons de traverser”.

The emphasis, therefore, should be put on the contrast between “excess” and “measure” also asserted by Messing & Mueller in their review. As Coubertin wrote, “sport moves towards excesses... that is the core of the problem but at the same time it is nobility and even its poetic charm”²⁰. In another meaningful account he declared that excess is the sport’s *première raison d’être* because sport is a passion, worthy of being controlled by wisdom²¹. If reviewed today, these lack of measure might be ultimately addressed to the extreme of a continuum in which eurhythmy should stand in the opposite side. Of course, there should be eclectic combinations playing the mediation role between those extremes.

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So, by all means, eurhythmism is presumably a “law” of equilibrium applied to achievements in sport, naturally submitted to excess. However, in terms of philosophical argument, the condition of equilibrium is necessary but not sufficient, because Olympism deals with individual’s autonomous and creative sport actions. Then it is quite understandable that Coubertin’s alternative to frame Olympism in a desirable framework of unification was to appeal for an eclectic assemblage of excess and eurhythmism. Interestingly enough, Coubertin spent most of his life-time seeking legitimacy of his proposals in history; or, last but not least, selecting combinations between extremes ²².

The Janus-faced eurhythmism

Overall, in spite of this on-going process of conceptual development, the nexus of eurhythmism gave a direction to Olympism but not necessarily internal coherence. While eclecticism can be seen today as the missing link in the history of the idea of Olympism, eurhythmism presupposes holding the unification meaning of the Olympic credo since Coubertin’s times.

As such, one could finally endorse the understanding that both approaches to eurhythmism are valid in terms of outcome: integration, as rendering balanced conflict-resolution solutions; and composition, as representing an equilibrium between contrasting components. Indeed, these approaches in today’s state of knowledge are apparently contradictory and even sometimes complementary. In brief, Olympism may be anchored in both focus of eurhythmism which aims to integrate (direction) and make compositions (state of balance).

Historically speaking, there are evidences of the Janus-faced interpretation of eurhythmism. Actually, the ancient Olympic

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Games in Greece when analyzed by the category of *ekeicheria* (truce) had its focus put on integration. In turn, those Games when reviewed by its cosmopolitarian roots become a case of composition.

In a recent study, we have demonstrate that the interplay between the traditional order and the diversity of adhesions characterized Olympia in Ancient Greece as a pilgrim's *locus* of reference, as seem today in Mecca, Jerusalem and Santiago de Compostela ²³. Furthermore, these *genius loci* act historically as a dramatization of cultural or religious identity. Concerning to Olympia, Nikos Yalouris have mapped several preconditions to establish a panhellenic consciousness in that remote part of Greek peninsula, being the Olympic Games the main feature ²⁴.

Furthermore, Yalouris discloses the fact that the Olympic Games had acquired an ecumenical character after 212 a.d., during the Roman domination in Greece ²⁵ :

“Now not only Greeks or Italians were declared Olympic victors, but also Egyptians, Spaniards, Armenians and others, all those who were Roman citizens and recipients of Greek education. The Olympiads now belonged to the whole world.”

In all, the cosmopolitanism of the Games joined different cities-state based in the panhellenic appeal. Then the *pax romana* proved its effectiveness gathering different ethnic group as well as keeping the traditional Greek rituals. Summarizing, the cultural identity firstly developed by the ancient Olympiads was referred to similitude and afterwards by difference.

Though the inconsistency between transmission and reception of Olympic values is often disclosed by researchers - as Manfred Messing did when investigating discrepancies of cultural Olympiads of Barcelona and Atlanta ²⁶ - the same

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cannot be said in relation to similitude and difference. Perhaps, the former contrast is more discernible as detected by communication oscillations, while the latter seems to be a mutual adaptation of elements, that is, the Coubertin's *première raison d'être* of Olympism.

Could we, by means of conclusion, suggest for Olympism sake that the integration approach to define eurhythmics is a search of sameness and the composition approach otherwise is a search of the otherness?

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CHAPTER 5

Searching the optimum dimensions for the games: gigantism or sustainability?

In 2002, in the aftermath of 1999 - 2000 IOC moral crisis, the Olympic scholars Barney, Wenn and Martyn published the book "Selling the Five Rings" ¹, just after the new president of IOC, Jacques Rogge, took the office. From this broad assessment of "the rise of Olympic commercialism", those authors have forwarded in their conclusions key questions to be answered by the new IOC leader, such as ²: will he confront the doping problem effectively? Will he ensure equity for

women in Olympic decision-making? To whom the Games are for - the athletes or the world of business? Will he limit the growth and/or reduce the size of the Games? Will he give due regard to environmental concerns at prospective Olympic sites?

Having the two last questions as points of departure, this Chapter traces the circumstances in which the gigantism of the Games has been setting up against the sustainability principle - one of the pillars of today's Olympism -, and explores how these opposites may find a balanced composition. In this particular overview it is important to make initially known that the Olympic Games is an outstanding business opportunity since each monetary unit invested in this mega-event has a multiplier effect of of one hundred units (ROI = 100:1) ³. This figure was consolidated in the 2000 Sydney Games as a result of two decades of financial and marketing improvements carried on by the IOC and the OCOGs from Summer and Winter Games in their stage of gigantism already ⁴.

Although the case of Sydney Games cannot be generalized, there is a growing concern on the wealthy economic benefits of the Olympic mega-events despite the claims against their dimensions, which bring negative impacts on local culture, society and environment. Arguably, it may be identified in recent years a vicious circle as defined by the Olympic Movement's worldwide management that is supported by the revenues from the Games, which in turn represent hidden costs in terms of ecological harassment of many kinds.

Holger Preuss, a Olympic scholar specialized in the bidding process of Olympic Games host cities, facing the accusations against gigantism in economic terms has pointed out more precisely the IOC option in order to avoid ambivalence ⁵:

“There is a public perception that it is the IOC itself who fuels the ‘over-commercialization’ of the Games. In point of fact, the IOC is the

superordinate system that regulates the commercialization. It is not only aware of the threat posed by 'over-commercializing' the Games but is also effectively fighting the issue. The measures taken to control the financing sources reflect the IOC efforts to fight over-commercialization”

In sum, here it is another example of a continuum between opposites from which the optimum dimensions of Games are still understated and unrest with negative repercussion towards cultural, social and natural environment. Let's then pursue the connections between environmental issues and Olympism matters.

For most International Federations, National Olympic Committees and National Olympic Academies, supposedly the word “environment” represents a new responsible concern either as highlighted in the Centennial Olympic Congress (Paris, 1994) or by the inclusion of an eco-friendly recommendation in the Olympic Chart (Rule 2, paragraph 13 of 1996 version). Most participants of the Olympic Family, too, might have heard of “sustainable development” as well as of the call for actions referred to this concept conducted by the International Olympic Committee – IOC In fact, these sharing responsibilities have been putting forward for consideration since 1992 then becoming more visible among candidate cities in the Olympic Games bidding.

In 1997, the book “Environment and Sport - an International Overview” (L.P. DaCosta, editor) was launched containing historical and epistemological links between Olympic leaders and institutions and environmental knowledge production ⁶. In this case, Olympism stood up as the ultimate set of principles and values that goes beyond instrumental conceptions or actions developed by the Olympic community

at large. Moreover, the IOC was seen in this collective book as well promoting environmental issues, but the desirable educational content of these interventions was yet lacking in value judgement, which typifies both educational processes and ethical claims.

In short, the green innovations should be complete if they could be encapsulated by value commitments in equal conditions of technological solutions as those promoted by IOC environmental agenda during the 1990s decade. It follows from this, then, that when education narrows its scope by giving priority to instrumentalism, it reduces the accumulation of culturally relevant knowledge ⁷.

Not surprisingly, the “Manual on Sport and the Environment” published by the IOC also in 1997 proposed “three pillars” for giving significance to Olympism: sport, culture and environment (pages 9 and 69), suggesting the acknowledgement of cultural values as a basis for righteous intervention but without noting the much-needed call for actions. More specifically, the “Manual” favored environmental policy and management instead of ethical values as the backdrop of natural resources protection when focusing the Olympic Games.

Theoretically speaking, in the grounds of environmentalism there are current philosophical studies, otherwise, that attempts to identify value building as a matter of experience added to life’s achievements when natural things are concerned ⁸. In other words, without practice the environmental values are of limited applicability in any cultural setting. So Holmes Rolston, who defines ecology as an “ethical science”, expresses suggestively:

“We found value holders defending their values and fitted into the larger narratives of life. Natural facts of this kind are storied doings (Latin: *factum*, a deed) with their value (Latin: *valere*, to be worth) integral to their having managed to

happen. In such a story every achievement is to be viewed intrinsically and instrumentally”⁹.

By these accounts, the main presupposition of this Chapter is that the Olympic Games are becoming a model of environment and sport interplay and under this condition the value of sustainability might be a central one for educational, ethical and environmental friendly purposes as well as for future redefinition of Olympism. Moreover, the suggested interplay may also be a narrative, which brings more meaning to place claims and deeds in the meta-narrative of Olympism, similarly to previous accounts of the present book.

Ethics into action

In the 100-year history of the modern Olympic Games, the idea and the institutions committed to them have been in jeopardy, when submitted to internal excesses or external attacks. Today, the Coubertins’s legacy still strives for excellence in sport associated to peace-bringing and other cardinal points of civility. Conversely, the Olympic institutions promote excellence but with hesitation and uncompromising efforts. Thus, moral values and pedagogy are in short supply contrasting to an ever-expanding Olympic Movement in worldwide scale. This portrays Coubertinian proposals in a contemplative ethics in oppositions to an active and pragmatic ideology assumed by most of his followers.

Indeed, the Olympic ambiguity of nowadays is mainly referred to a supposedly mixture of idealism and pragmatic decision making¹⁰. As the Olympic Movement remains attached to the success of the Games, the criticism of their deviations seem to go hand in hand. In fact, the future of the Olympic idea depends on the integrity of everyone involved

as much as the skills required to balance innovations and traditions ¹¹. The involvement with environmentalism in the last decade put to the test the adaptability of the Olympic family, having as a central protagonist the IOC, in view of keeping new compromises without losing essential principles.

In retrospect, the 1992 Winter Games in Albertville had a negative environmental impact in their host prized alpine region: landslides, road building, deforestation, disruption of natural habitat, permanent facilities without post-event use, non-recyclable waste and other largely uncounted costs. As a result, the Albertville Games were the first ever to have their opening ceremony preceded by a local community's protest march on behalf of their natural surroundings and quality of life. Yet in 1992, the Council of Europe voted for a resolution favoring ecologically concerned sports and condemning the repetitions of Albertville environmental abuses ¹².

These rejections later on became milestones of the new quest usually coined "environmental friendly sport" which includes necessarily the greening of the Games. Moreover, the year 1992 was a seminal one both for sport and global environmental concerns: the Earth Summit (United Nations Conference on Environment and Development) was held in Rio de Janeiro as well as the President of IOC, Juan Antonio Samaranch, publicly recognized the priority of an environmental agenda for preservations of the Olympic heritage ¹³. Shortly after this declaration, the IOC adopted the "sustained development" concept which is referred to as the desirable balance between expending and conserving natural resources at any level of organization of life on Earth ¹⁴.

The call for sustainability

The sustained development proposal for the IOC represented a link with the final declaration from the Earth

Summit, subscribed by over one hundred countries. In other words, the IOC since that event has been in line with the global plan that aims at providing productive and healthy life in harmony with nature. This comprehensive blueprint for humanity - a set of objectives often named as "Agenda 21" - proposes first and foremost the "reduction and elimination of non-sustainable production and consumption patterns"¹⁵. For this guideline, since 1993 the elected sites for the Olympic Games became focuses to sustainability in conforming to specific recommendations issued by IOC ¹⁶.

Actually, Lillehammer 1994 and Sydney 2000 showcased the Olympic Games with the green profile envisaged by IOC. Both cities coincided in calling upon a redefinition of sport management and facilities with contracts of sustainability. Lillehammer, prior to 1992, opened a process of negotiation after initial demonstrations and protest against the Games. Sydney followed the lead during the year 2000 Games bid, establishing previously partnerships with environmentalist movements.

In all, the experience of Lillehammer promoted environmental awareness and innovative techniques of environmental protection by practical examples. The 2000 Sydney Olympic Games adopted similar core principles developed in association with the Greenpeace Movement ¹⁷. Significantly, Lillehammer and Sydney stand today as narratives of the new Olympic mystique based in ecological values and achievements.

However, only in the bid for the 2004 Games the sustainability requirement were performed by all candidate-cities in spite of the prevailing diversity of interpretations in fulfilling the IOC criteria of eligibility. In this concern, Table 1 shows a brake-down analysis of the IOC Evaluation Commission's assessment completed in 1997 for hosting the 2004 Games. Referred to theme no.4 of the evaluation system, namely "Environmental Protection", the planned scrutiny selected three perceived categories of approach as assumed by

the eleven candidate-cities: overall, point-specific and preliminary engagement in the concept and technology of sustainability¹⁸.

This reappraisal of the IOC Evaluation Commission's fact-finding, also included central rationales followed by the candidate-cities as perceived in each item of the assessment related to theme no.4 by means of successive comparisons. Therefore, Table 1 transfers to a quantitative review the previous qualitative descriptions of the Evaluation Commission's methodology in order to identify status-trends instead of situational features. In this new meaningful arrangement the detected rationales are merely indications of modes of interpreting sustainability in the bidding process, implying so far in the methodology of benchmarking.

Summarizing, the analysis of Table 1 emphasized as a dominating approach the "overall actions and principles" found in nearly half of the facts chartered by the IOC assessment. To a lesser extent "point-specific interventions" encompassed ongoing environmental projects for 2004, if excluded the theme of "cooperation with NGOs" which presupposes a decentralized focus to be implemented. The "preliminary studies and initiatives" represented the bottom-line of the assessment what had been stressed by a major quantitative participation of waste, sewage and energy in this item of Table 1 assemblage. Conclusively, "environmental programme", "awareness programme" and "cooperation with NGOs" by their identified central rationales were likely to be supportive to "impact assessment" and the other four direct thematic involvements with sustainability of the Games: transportation, waste, sewage and energy.

Table 2 is also significant to review the 132 facts collected from the assessment, once the same three approaches to technical implementation of sustainability are now framed in a benchmarking of each candidate-city, including their

classification as finalist or not during the 1997 process of selection. Again the overall actions and principles are confirmed in addition to define the best candidates' profile: Athens (the winner to host the 2004 Games), Cape Town, Rome and Stockholm, all of them with less point-specific or preliminary environmental engagements.

Table 1
Bidding for the Olympic Games - 2004 (1997)
Environmental fact-finding assessment (n = 132)

Items	Broad actions and principles	Point-specific interventions	Preliminary studies and initiatives	Central rationales
Impact Assessment	12	6	4	Minimal Damage
Environmental Programme	16	6	-	Integrated Management
Awareness Programme	6	5	-	Public Information
Cooperation with NGO's	8	10	4	Consultation Process
Transportation	10	8	4	Technology Development
Waste	3	2	6	Recycling and Re-use
Sewage	3	3	5	Water Save, Clean and Re-use
Energy	3	4	4	Minimization of Consumption
TOTAL	61	44	27	132
PERCENTAGE	46.2	33.3	20.04	100

Table 2
Bidding For The Olympic Games - 2004 (1997)
Environmental Fact-Finding Assessment (N = 132)
Candidate-Cities Approaches

Cities	Broad actions and principles	Point-specific interventions	Preliminary studies and initiatives	Finalists yes/no
Athens	8	3	1	Y
Buenos Aires	4	5	3	Y
Cape Town	8	4	-	Y
Istanbul	7	3	2	N
Lille	5	5	2	N
Rio de Janeiro	7	3	2	N
Rome	6	2	4	Y
San Juan	4	4	4	N
Seville	3	7	2	N
Stockholm	7	3	2	Y
St. Petersburg	2	5	5	N
TOTAL	61	44	27	132
PERCENTAGE	46,2	33,3	20,4	100

Buenos Aires, as also a finalist, remained as an exception for trusting in an already existing “corridor of eco-friendly facilities” from which the bidding proposal was adapted by specific interventions ¹⁹.

Actually, Tables 1 and 2 reviews delineate the importance given by the IOC to social contract as a means of developing sustainability. This desirable mutual understanding between parties directly of indirectly involved in environmental achievements of candidate-city is even part of the assessment with 22 facts particularly chartered by the Evaluation Commission. As such, the urban reform planning elaborated

in 2001 for the City of Florianopolis, located in southern Brazil, turn out to be an example of developing an “Olympic city” for using the social contract methodology ²⁰.

Therefore, at least for the bidding to host the 2004 Olympic Games, the IOC adopted an idealistic role typical of the Agenda 21 recommendations, blended with a somewhat pragmatic sharing approach. This role does not correspond to the traditions of the Olympic Movement, as far as the IOC is advocating and promoting a new ethics for the Olympic Games and sport in general.

The underlying issue of this proactive positioning of IOC is that ecological contract associated to eco-efficiency is playing a major role in the bidding process. In effect, the Evaluation Commission for the 2004 Games declared explicitly its main criterion as “the best conditions for the best athletes of the world in environmentally friendly venues” ²¹. Such ethically-based innovation and shift of values took only five years to be consolidate in terms of Olympic bid, accounting the reference year of 1992 for the adoption of sustained development proposal as well as Agenda 21 recommendations. Thus far, for the sake of this Chapter’s interrogations, the IOC has been giving due regard to environmental concerns at prospective Olympic sites.

Toward a sustained Olympism

This successful result may be compared either in analytical or explanatory terms with the long-standing discussion on amateurism, which persisted in Olympic family for almost one century. Or even on women participation and on the gigantism of the Games, both subsisting since the 1910s. In a more directly assumption, the unusual response from IOC to the environmentalism quest proved the capacity-building of the Olympic Movement when exposed to external pressures, but

it did not disprove the possibility of existing internal resistance to change or to update traditions and values. Rather, this retraditionalization drive would explain the successive delay in controlling the gigantism of the quadrennial Olympic celebration.

Whatever we consider the present IOC context, the consequences of the short term and preliminary adherence to sustainability may be identified in two explanatory positions. The first, manageable by the Olympic family, is referred to redefinition of sport and Olympism similarly to all other walks of life in the upcoming sustainable world. The second, less tractable, links the Olympic Movement to the global meaning and progress of environmental protection. So far, at present days both positions have been recurring from conceptions to normative statements and intervention directions and standards. Let's then ascertain the influence of these trends on the much-needed control of the gigantism of the Games.

Unlike well-established traditions of progress and development, environmentalism has been seeking for balanced proportions in all life's expectations. This should be particularly true to modern sport and the Olympic Games; both emerged from the idea of progress so influential in last century's social changes ²². But, despite the recent ecology-oriented advances, the Olympic family is far from the environmental responsibility either as a "key tenant" of the Olympic Movement or as a "fundamental principle" of the Olympic Charter, in conformity with the 1994 Centennial Olympic Congress recommendations.

When environmental trials are acknowledged by Olympic institutions traditional paradoxes of Olympism reappear. Because ever upward is the Olympic creed - that is *citius, altius, fortius* - the ecological awareness of recent Olympic Games experiences have enlighten the excess of sport as much as revisited its necessary limits.

With less exaltation, the paradox of "bigger is better, smaller is perfect" related to contemporary sport may be reshaped in

an ecological argument. Actually, the increasing participation in sport availed by intensive use of technology, either in leisure or in top sport practices, is not being followed by ecologically responsible limits. Conversely, mass participation and even some top-level athletes are becoming driving forces of environmentally correct sport in reason of closer contact with nature. Though in these cases a balance between healthy practices and unhealthy impacts seems to be difficult to establish, sport for all - another Coubertin's legacy - should be allowed to continue to increase up to a point that will lead to a level of impact ²³.

The key to resolving the paradox, then, is answering the question "how much participation increase and technology are too much?". Here lie the fundamentals to build a concept of "sustainable sport". Again, this dependable redefinition should disregard the antagonist role eventually played by sports embedded in natural sites. Given such a resource-oriented view for establishing limits on sport's unacceptable impacts it is obvious that this framework must be augmented by the consideration of human values. Despite the reservations about Olympism concept itself, concerns on the sustainability required by sport can be made with regard to that set of ideals and moral values.

The judgment of a desired Olympism rooted in environmental principles can be appropriately made in the Olympic Charter context in which "Olympism is a philosophy of life, exalting and combining in a balanced whole the qualities of body, will and mind" ²⁴. Should the "balanced whole" be scrutinized by an ecological mind-set, the interpretation would naturally refer to sustainability. Similarly, the goals of Olympism as proposed by the Charter, fit quite well in the Olympic family's adaptations to environmental guidelines here previously described. Thus, if "Olympism seeks to create a way of life based on the joy in effort, the educational value of

good example and respect for universal fundamental ethical principles”, then the IOC with its sustainable compromise, in addition to Olympic Games sites’ new ecological approaches, are in line with both Olympism and environmentalism. Therefore, for the modification of Olympic Charter as mentioned before, a suitable suggestion is to introduce the expression “balanced and sustainable whole” in the present definition of Olympism.

Nevertheless, these recommendations are ineffective in terms of seeking a binding definition of Olympism or given more clarification to its philosophy ²⁵. Notwithstanding, similar limitations are detected in environmentalism, which is still searching deeper knowledge content and actual philosophical foundations. In this sense, the advances identified in the issue of ecology is explained by the social contract approach assumed by individuals, groups and institutions dealing in urgency with widely spread environmental threats ²⁶.

Conclusively, the agreements of partnership have typified most of the environmental relationships, including the already reported examples of Lillehammer and Sydney. As far as this contractual solution may link social actors and institutional bodies in local, national and international levels, the IOC is entitled to raise its global responsibilities in terms of environmental protection.

Sustained Olympism v. gigantism of the Games

Hypothetically, the gigantism of Games remained untouched even during the 2000 IOC reform as referred to the following main reasons: (1) the Olympic Games are still keeping the strong support from by the public opinion despite the concern that “they lost their original ideals” after the 1999 scandal; (2) the environmental claims have met a balanced

position with technological contributions for greening the Games, consequently reshaping the IOC traditional pragmatism and avoidance of radical changes.

With respect to public opinion, an international survey sponsored by the IOC after the 1999 crisis had revealed that 66% of respondents from eleven countries agreed with the statement "Nothing brings the world together like the Olympics". Conversely, 43% of the respondents had agreed with the lost of ideals, while 35% disagreed and 22% did not know the answer ²⁷, therefore confirming the widely accepted image of the Games. Concerning the empowerment of the IOC-led decision-making after the conflicting relationships with environmentalists in the 1990s, a short review of the Olympic family status trends in terms of eco-friendly sport policies may illuminate the problem of the Games' uncontrolled growth.

Now the source of information is the World Conference on Sport and the Environment held in Rio de Janeiro (October 1999) and promoted by the IOC. In this event the major focus of interest was forwarded as the commitments searched by the Agenda 21 descriptive procedures and by the prescriptive statements favouring environmental sound sport practices. Table 3 depicts the preferred themes of presentations of that 1999 Conference within which the values-led themes occupied the 4th, 5th and 6th positions, while the 1st, 2nd and 3rd positions were related to instrumental interventions in the environment.

Table 3
3rd World Conference On Sport and
the Environment - 1999
Preferred Themes Of Presentations (N = 37)

ORDER		NUMBER PAPERS	PERCENTAGE X TOTAL
First	Institutional reports / future perspectives	10 (*)	27.0
Second	Management, Procedures and Standards	9	24.3
Third	Agenda 21 implementation and governance	6	16.2
Forth	Ethics, behavior and governance	5	13.5
Fifth	Events and promotion	5	13.5
Sixth	Education and culture	2	5.4

(*) Mostly IOC, National Olympic Committees, International Federations and UNDP

The low engagement with sustainable values reflects thereby the gradual development of a technological mainstream on the issue of sport and environment since 1992. In retrospect, that year marks the signature of the Earth Pledge by the IOC, the National Olympic Committees - NOC and the International Federations- FI. And key issues on sport and environment in international grounds began henceforth to address the institutional commitments, the development of norms and standards in addition to educational improvements and legacy enhancement. The 1999 Conference finally joined representatives of 93 NOC and of 19 International Federations, an unprecedented participation taking into account the international sport level of relationships with the environment.

However, on account of hypothesis no. 2 presented above, the success of the IOC environmental agenda in terms of Olympic family adherence might be understood also as a

balanced position obtained with external pressures from environmentalist movement. A rethinking of this stalemate position then may be made by comparing the IOC involvement with worldwide management trends in the scope of sustainability. After all, the environmental stewardship that has been exhibited by the IOC and its affiliates since 1992 has correspondences with the overall international challenges and achievements.

For this purpose, the source of information is a survey developed in 1999 joining experts, environmental institutes and the United Nations Agencies. The United Nations Environment Programme - UNDP, the main influential partner of IOC for environmental visions and actions, aiming to tackle existing problems and to point out serious new threats, implemented this investigation. Following there is a summary of the "Global Environmental Outlook- 2000", the report published by the UNDP, putting forward the major issues identified in the study with percentage of respondents mentioning issue: ²⁸

- (1st) Freshwater scarcity and pollution - 57 %
- (2nd) Climate change - 51 %
- (3rd) Deforestation and desertification - 28 %
- (4th) Poor governance - 27 %
- (5th) Loss of biodiversity - 23 %
- (6th) Population growth and movement - 22 %
- (7th) Changing social values - 21 %
- (8th) Waste disposal - 20 %
- (9th) Air pollution - 20 %
- (10th) Soil deterioration - 18 %.

Summing up, "poor governance" was detected as the 4th choice among 36 critical environmental issues, most of them with less than 18 % citations from a total of 200 environmental

experts from 50 countries. This selected issue related to both Agenda 21 requirements and environmental ethics claims may be certainly included among those problems that exist now but which are not receiving enough policy attention. Therefore, the previous suggested change of international main sport institutions in their central approaches to the environment protection and legacy may be matched with the “poor governance” problem detected in the more encompassing perspectives of environmental matters.

Notwithstanding, most of the threats listed in hierarchical order by the UNDP outlook for the 21st century have been acknowledged since the eloquent warnings for “saving the Earth” of the 1970s. The novelty here is the lack of adequate governance, often dependent of operational appropriateness and ethical basis. Another feature revealed by the governance factor put now in such high importance among other historical problems, is the weakness of the Agenda 21 when dealing with powerful partners in the transition to environmental sound use of resources. The recent overthrow of the Kyoto Protocol for the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions is strongly confirming the key importance of poor governance in addition to the lack of eco-friendly policies ²⁹.

Should “poor governance” be equally related to the longstanding delayed decision in order to limit the growth or reduce the size of the Games, finally we would conclude that the IOC must develop a new leadership and values-led profile in its commitments with sustainability. This proactive initiative would also imply in giving the right measure to sustainable technology’s contributions, reinforcing so far the idea of sustainable Olympism. After all, as we have learned from Eco-philosophy, in environmental narratives every achievement is to be viewed intrinsically and instrumentally.

Notes

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8. Rolston, H., *Philosophy Gone Wild – Environmental Ethics*, Prometheus Book, New York, pp. 128-133.
9. *Ibidem*, p. 133.
10. Da Costa, L. P., *The Central Problems of Olympism in the Face of the Constraints of Commercialization*, I.O.A., Report of 32nd Session, July 1992, *Ancient Olympia*, pp. 77-84.

11. Ibidem, p.78.
12. Da Costa, L. P., The Olympic Movement Today and the Environment Protection, IOA, 37th Session Report, July 1997, Ancient Olympia.
13. Da Costa L. P., "Environment and Sport", p. 66.
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15. United Nations, The Rio Declaration on Environment and Development. Rio de Janeiro, 1992.
16. Pound, R.W., Op. Cit., pp.14-21.
17. See SOCOG, Environment Report, Sydney, July 1999, p.25.
18. International Olympic Committee, Report of the I.O.C. Evaluation Commission for the Games of the XXVIII Olympiad in 2004, Thomas Bach (Chairman), Lausanne, 20 th January 1997. The Theme no. 4 of the "Report" from the Evaluation Commission, as published in 1997, has 165 facts described in a matrix with 15 items of assessment related to 11 candidate-cities. Besides 132 facts analyzed in Tables 1 and 2, there are 22 referred to endorsement by government agencies and to guarantees from competent authorities. Also eleven "other projects" fact-finding descriptions were not included in the present re-evaluation. The theme no. 4 matrix is located in pages 106-113 of the "Report".
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CHAPTER 6

Olympic globalization: sport geopolitics or IOC power politics?

Speaking in the opening session of the “Sport... The Third Millenium” International Symposium (IOC and Quebec City) in 1990, John MacAloon advised that, in the future, Olympic leaders and scholars would have to give a higher priority to both diplomacy and mutual respect when international sport relationships were involved. This distinguished anthropologist in his statement argued that¹

“ Undoubtedly sport, both international and domestic, must remain vigilant against political

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interventions and interferences which do not serve the goals of Olympism. But neither this cause nor public appreciation for the positive world impact of sport today will any longer be served by maintaining a discourse of necessary and categorical antagonisms and separations between sport and politics”.

Although MacAloon’s focus referred to present-days, it is important to point out that Pierre de Coubertin, back in 1911, had already proposed a “géographie sportive qui peut differer parfois d’avec la géographie politique”². In more precise terms, Coubertin’s sport geography was contextualized in the “all games, all nations” doctrine, in which sports practiced by different cultures prevail over national boundaries³.

Coubertin’s perspective, therefore, approached a more recent interpretation of geography related to sport, in which sport sociologists and historians consider both space and location as focal points of their studies⁴. MacAloon, on the other hand, drew on a geopolitics based on cultural relativism when he set up future perspectives for both sport and Olympism. In his analysis, the “world culture” expression becomes relevant once the “deepest commitment of Olympism to intercultural understanding and mutual respect to proceed in the 21st century”⁵ is enhanced.

Assuming that MacAloon’s Olympic geopolitics is similar to Coubertin’s sport geography in respect to the agglutinative role of politics, we might otherwise presuppose that there has been a duality in terms of the IOC political maneuvers while treating different cultures and geographical spaces in worldwide perspectives. In other words, this conjecture stands as an IOC sport geopolitics that would have been mostly developed as a global expansion of the Committee’s influential power rather than a diplomatic means to improve the relationships among

sport organizations from different cultures additionally to local sport developments.

This chapter aims at providing a historical revision on IOC's interventions in practice regarding its global political interests. As an empirical support to this analysis, we intend to, at first, focus briefly on South America as a case study, starting from Pierre de Coubertin's interpretations and resulting interventions on the sport politics of that continent during the first half of the 20th century.

Coubertin - historian and geographer

The initial idea of Olympism as conceived by Coubertin had some undeniable influences from the history of sport, as the restorer of the Modern Olympic Games himself emphasized in his 1915 writings⁶. When Coubertin, the historian, adopted a geographer's point of view, cultural singularities from a certain region or country were explored through sport.

From Coubertin's extensive published work, therefore, Boulongne et al. (1998) listed forty articles on history and world perspectives, related to countries such as Ethiopia, Bulgaria, Australia, South Africa, Finland, Russia, etc.⁷. Also in this group, regions such as Europe, Oceania, Africa, Mediterranean, Arab world, German empire, Hispanic world and South America were included, the latter deserving from Coubertin a 27-page-brochure called "*A travers l'Histoire Sud-Américainé*" (Plon-Nourrit, Paris, 1916)⁸.

In this context, we might as well forward the assumption that Coubertin was strategically and culturally interested in South America, which may be seen by the insertions found in his writings when considering IOC's continental relationships. To begin with, this is what Coubertin states in his opening

speech at the International Olympic Committee Annual Session, held in Rome on April 6th, 1923⁹:

“On the other hand, one of us had been granted the honor to preside the first celebration of the Latin American Games, in Rio de Janeiro, September 1922. The Olympic Embassy spent six months working on it, going from La Plata to Mexico, from the Andes to Cuba, and this has brought to us the best of superb perspectives through which such a universality of the Games is confirmed – and this is what I consider as one of the most promising guarantees in terms of the future.”

Coubertin's auspicious comments are based on the then effective IOC policy that would make the Olympic movement become universal through Regional Games. But he also continued to pay individually attention to affiliate countries as formalized by Coubertin himself in an article he wrote for the '*Revue Olympique*' (IOC official magazine) in January 1913. In this article he evaluates the Olympic movement after the Olympic Games held in Stockholm in 1912¹⁰. In another article, '*Le Projet de Olympie Moderne et l'Avenir de Lausanne*', a brochure from 1918, Coubertin includes the South American continent as part of his expansion plans, naming it as '*Les Etats de Amerique du Sud*'¹¹. The same designation may be found in '*L'Amateurisme au Congrès de Prague*', a 1925 writing which makes a cultural distinction between the 'Latin' sport and the one practiced by those countries which have had an English influence¹².

Aside from the controversy between 'Latin America' and 'South America', the Baron was often somehow connected with that continent either by celebrating people or judging values, as it may be seen in the following notes: in 1894 he refers to

'Dr. Zubiatur' as being the representative of 'South America' among the 79 delegates from 13 countries responsible for the IOC creation¹³ ; in 1901 he pays a homage to Santos Dumont, who had Brazilian nationality, for the first Olympic Certificate granted to Olympic sport personalities¹⁴; in 1904, writing about a shooting competition held in Lyon, France, he makes an apologia for one of the participant countries: '*Très sportive l'Argentine*'¹⁵; in 1909, as far as how the Olympism is promoted, he mentions Mexico and Argentina, praising their '*intelligent ecletism*'¹⁶; in 1912 he emphasizes the good perspectives presented when Chile joined the Olympic movement, stating that '*Du Chile on ne peut dire encore qu'une chose, c'est que la question l'agite*'¹⁷.

Those expressive comments, very typical of Coubertin's '*sprit de finesse*', achieved their highest level during the 1914 Congress in Paris, when the five entwined rings in five different colors were presented as the Symbol of the Movement. On this occasion, after he had presented the Olympic rings, Coubertin talked over some geographical distribution which revealed his universal purposes¹⁸: "The blue and yellow from Sweden, the blue and white from Greece, the three-colored French, British, American, German, Belgian, Italian, Hungarian, the yellow and red from Spain, close to the innovations from Brazil and Australia and close to the old Japan and the young China. This is indeed an international badge".

The geopolitics of regional Games

In retrospective, the Latin American Games, held in September 1922, were actually a South American sport event included in the International Exhibition of Rio de Janeiro of that year. As such, those Games may have their impact assessed through two sources of information from local archives: the

programs of the 1922 Exhibition events filed in Rio's Historical and Geographic Institute¹⁹ and the report from the Physical Education National Commission of Uruguay, published in the '*Uruguay Sport*', its official magazine, in October 1922²⁰. In both documents, the period which was given most emphasis goes from September 6 through September 16, 1922.

By cross comparisons, it was acknowledged that Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay attended the event as representatives of the Latin American continent to compete for different types of sports such as athletics, boxing, tennis, fencing, swimming, springboard diving, water polo, equestrian, shooting and rowing. There was also a soccer competition associated with the Exhibition, not the Games, which included Paraguay among the other countries mentioned above.

The Fluminense Stadium, the largest sport facility found in Rio de Janeiro, was rebuilt in order to host the main competitions included in the Games' program. Besides this location, other privileged places, such as Botafogo Bay and Derby Club, held rowing and equestrian competitions, respectively. Other competitions were also held in the Brazilian Army premises, and there was a cross country competition all the way on Corcovado Hill - the city's most visited place - which anyone interested in could join. In all, in today's review this availability suggests that the Games were not marginal on account of the Exhibition's structure, as often ascribed to Paris (1900) and Saint Louis (1904) similar jointly events.

The attendees of the Games were invited by the then Brazilian Sports Confederation, including athletes and sport clubs according to the '*Uruguay Sport*'²¹. Through diplomatic channels, however, the Brazilian Government invited the Latin American governments, thus legitimating national representations. Therefore, the lack of international eligibility criteria for calling upon athletes in Latin America was compensated by a direct and explicit Governmental intervention.

Out of the fifty events included in the Exhibition Program, ten were sports events, a figure only equal to that of receptions and balls, which shows the outstanding importance of the Games and other sport activities during the 1922 Independence Centennial Festivities of the host country. The Exhibition Executive Commission also appointed an '*Athletic Games Commission*', as opposed to the other activities which were grouped by segments and whose hierarchy followed decisions from the management executive group.

Geopolitics versus power politics

In the following year, another issue of the 'Uruguay Sport' published the verbatim report written by the Count of Baillet-Latour, who had come to Rio de Janeiro as the IOC official representative for the Games²². The Count, who would become the IOC President in 1925, begins his narrative by stating how honored he was for having substituted for the then president in his visit to Latin America, thus disclosing that it was Coubertin himself who would have come. Baillet-Latour, then, summarizes his impressions about the mission he was in charge of ²³:

"The Games in Rio, as a whole, were not perfect; however, the criticism made to them was extremely exaggerated... The Games in Rio were also responsible for giving birth to a true wish to maintain the Latin American Games, considered to be the best way to prepare for the Olympic Games".

Before what the report classifies as "*the Steering Committees's lack of organization*", it praises '*Dr. Trampowski*', the Brazilian organizer of the Games who passed away during

the event, as well as “*Messrs. Jess Hopkins and F. Brow, Y.M.C.A Physical Education directors in Montevideo and Rio, respectively*”²⁴. Even so, “*despite the competency of the Centennial Festivities*”, Baillet-Latour presents a brief plan to “*introduce the Olympic idea in Latin American peoples because although with very few exceptions, their ignorance was absolute... before trying to fix the deficiencies which were not taken into account by the Games*”. He thus suggests “*the creation of a National Olympic Committee... and a Steering Committee for the Latin-American Games*” as a complement for both national and international affiliations of each type of sport²⁵.

The IOC representative also announced the call of a Congress in Buenos Aires, which would still be held in 1923, to reinforce a deal with respect to the Latin-American Games consolidation, including “*Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay*”, and bringing forward Peru’s surely and Bolivia’s possible inclusions. The Games would take place every four years “*sponsored by the IOC*” and directed by the “*Sports Confederation of the country where the Games will be held*”. Among other guidelines (the plan was unfolded into Articles), there would be a “*technical counselor appointed by the IOC... and elected by the YMCA Physical Education Directors*”. This confirms the narrator’s excellent impression of the latter international organization both during the Games in Rio and the physical education developed in Montevideo (directed by the YMCA in South America), this one “*being superior to those of almost all countries in the world*”²⁶.

It should be noted that Baillet-Latour’s main concern was related to the affiliation of each sport to their confederations and federations, and simultaneously, to the IOC, thus presenting a double-management problem which resulted in a conflict in the 1921 Congress in Lausanne, and which still occurs these days²⁷. Therefore, the “under the IOC sponsorship” expression had a more reactive than hegemonic meaning in the years of 1921, 1922 and 1923.

Moreover, Baillet-Latour recommends that the Regional Games be maintained in order to give “*the young people the sportive education they lack and prepare them to intervene in the Olympic Games in the short run*”, as well as get the necessary support from local governments and local press, “*the latter being more interested in sports than the European one*”. According to the report, such an orientation would request a double representation of the IOC in the South-American countries: a local one and another in Europe so as to prevent “*the IOC influence from escaping completely as a result from the absence of its representatives*”. In the report, such a solution is considered appropriate to Brazil, Mexico and Argentina, countries in which the IOC local representatives would already deserve more support and attention, just like “*a child who has been raised, has grown up, and now claims for a tutor*”²⁸.

Ultimately, Baillet-Latour’s report reinforces the historical importance of the 1922 Exhibition Games, mainly because they became a milestone which has strengthened the past and built up the future. Besides, as the 1922 Games turned out to be a successful experience by having the IOC directly involved, and presenting the opportunity for contacts among countries they led to the formal creation of National Olympic Committees (NOC) in the Latin American continent. The NOCs replaced those representatives considered unstable and who were not always recognized by the local governments.

This being settled, Argentina, Uruguay and Mexico created their NOCs in 1923; Peru, in 1924; Bolivia, Chile, Brazil, Venezuela and Colombia, between 1932 and 1936 successively; and Ecuador and Paraguay, after the II World War²⁹. As a result, there was an increase in the number of South American nations in the Olympic Games held in the 1920s and 1930s. Their former problem had been solved: the representations were made official by their governments and legitimated by the international organizations responsible for

sports, as it could be seen in the formation of national representations for the 1922 Games.

Allies and rebels with a cause

Such a successful intervention of the IOC in South America meant, at the end, a simple expansion of new National Olympic Committees in that continent. Looking more closely, the expansion occurred as having the side effect of reducing locally far reaching sport developments as the YMCA internal documents suggested. Historically speaking, Coubertin had officially set up an agreement with the YMCA in 1920 in order to promote the values of the Olympism in worldwide terms as well as the organization of Regional Games. Before that, in 1913, the YMCA had organized the Asian Regional Games in Manila, Philippines, and later, in 1922, the Games became official in South America (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)³⁰. However, when the creation of the NOCs was given priority, the South American national sport relationships with the IOC became direct, with no intermediaries.

Nevertheless, Da Costa & Miragaya (2002) found primary sources in the YMCA headquarters in Montevideo, showing that this organization not only still disseminated the Olympic Ideal by the end of 1920s, but also insisted on the creation of an educational base which would reach its peak with the Games. At this point, it is worthwhile quoting an excerpt from the “YMCA Physical Education Program in South America” as published in 1927³¹:

“According to the IOC, the ‘Games for All’ still exist, and therefore, the Association is somehow morally responsible for promoting future Games in this continent. However, these Games

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should not be imposed in South America too early; they must appear as a logical consequence of a physical participation in all kinds of competition.”

And right below that statement, a justification comes between quotes³²:

“The ancient Greek Olympic idea was based on the fact that every man should always be physically able. The Olympic Games occurred in order to direct people’s attention to the magnificence of the human body and the need for it to be taken care of and exercised, as opposed to demonstrations of professionalism and improper glorification of the winners.”

Before IOC’s hesitation regarding their objective to give the Olympic Movement worldwide dimensions and quit promoting the Olympism in favor of its expansion, we should consider it as a trade-off, that is to say, the Movement would have to grow in its earliest phase in order to survive; however, it should, simultaneously, give priority to making the Olympism universal for coherence purposes. Under such circumstances, historical records of that time suggest that the IOC’s option was pragmatic. In other words, they opted for both growth and control of the affiliations even though jeopardizing the dissemination of the Olympic Ideal.

Again, the above hypothesis may be verified in the South American scenario where the matter of the affiliations had been a conflicting status since the creation of the IOC in 1894. South America had turned itself into a laboratory not only for IOC’s conflicts, when an institutional order was imposed, but also for the difficulties in promoting the Olympic Ideal.

As a matter of fact, the South American geopolitical approach in the sportive area was launched with Coubertin when he included Jose B. Zubiaur in the original 1894 governing council of the IOC. In accordance with a recent revision written by Argentinian sport historian Cesar Torres, Zubiaur was selected because of arrangements which would give support to the different regions of the world as well as meet the expectations that the educator “would advocate the Olympic Ideal in South America”³³.

However, due to further events, Coubertin and the other members of the IOC became disappointed during the two decades following the creation of the International Olympic Movement. To begin, Zubiaur was always absent from the IOC's meetings, and never took the initiative in disseminating the Olympism either in his country or in South America³⁴.

On the other hand, Argentina and Chile showed great initiative in organizing the “South American Olympic Games” in 1910 and 1920 without the IOC appointment. With respect to the 1910 Games, Coubertin himself strongly opposed them and the IOC reacted favorably to the dismissal of the Argentinian member, who happened to be Zubiaur's substitute. The 1920 Games made Coubertin insist on forbidding the use of the “Olympic Games” expression and rethink the practice where the South American Regional Games were associated with the YMCA, as previously reported here³⁵.

In summary, the pendular movement between idealism and pragmatism appears to be a natural and typical characteristic of an organization such as the IOC, which had always worked through globalizing developments and geographical areas for its actions. Apparently, however, the IOC's faults come up in the long run when radical decisions are originally made, favoring practice or maintenance of power.

In this context, the lessons recovered from the IOC's actions in South America at the beginning of the last century are

symptomatic and still meaningful nowadays. Therefore, we agree with Mueller & Tuttas (2000) when they state that the YMCA “was the driving force for the success of the Olympic Movement”. Together with these two researchers, we also understand that “the role of the YMCA was much more significant than scholars had thought”³⁶.

In final remark, during the political actions which took place in South America in the 1920s, the IOC lacked a perception of a “sport geography”, as figured by Coubertin in his early intellectual conceptions. And considering the aforementioned MacAloon’s advice, such a perception still lacks today – when the world is becoming a single place with multiple cultures.

Notes

1. MacAloon, J. J., The turn of two centuries: sport and the politics of intercultural relations. In Landry, F., Landry, M. & Yerlès (eds) , Sport...The third millenium. Les Presses de l' Université Laval, Sainte-Foy, Québec, 1991, p.36.
2. Coubertin, P., Géographie Sportive, Revue Olympique, avril 1911, pp. 51 - 52. In Mueller, N. (ed), Pierre de Coubertin. Textes Choisis, Tome II - Olympisme. Weidmann, Zurich, 1986, p. 452.
3. Coubertin in this text emphasized that even the IOC had no authority to surpass the fundamental rule of “all games, all nations”.
4. Perhaps the best known text in this respect is the John Bale’s volume “Sport , Space and the City”, Blackburn Press, London, 1993.
5. MacAloon, J.J., Op.Cit., p. 38.
6. See Boulongne, Y., et al., Mieux Connaitre... Pierre de Coubertin. Comité Français Pierre de Coubertin, Paris, 1998, p. 12.

7. Ibidem, p. 4.
8. Besides Boulongne's list, a reference on this brochure is found in Textes Choisis - Tome III, Op. Cit., p. 808.
9. Textes Choisis - Tome II, Op.Cit., p.400.
10. Ibidem, p. 663.
11. Ibidem, p. 740.
12. Ibidem, p. 589.
13. Ibidem, p. 327.
14. Ibidem, p. 210.
15. Ibidem, p. 658.
16. Ibidem, p. 209.
17. Ibidem, p. 664.
18. Ibidem, p. 460.
19. Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, "Programa de Comemoração e Regulamento Geral da Exposição de 1922", Arquivo - Centenário da Independência 1922, Rio de Janeiro.
20. Uruguay Sport, Juegos Atleticos Latino - Americanos a Efectuarse en Rio de Janeiro en Setiembre de 1922, Montevideo, octubre 1922 (identification of author and pages not available in this source).
21. Ibidem, first page of the magazine, under the title "Antecedentes de la Intervención del Uruguay en Ellos".
22. Uruguay Sport, Informe Presentado por el Conde de Baillet-Latour sobre la Misión que se Cometiera el C.I.O. en América, Montevideo, agosto 1923, pp. 1-7.
23. Ibidem, pp. 1 - 2.

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24. Ibidem, p. 1.
25. Ibidem, p. 2.
26. Ibidem, pp. 3 - 4.
27. See Mueller, N., *One hundred years of Olympic Congresses, 1894 - 1994*. IOC, Lausanne, 1994, pp. 103 - 109 (for the 1921 Congress); pp.191 - 192 (present-days situation).
28. Uruguay Sport, Op. Cit., pp. 5 - 6.
29. See "Repertoire du Movement Olympique", CIO, Lausanne,1995, pp. 111 - 176.
30. On the YMCA impact on Olympic Movement expansion see Mueller, N. & Tuttas, R., *The role of the YMCA: especially that of Elwood S. Brown, Secretary of physical education of the YMCA. In the worldwide expansion of the Olympic Movement during Pierre de Coubertin's presidency*. Paper presented at the 5th International Symposium for Olympic Research, Sydney, 2000, Proceedings pp. 127 - 134.
31. Hopkins, J.T., *Quince anos de educación física en las asociaciones de America del Sur*. Editorial Mundo Nuevo - Asociacion Cristiana de Jovenes, Montevideo, 1927, pp. 41 - 42.
32. Ibidem, p. 42.
33. Torres, C. T., *Tribulations and achievements: the early history of Olympism in Argentina*. In Mangan, J. A. & DaCosta, L.P. (eds), *Sport in Latin American Society - Past and Present*. Frank Cass, London, 2002, p. 60.
34. Ibidem, p. 64.
35. Ibidem, p. 70.
36. Ibidem, p. 127.



CHAPTER 7

On Olympic commercialization: marketing for business or social responsible marketing?

Much of the critical and theoretical interpretation in marketing applied to the Olympic Games over the past three decades gives us reason to wonder whether business and public interest may be joined in a continuum of fundamental choices for the Olympic Movement survival. Indeed, the very relationship in which the increasingly unwieldy size of the

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Games, and the expanded Olympic image of global understanding are taken to stand may also be a reflex of the shift of values that confronts researchers today when the subject of commercialism in sport is focused upon.

It is in these grounds that IOC leaders' recent statements on marketing positioning became sensitive to Olympic Studies researchers. For example, says Michael Payne, IOC Marketing Director in a pragmatic and conclusive tone that "with the sheer size and complexity of today's Olympic Games, it has reached the point where if there were no sponsors, there would be no Games" ¹. From Richard Pound, IOC Executive Board member and candidate to succeed Antonio Samaranch as the President of IOC in the aftermath of 1999-2000 crisis, a more perceptive interpretation came out: "Take away sponsorship and commercialism from sport today and what is left? A large, sophisticated, finely tuned engine developed over a period of 100 years - with no fuel" ².

In spite of the matter-of-fact sense of these explanatory addresses, there has been a historical contention on the value of commercialism involving the Olympic Games. Pierre de Coubertin, himself, had often alerted in the dangers of side-effects from commercialization of sport as he did assertively in 1927:

"We have not worked, my friends and I, to give you back the Olympic Games that you could turn them into a museum piece or cinematographic play, nor to have them exploited by commercial or electoral interests. By reviving a 25-century-old institution we wanted to make you the initiates of the religion of sport as our great ancestors had conceived it. In our modern world, so full of potential, but which is also threatened by dangerous degeneration, Olympism could become a school

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of moral purity and nobility, as well as of physical activity and endurance”³.

From Greece, another similar alert was prompted by Nikos Filaretos, President of the International Olympic Academy (IOA), later in 1992, when he identified “the crisis resulting from the commercialization of sport”:

“The reasons for the change in the values of Olympism are often a result of conscious efforts to exploit the Olympic Games for nationalistic and economic purposes. There is no concrete definition of the methodological and objective value of Olympism (...) The Olympic idea has been used for commercial ends. The effects of this cannot yet be predicted, since the economy has exceeded its natural limits and has now become product-centered and overconsuming in all sectors, with a direct impact on the Olympic Games as well”⁴.

Again, in 1999, John MacAloon, member of the IOC 2000 Reform Commission⁵, addressing to an international symposium on the theme of volunteers and the Olympic Movement, recovered the tension earlier expressed by Coubertin facing the rise of commercialism in Olympic sports:

“I must report that I did not hear Olympic volunteers mentioned during the deliberations of the Reform Commission. To me, this fact is first of all ironic, second of all pragmatically worrisome, and thirdly indicative of everything that will remain to be done, after the December IOC Extraordinary Session, to re-balance the sport industry and humanistic dimensions of the

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contemporary Olympic phenomenon. As the late Don German Rieckehoff pointed out in a statement I have chosen for my epigraph ('Everyday more and more people are interested in making Olympic sport, and fewer and fewer in making the Olympic Movement'), the scales everyday tip more toward the sport professionals and against the partisans of Olympism" ⁵.

As one might expect, there have not been answers to the long-time questions posed by the steady increase in Olympic commercialism. Contrariwise, Barney et al. in the book "Selling the Five Rings" launched in 2002, favor the thesis that despite concerns about the prevalence of commercialism, the Olympic Games remain widely attractive to national audiences everywhere ⁶. Moreover, marketing specialists directly involved with IOC, IFs and OCOGs have apparently been taking to task their critics in order to give them solutions not only accusations. Michael Payne, for instance, addressing to the participants of the IOA 37th Session, in 1997, came to the heart of the matter when asking: "Is IOC Marketing compatible with Olympic principles? As I said earlier, it is up you to judge" ⁷.

In this Chapter there will be an attempt of judging this compatibility framed in the opposition between marketing for business and social responsible marketing. This analytic choice is concerned to avoiding radical positions when dealing with commercialization in Olympic issues. If in one hand, over-commercialization is a real threat to the Games, in the other hand controlled marketing seems to be able to keeping the intrinsic identity of sports , as recently proposed by Holger Preuss ⁸.

This line of reasoning might seem to take us well beyond of the Olympic commercialism, anchoring the debate in the changing role of sport in the present-days culture everywhere. Actually, along with the variety of status of modern sports

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practice, organization and leadership, one dominant aspect is the rejection of business intervention but with new forms of commerce increasingly being accepted, namely marketing, media coverage, promotion, etc. This apparent contradiction was epitomized by John Kelly in 1989 already with the statement that “sport, also amateur sport, is big business”⁹.

The result of this is a changing pattern often identified among sport institutions worldwide. Overall, the reasons for the shift are not fully acknowledged, however, these supposed ambiguous changes have resulted in the growth of a sport environment which is complex and full of novelty.

The contradiction, whether apparent or real, is central to an understanding of relations between sport and commerce. Accordingly, commercialism is the point of convergence of interpretative interactions involving constraints in ancient or contemporary elite sports, as observed in competition deviations, spectacle overexposures or political unfair disputes¹⁰. Regardless of their specificity, in traditional sport deviations, such as violence, cheating or narcissism, a similar core of interpretation is historically evident when material gains subdue spiritual values in games and competitions.

Perhaps the centrality of material and trade values in coercive situations is inherent to normative and ethical propositions in sport. This is in fact a major argument of Kurt Weis when he advocates that the increase in sport deviations is a direct consequence of the growing importance of sport in today's society¹¹. More persuasive was Christopher Lasch, for whom the vast audiences of modern sport have destroyed the value of athletics¹².

In short, according to this thesis Olympism will always be facing contradictions arising from its own propositions, as a permanent and inseparable quality¹³. Thus sport commercialization presupposes a search for a foundation in history as much as on value assessment. In other words,

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appropriate questions of this debate can be formulated as follows: where are the adequate and topical meanings of commercialization in sport? Is there an accurate and updated position of Olympism in relation to commercialization?

Initial answers to these questions are thrown up with a recognition of the ambivalence of competition and games, originally associated with swings between emancipation and repression ¹⁴. A recent and outstanding example of this oscillation is provided by the Olympic Games themselves: recreated by Coubertin as an emancipation movement, they have been giving rise to various sorts of constraint since the very beginning, one hundred years ago.

To summarize this critical interpretation of sport, it might be claimed that the model of emancipation and repression has been applied to modernity as a whole ¹⁵. On this account, sport should stand as a historical category which emerged last century perfectly able to adapt itself to “good” or “bad” versions of modern life. In turn, the Olympic Games and Olympism progressed by means of harsh experiences, finally adopting a profile kept constantly up to date, represented by a stable normative discourse and a flexible pragmatism towards its actions. Not surprisingly, the IOC is often regarded as the most experienced global organization of present times, maintaining tradition and introducing innovations in equal part.

Another relevant consequence of the suggested ambiguity in sport is its attribute of being totalizing and reductionist at the same time, as pointed out by Michel Delaunay ¹⁶. Even in this case, sport appears to be culturally correct by today’s standards, given that society and individuality are the basic perspectives for social relations ¹⁷. In all, classical sporting characteristics correspond to the idiosyncrasies of contemporary society, confirming an observation of Ommo Gupe that “sport not only became part of cultural life, but furthermore a sportization of culture as a whole took place” ¹⁸.

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Actually the mutual identification of culture and sport has its roots in ancient Greece, where the emphasis was on athletic competition as an expression of *areté* (excellence and virtue). The quest for excellence represented the essential meaning of *Kalokagathia*, the quality of good and beauty or the combination of ethics, politics and aesthetics. From this integration of attitudes to and perceptions of life, only the pursuit of excellence remains today in Western civilization, although it is seen as a part rather than the whole of the aim. Besides, this fragmentation of the world of life is peculiar to post-modern culture, a condition loosely defined but now prevailing in social relations.

If it is accepted that post-modern culture and sport became an integrated unity, as Grupe is suggesting, then it might be admitted also that this wholeness pertains to singular and autonomous parts. On this view, instrumental rationality is approached, as commonly happens in much recent philosophical debate. For those who argue the post-modern condition, instrumentality explains the full integration of all walks of life, sport being a significant example¹⁹. Here lies the difference between the classical Greek conception of totality and the global culture of today: on the one hand, the whole fixes the boundaries of parts harmoniously; on the other hand, the parts fix the boundaries of the whole by synergism.

Summarizing, the technological and instrumental culture is necessarily global and dependent on individuals and groups to guarantee the effectiveness of the whole and efficiency of the parts. As a corollary, the pursuit of excellence became an individual or group concern, either for personal development or to improve quality on an institutional level. The attribute of being total and reductionist should therefore be implicated in all social relations, and not only in sport.

These arguments help to clarify the sense of relatedness between self and others, reported by Glen Watkins when

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describing on-going sport recreation activities, or the simultaneous loose-tight properties ascertained by Peters and Waterman among successful industrial and commercial enterprises. And, more importantly, in both cases excellence has been considered as part of an effort towards development²⁰. Ultimately, post-modernity disregards ambiguity and ambivalence, and is therefore in agreement with its discourse which seems to be indefinite in nature, character and form.

For contemporary French philosophers, like Jean-François Lyotard, this unexpected cultural turn of today represents a real manifestation of individuality as cause and effect of instrumental reason. To this suggestion, Felix Guattari adds a more factual interpretation emphasizing singularity as the common quest of individuals and groups, especially youngsters. Being singular, Guattari says, is a reaction to a loss of identity in a fragmented society. Whereas singularity is now reappearing as a constructive awareness, in opposition to the traditional Greek ideal of completeness, it is worth noting Michel Maffesoli's proposition of reconsidering ambiguity as a source of imaginative solutions²¹.

Each one of these claims is exactly parallel to the far-reaching collective proposal of "identity in diversity", adopted by the Council of Europe to protect local culture and equally strengthen the unity of European countries in the coming years²². But, apart from the controversial debate involving post-modernity, there is a growing concern among European intellectuals that understanding the present culture is the most reliable way to anticipate the future²³. Furthermore, this prospective role has not yet been played by the IOC and, of course, not originally set by Olympism principles²⁴.

These simply stated cultural approaches to sport may illuminate the puzzle of commercialization in understanding how its pieces fit together. To digress, as far as a value assessment is concerned, business in sport is mainly disapproved of because it stimulates corruption. Nevertheless,

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commercialization pertaining to a cultural framework, that is, occurring in a synergistic whole, encourages the building of partnerships and the pursuit of excellence. After all, as learned from the tradition of arts patronage, commercialization is not “bad” or “good” in itself; this depends on how it is managed and what its purposes are ²⁵.

To clarify these fundamental distinctions, the following diagrams depict two different roles of the IOC and Olympism in the face of commercialization: firstly, at present, in which Olympism is an implicit counterbalance to marketing; secondly, at a projected future stage considering the major cultural trends of globalization and singularity. Despite the simplification of reality in both models, solutions to the constraints of commercialization are provided taking into account that:

- a) Marketing may be a linkage between Olympism and the new cultural trends, so that the IOC does not have to turn its back on the deservedly influential ideas of the past or keep the ethics of Olympism as the sole factor making it legitimate. Currently, marketing and Olympism are separate undertakings in the Olympic Movement’s internal relations, perhaps reflecting a hesitation to deal with presupposed contradictions.
- b) By means of the IOC’s present procedures, Olympism helps to provide the necessary foundations for principles, norms and controls to prevent or restrain sport deviations. But outside the IOC, Olympism is generally seen as an educational movement, promoting ideals and traditions. In turn, internal IOC marketing is strictly commercial where the media is concerned; for external effects, marketing is much more concentrated on Olympic imagery, building a reputation to guarantee business advantages and financial support.
- c) At this stage, given that Olympism and marketing are not integrated, commercialization is naturally related to

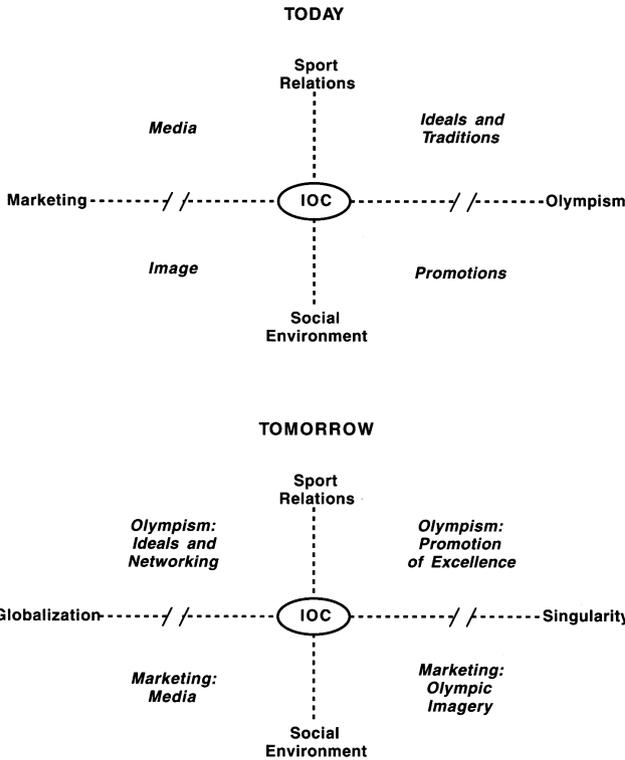
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constraints and much less to a constructive participation in the Olympic initiatives as a whole.

- d) If globalization and singularity become the main references for future IOC procedures, then the educational role of Olympism might be reinforced by promoting a combination of excellence and image to reach the common target of individuals and groups: conversely, networking is the necessary solution to developing Olympism in a global relationship, as the media is the key to meeting this fundamental aim.
- e) If globalization and singularity prevail in sport relations and in the social environment to governing IOC initiatives, then there will be an integration of major references and targets to both Olympism and marketing with positive gains for the pledge of “identity in diversity”.
- f) Moving towards a culturally adapted model of focusing and fusing traditions and innovations, the IOC will be giving the highest priority to education and the promotion of Olympic principles. This shift will also indicate that less importance should be granted to normative and control roles which have already proved to be less effective.

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In conclusion, Olympism needs socially responsible marketing, as marketing needs an explicit and effective commitment to educational aims in order to improve excellence in sport. In terms of taking a position, commercialization will be appropriate if the choices are able to live up to requirements for excellence. As far as Olympism is concerned, the proper position is to continuously redefine excellence and ethical patterns in the context of a changing cultural environment.

Far from being less realistic, these solutions should represent an evolution of IOC pragmatism towards recent advances in sport theory. This knowledge might prompt us to recall Nobert

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Elias' famous argument ²⁶ that commercialization constraints and other deviation effects are not likely to disappear in sport: their emergence reflects an existing civilizing process, as in ancient Greece.

Notes

1. Quoted in Barney, R.K., Wenn, S.R. & Martyn, S.G., *Selling The Five Rings - The International Olympic Committee and the Rise of Olympic Commercialism*. The University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, 2002, p. 278.
2. *Ibidem*, p. 278.
3. Quoted in Filaretos, N., *The Olympic Games: Idealism and Reality*. IOA 37th Session Report, Ancient Olympia, 1997, p. 44.
4. Filaretos, N., *The Educational Requirements of Olympism in its Present Philosophical Dimension and Commercialization in Sport*. IOA 32nd Session Report, Ancient Olympia, 1992, p. 46.
5. MacAloon, J., *Volunteers, Global Society and the Olympic Movement*. Paper presented at the International Symposium Volunteers, Global Society and the Olympic Movement, Proceedings, Lausanne, 1999, p. 17.
6. Barney, R.K., Wenn, S.R. & Martyn, S.G., *Op. Cit.*, p. 281.
7. Payne, M., *The Sponsoring and Marketing of the Atlanta Olympic Games*. IOA 37th Session Report, Ancient Olympia, 1997, p. 63.
8. Preuss, H., *Economics of the Olympic Games*. Walla Walla Press, Sydney, 2000, pp. 148 - 149.
9. Kelly's assertion is emphasized in Kamphorst & Robert's, *Trends in Sports – A Multinational Perspective*. Giordano Bruno Publishers, Voorthuizen, 1989, p.396.

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10. *Inter alia*, John Stewart in "Amateurism and Professionalism in Athletics", 1984 Olympic Scientific Congress, Eugene, gives support to this position, declaring: "For the ancients as well as the moderns, the nemesis of sport is professionalism and commercialism".
11. Weis, K.G. & Luschen, G. Die Soziologie des Sports. H. Luchterhaid Verlag, Darmstadt, 1976, pp. 252-267 in Spanish version (Minon, Valladolid, 1979).
12. Lasch, C., The Degradation of Sport. In "Philosophic Inquiry in Sport", Morgan & Meier (eds.), Human Kinetics Publishers, Champaign, 1988, pp. 403-404.
13. Bernard Jeu in many texts favors this thesis for sport in general. For example, in *La Contre-Société Sportive et ses Contradictions*, *Esprit* no. 428, Octobre 1973, Paris, pp. 391-416, he argues: "Le sport se présente à la fois comme un divertissement qui réunit et une violence qui sépare. Le sport se situe conceptuellement entre le jeu et la guerre".
14. See, for example, the essay of Dunning, E., *El Dilema de los Planteamientos Teóricos en la Sociología del Deporte*. In Luschen & Weis (eds.), *Op. Cit.*, pp. 24-35 (original text in German).
15. Particularly significant on this subject is the "Introduction" of Bernstein, R.J. (ed.) in *Habermas and Modernity*. The MIT Press, Cambridge, 1985, pp. 1-32.
16. Delaunay, M., *Voyage au Centre de la Sociologie du Sport*. *Loisirs et Santé*, no. 10, Juin 1984, pp. 10-13.
17. See, among others, Bonny, Y., *L'individualisme aujourd'hui? Critique de Dumont, Gauchet et Lipovetsky*. *Société*, no. 3, été 1988, Québec, pp. 125-157.
18. Grupe, O., *Identity, Legitimacy, Sense and Non-Sense of Modern Sport as a Cultural Phenomenon*. Paper presented at the International Symposium Sport... the Third Millennium, May 1990, Québec.

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19. For further discussion on post-modernity see Rail, G., *The Diffusion of Polarities as a Megatrend in Post-modern Sport*. International Symposium Sport... The Third Millennium, May 1990, Québec.
20. Watkins, G., *Parks and Recreation – A Changing Community Service*. World Leisure & Recreation, June 1986, pp. 20-36; Peters, T. & Waterman, R., "In Search of Excellence". Harpers and Row, New York, 1984, p. 15. Additionally the key role of excellence in societies today is discussed by Ehrenberg, A., *Le Culte de la Performance*. Calmann-Levy, Paris, 1991, pp. 99-168.
21. Lyotard, J.F., *La Condition Postmoderne*. Editions de Minuit, Paris, 1979, passim; Guattari, F., *As Tres Ecologias*. Papirus, Campinas, 1990 (original French version of 1989), p. 15; Maffesoli, M., *O Conhecimento comum*. Brasiliense, Sao Paulo, 1988 (French version of 1985), pp. 129-154. For discussion of individuality in the future of sport, see Bento, J.O., *Novas Motivações, Modelos e Concepções para a Prática Desportiva*, Universidade do Porto, 1991.
22. A more detailed analysis of identity in diversity is to be found in Morin, E., *Cultural Identity in a Global Culture*. Forum, no. 2, 1989, Strasbourg, pp. 33-36.
23. See Brison, D., *Strasbourg: Premier Festival Européen des Écrivains*. Forum, no. 3, 1987, Strasbourg.
24. The difficulties of the IOC in interpreting the cultural environment are presented by MacAloon, J.J., *The Turn of Two Centuries: Sport and the Politics of Intercultural Relations*. International Symposium Sport... The Third Millennium, May 1990, Québec.
25. In Rail, G., Op. Cit., there is an explicit remark about this phenomenon of values equalization: "Drawing on recent events observed in the world of sport, it is argued that, within the latter, there is an impulse toward the defusing of polarities".
26. Elias, N., *Sport et Violence*. Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales, no. 6, Décembre 1976, Paris, pp. 2-21.



CHAPTER 8

Dialogue: mega-events technology versus Olympic anthropology

In 1987, it was held in Seoul, Korea, “truly the first international conference devoted exclusively to the possibilities and limitations of intercultural exchange in the present world system, as exemplified and inscribed in the Olympics”, according to John MacAloon’s address in the opening session of that event formally dedicated to “Olympics and East / West and South / North Cultural Exchange in the World System” ¹.

From that pioneer academic gathering’s contributions, a book was produced having as editors Kang Shin-pyo (Korea), John MacAloon (USA) and Roberto DaMatta (Brazil) under

the title “The Olympics and Cultural Exchange” (Hanyang University) ². The volume was launched during the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games and it might be considered today a cornerstone of the Olympic Studies.

In fact, anthropological points of view henceforth became a leading approach among Olympic scholars. So far, in the International Symposium “Sport... The Third Millenium” , held in Quebec, in 1990, MacAloon again set the tone of cultural relativism and respect to differences jointly with Bernard Jeu (France) who brought explanations from cultural understanding of the Olympics, and with Miquel de Moragas (Spain) who contributed with international comparative studies on the television coverage of the Olympic Games Opening ceremony. In the latter contribution there was an international group of researchers behind, including Kang Shin-pyo from Korea ³.

The Quebec’s Symposium proceedings also became a famous book among adherents of the Olympic Studies worldwide. And finally in 1999, a new volume enriched the narrative and self-reflection of the anthropological understanding of the modern Olympic celebration from the last 15 years: the Arne Klausen’s book on the Olympic Games as a “public event” ⁴.

Given the purpose of acknowledging further advances in the anthropological focus of the Games, this Chapter aims to review Klausen’s interpretations as far as they refer to similar categories approached by Kang’s et al. elaboration, despite of being centrally concerned to Norwegian culture. Furthermore, throughout the present book we have attempted to take a multicultural perspective of the diverse issues and approaches pertaining to Olympic Studies. And in this context, the methodological path adopted was the systematic interrogation of oppositions as related to Olympic controversies. Here “public event” review will have a primary comparison with mega-events theory which goes beyond anthropological

assumptions. Let's then overview Klausen's collective book in the form of dialog with its texts.

To begin, to do justice to Klausen's work, it must be remarked that in this provocative collection of contributions we see the future of Olympic Studies, or at least one future. Olympic anthropology is what Klausen's book is all about. The manner in which he negotiates this new field of study will appear reckless to many in the other sport sciences professions. But the book lays some of the groundwork or at least breaks the ground for a timely specialization within the old discipline of anthropology as related to the uncontrolled diversification of sport knowledge in general, and in Olympic Studies in particular.

Klausen's thematic approach ⁵ allows him to highlight the key developments which John MacAloon has been making in the anthropology of the Olympic Games since the 1980s ⁶. Actually, the adjective "Olympic" was added to "anthropology" by MacAloon ⁷, after he set out critiques on the predominant focuses of anthropology to which "had rarely applied its considerable talent to the direct ethnographic study of the elites, especially cosmopolitan elites necessarily associated with large, international, mass-mediated, prestigious and expensive public works and projects like the Olympic Games" ⁸. In short, MacAloon's claim for breaking down anthropology in a specialization defined as a bottom-up social science was welcome by Klausen, who edited his book with a MacAloon's overview and texts from four more social anthropologists with experience in Olympic Games stages.

All these authors participated in fieldwork observations in the 1994 Winter Olympic Games of Lillehammer - Norway, and two of them also researched *in situ* the 1992 Winter Olympic Games of Albertville - France. In Klausen's short but very efficient introduction, the aims of the empirical investigation carried on in Lillehammer were described as those focusing "on culture in the two main senses of the word: firstly,

culture as an art and other aesthetic expressions, and, secondly, culture as a group identity and way of life”⁹.

Summarising, the Lillehammer - Albertville research project during its five years of duration (1991 - 1995) formally explored the 1994 Games’ impact on the Norwegian society and culture drawn from anthropological views and interpretations. These theoretical and methodological choices were then explicitly supported by MacAloon’s analysis found in his 1984 book “Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle”. Nevertheless, Klausen’s book edited four years after the final report of that research has already embodied Don Handelman’s theories from his 1990 book “Models and Mirrors: Towards an Anthropology of Public Events”¹⁰.

In other words, the comparison of these latter books’ themes suggests that the authors evolved from categories of analysis to a multisemic conceptual framework. Not surprisingly, Klausen’s book reinforced the idea of a more specialized view for anthropology facing the Olympic Games, when the editorial work searched for a synthesis after reviewing its central thematic issue.

The editor and all other authors have referred to Handelman’s conception of public event as consisting of a combination of presentation (mirror existing order), representation (indirect presentation of existing order) and modelling (affect order for change). These three functional modes, as depicted by Klausen¹¹, more or less explicitly gave meanings to the Lillehammer’s Games and to reactions from Norwegian society and culture, as illustrated by each of the authors.

In all, the new field of knowledge presupposed by both MacAloon and Handelman is loosely encompassing the so-called mega-events, one of the most meaningful representations of today’s global society. Therefore, while the anthropology tailored to Olympic or public event carries a rich load of rituals and drama, the mega-events are preferably related to sports and international exhibitions. Although both types of events

are cultural and social manifestations , mega-event are mostly recognized as a “media event” production with political, economic and technological impacts, on account of Maurice Roche’s recent overview ¹².

As a result, all authors transitioned from the typical conflict-resolution accounts of the Olympic event’s gigantism to more significant heights by focusing primarily on the Games’ dramatization. The third Chapter, so far, brings an exemplification from Klausen to this twofold arrangement when he discusses the socio-cultural and political tensions before and during Lillehammer’s Games ¹³.

In a nutshell, the *realpolitik* practiced by the International Olympic Committee - IOC had confronted with the Norwegian ethos, which is historically reluctant to join the modern political developments in Europe. But paradoxically the Winter Games at Lillehammer in a *post hoc* assessment has revitalized the national identity, besides being a showcase of modern technology and marketing. With this conclusion, Klausen could not avoid a patriotic hyperbole: “And as always, Norwegians did it their way!” ¹⁴.

Chapter four deals with hyperbole, too, but as a means of articulation in terms of Olympic ideology, on account of Odd Are Berkaak interpretations. His analysis also demonstrated that the symbolic repertoire detected in Olympic narratives fits in the marketing logic. And for the first time in Norwegian cultural history, there was an adaptation of local discourses to the ideology of the market. In sum, Lillehammer Games mirrored in the narrative style of Olympic texts despite internal conflicts in Norway during the decision-making process on the options to be taken by the event’s preparation ¹⁵.

Conversely, Chapter five deals with external conflicts as illuminated again by a text elaborated by Klausen. In this empirical approach, a confrontation between Norway and Greece was analyzed by focusing on the ritual of the Olympic

flame. Summing up, this conflicting context involved the IOC normative status, financial commitments from sponsors and last, but not least, the public images of two countries. As a mega-event, the 1994 Winter Games experienced the natural overlapping of distinct interests, traditions and innovations. After a dispute for the control of the Olympic torch relay starting in Ancient Olympia - Greece and arriving at Lillehammer for the Games' opening ceremony, another agreement between parties was made. And again an adaptation emerged in order to preserve the national culture and to meet globalization requirements ¹⁶.

In Chapter six, Roel Puijk describes the planning process and the accomplishment of the opening ceremony in the perspective of both a media event and a spectacle for the audience present in the Lillehammer arena. This author using Handelman's functional modes demonstrated that the image of Norway, as interpreted abroad, was in the presentational mode, whereas in the national context the ceremony was interpreted either as a representation or a modelling factor ¹⁷. In his conclusions, Puijk suggestively remarks : "These kinds of differences - where the meaning of an event depends on an ability to see the differences and on identification - are probably quite common in our age of global media. This implies that global-media products can function simultaneously as rich and reflexive and as simple stereotypes" ¹⁸.

In the three last Chapters, the adaptation of local and idiosyncratic features to global requirements and trends continues by different categorical approaches. In Chapter seven, Berkaak analyses the transformation of Lillehammer landscape and farms in an alpine venue, as a more acceptable setting for an Olympic global event. In Chapter eight, Ingrid Rudie, using gender discourses analysis, describes how the Games promote global homogenization and simultaneously develop sport local traditions. Finally, in Chapter nine, Eduardo Archetti

pursues equally the gender perspective from which he demonstrates that athletes deploy their maleness in contexts conditioned by values conveyed by Olympic narratives, media preferred focus and adoring spectators ¹⁹.

Interestingly, the search of global meanings in contrast to local idiosyncrasies or scenarios to host dramas and rituals are the common grounds in which Klausen and associates apply their Olympic anthropology. These research directions are opposed to mega-events theorization at least in trusting Maurice Roche to whom sociological and anthropological concerns are framed in “hubs”, “networks” and “switches” as promoted by information technology ²⁰. Moreover, similarly to marketing distinct tools for Olympic Games accomplishments - business versus social responsibility - Klausen’s and Roche’s approaches are not mutually exclusive. In order to clarify this compatibility between “public event” and “mega-event” in theoretical terms, following there is a concluding remark from the latter specialist in popular culture:

“The ‘event-as-hub’ - as both a temporary spatial hub and a more broadly temporal-historic hub - can be argued to act as a ‘switching centre’ in a number of ways. First, various event producer groups and their associated political, economic and cultural networks meet to consume the event together (and thus constitute shared cultural memories and cultural capital together) and/or use the event for more instrumental sorts of meetings and interactions to further their individual, group or network interests (...) In the ‘event-as-hub’ on the one hand, masses of people are temporarily co-opted and mobilized into being active members of international cultural movements. On the other hand, during the event, the elite organizers of such movements see them

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temporarily take on some of the substance and scale of more explicitly political and enduring international social movements”²¹.

In conclusion, Roche advises that “ hub imagery is also useful to understanding mega-events because it helps to clarify their temporal and spacial character”²². From this conception, it is appropriate to see mega-events as macro organizations supported by technological frameworks into which micro relationships between human beings take place. “To understand mega-events better “ he argues, “ is thus to understand something more broadly about the nature and fate of human agency”²³.

Reflecting upon these comments from the point of view of equilibrium between contrasting directions so often identified in Olympic Movement history, it is worthwhile to consolidate the Olympic anthropology. But it is also relevant to cope with advanced technology mainstream. In this trade-off, like many others reviewed in this book, the right measure is the respect of human nature. And to find out what human nature is we could follow the first Olympic anthropologists who in 1987, in Korea, try “to encounter our others”²⁴.

Notes

1. See MacAloon, J., Encountering our Others: Social Sciences and Olympic Sport. In Kang, S., MacAloon, J. & DaMatta, R. (eds), *The Olympics and Cultural Exchange*, Hanyang University, Seoul, 1987, p. 28.
2. Ibidem, Introduction, Kang, S., MacAloon, J. & DaMatta, R., p. 3.
3. See Landry, F., Landry, M. & Yerlès, M., *Sport ... The Third Millenium*. Les Presses de L' Université Laval, Saint-Foy, Quebec, 1991, pp. 21 - 99. Opening addresses: Sport, Culture and Society.

4. Klausen, A. M. (ed), *Olympic Games as Performance and Public Event*. Berghahn Books, New York, 1999.
5. *Ibidem*, pp. 1 - 8; Chapter 1: "Introduction" by A. Klausen.
6. *Ibidem*, pp. 9 - 26; Chapter 2: "Anthropology at the Olympic Games: an Overview" by J. MacAloon.
7. *Ibidem*, p. 14.
8. *Ibidem*, p. 12.
9. Klausen, A. , „Introduction“, p. 2.
10. *Ibidem*, p. 5.
11. *Ibidem*, p. 5.
12. See Roche, M., *Mega-Events Modernity - Olympics and Expos in the Growth of Global Culture*. Routledge, London, 2000, pp. 1 - 29.
13. Klausen, A., „Norwegian Culture and Olympism: Confrontations and Adaptations „ , , pp. 27 - 48.
14. *Ibidem*, p. 46.
15. Berkaak, O. D., „In the Heart of the Volcano: the Olympic Games as a Mega Drama“, pp. 49 - 74.
16. Klausen, A., „The Torch Relay: Reinvention of Tradition and Conflict with the Greeks“, pp. 75 - 95.
17. Puijk, R., „Producing Norwegian Culture for Domestic and Foreign Gazes: the Lillehammer Olympic Opening Ceremony“, pp. 97 - 136.
18. *Ibidem*, p. 132.
19. See Klausen, A. M. (ed), *Olympic Games as Performance and Public Event*, pp. 137 - 219.
20. Roche, M., *Op. Cit.* , p. 233.
21. *Ibidem*, p. 234.

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22. Ibidem, p. 234.
23. Ibidem, p.235.
24. This expression is found in the heading of MacAloon's paper present in the 1987 Conference in Seoul as reported by note no. 1 above.



CHAPTER 9

Towards an Olympic epistemology: sport sciences or theory of sustainable sport?

In 1990, Fernand Landry in the opening address of the International Seminar “Sport ... The third Millenium”, in Quebec, made a point on the complexity of contemporary sport knowledge which “consequently overlaps into the world of education, health and well-being, work and leisure, marketing and publicity, communications and business, arts and culture, as well as international relations and politics” ¹. In the same event - often understood today as a milestone of the

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Olympic Studies - Yves-Pierre Boulongne emphasized this multifaceted knowledge when making an overview of Pierre de Coubertin's intellectual involvement. For the founder of the Olympic Movement, at the end of 19th century, the so-called "neo-Olympism" was then "characterized by a pursuit of wisdom through a global conception of the world" ².

For this Chapter concerns, the overlapping of distinct disciplines of knowledge that has typified Olympism for the past 100 years poses a epistemological problem, reflected by important difficulties in extracting unequivocal definitions in Olympic Studies area. However, yet in the 1990s there was an opportunity to find a new epistemic understanding of Olympism due to the adaptation of the Olympic Movement principles and procedures to environmental claims. Certainly, scientific knowledge - sport sciences included - had and still has a challenge in searching adequate compatibility with environmental requirements in theory and practice.

In this changing context, this Chapter aims at ascertain the applicability of an Olympic epistemology in parallel with similar efforts already proposed to encompass sport sciences at large ³. For this task it is here presupposed that the Olympic sport has historical foundations connected with the natural environment that goes beyond other versions of sport in a broad perspective of analysis. In sum, the option discussed here is concerned to a part (Olympic sport knowledge) that may be a reference for its whole (sport sciences).

To appreciate historic and philosophical accounts on the possibility of an Olympic epistemology, in the next sections there will be a recollection of theoretical dimensions of both sport and environment. Additionally, by extending this recovery to the nexus of naturalized epistemology ⁴, which frames the social relationships with environment, it is intended to legitimate a narrative approach to Olympism as also attempted in previous Chapters. In this way, narrative

provides a form of understanding alternative to scientific explanation ⁵.

Coubertin, Gaia and Olympia

In terms of Olympism and the Olympic Movement, the tradition of sport and nature has its original source in the writings of Pierre de Coubertin himself. As early as 1907, the “Revue Olympique” published a Coubertin’s article, “A Propos de Rallyes” ⁶ in which “sportmen” were urged to keep clean sport practice sites. For the founder of Olympism, probably for the first time in modern sport history, sport people were intended to become defenders of nature. Regarding values, the article proposed the development of the *beau public* (public beauty) in addition to *bien public* (public patrimony), combining aesthetic experience with ethical justification.

This typical pedagogic claim of Coubertin had, however, a previous motive. According to Don Anthony’s declarations during the International Congress “Hosting the Olympic Games, the Physical Impacts” (Olympia-Greece, June 1994), the Baron visited the Much Wenlock Olympian Society in England, by 1890, when he planted a named tree. This ceremonial planting was at that time a tradition of the Society, since its roots were originally found in the Wenlock Agricultural Reading Society, an off spring of the Royal Society of Arts which included tree planting schemes in its national parks as early as 1754. As such, Anthony deduced that “the modern Olympic idea was revived in an environmental friendly atmosphere by people who saw sport as part of an all-round education and cultural experience”.

Thus, in large measure, past developments of sport environmentalism imply an intrinsic value understood as a sense of belonging recently described by Risto Telama as follows: ⁷

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“For physical activity, the symbolic value of nature means, for instance, the possibility to feel that one is part of nature, nature is part of life. This possibility is also related to the observation of changes in physical activity in nature is appealing because it is possible to observe changes in nature: growth and decay”.

Such interpretation may be significantly met by an emerging fact: in symbolic terms nature and sport have a common origin, a singular identity to be shared. This statement has support in Pausanias' text, *Hellados Periegesis*, written in second century A.D. In this “Description of Greece” the alter of goddess Gaia is located on the slope of Kronos hill at Olympia, north of the Temple of Hera. ⁸

In Ancient Olympia this sacred area was called *Gaion*. It was found directly opposite the equally sacred Olympic Games premises. During that period, the setting of *Gaion* became famous in Greece for the beauty of the landscape and specially for the river Alpheios, where waters flowed down into earth.⁹

The myth of Gaia, therefore, might have originated as a relationship for the Alpheios' geological break and the established religious rituals, since Gaia was acknowledged as “mother earth” as well as a goddess among Olympian gods. It is worth noting that Gregory Bateson when discussing the analogy between the system by which social groups are recognizes as parts of the larger ecological system, proposed that fantasy becomes morphogenetic, that is, it turn out a determinant of the shape of the society. ¹⁰

For the most part then the sacred area of Olympia should represent a self-validation example of a cultural identity, involving nature and religion from former Greek civilization. And the “actions that the fantasy dictates”, still reviewing Bateson words, seems to refer to Altis valley where worship, art and agonistic contests – Olympic Games included - were integrated in celebrations.

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In sum, totemism is the best description for the ancient Olympic Games if anthropological terminology is adopted in order to define the relationship of the natural world and social systems. Such interpretation is reinforced by recalling a H.W. Pleket text: ¹¹

“Olympia was a function of an increasingly urbanized world but was itself not the product of an important city... Elis, that is the region in which Olympia was situated, was an agrarian district and the city of Elis was a relatively late, rather artificial town... Olympia just was and remained all through antiquity the top of the vast iceberg of crown-games”.

It follows that a sound explanation for choosing Olympia to stand as the *locus classicus* of Olympic Games, relates to the vitality of local forests and rivers, the natural elements that gave birth to Gaia symbolism. Nikolas Yalouris, Greek archeologist and historian, favours this interpretation too, following his decades of excavating the different sites of the Eleia region. ¹² In his description of this region into which Olympia was located, he states that ¹³

“the territory of Eleia was then, as it is now, the most verdant and the most intensively cultivated in southern Greece; even in its mountainous regions (Acroreia), there are fertile valleys and forests. This vegetation survives in part to this day (oak wood at Kapeli). The area of fertile soil was sufficient to supply not only the needs of the inhabitants of Eleia but also those of the neighboring islands, who pastured their livestock there.”

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Notice that Yalouris refers additionally to Eleia as “completed by the countless sanctuaries and groves throughout the land (..) being situated in sacred precincts that are generally full of flowers because of the abundance of water”. “Eleia” concedes Yalouris, “was the cradle of some of the most fundamental myths and important cults in Greek religion, with panhellenic appeal”¹⁴. Unsurprisingly, one of the shrines identified in Olympia was dedicated to Gaia. And furthermore Gaia is being today rehabilitated as a central symbol for many ecological minded scientists and activists as well.¹⁵ In turn, the Olympic mythological narrative was restored one hundred years ago by Coubertin through new representations from the original Greek meanings, but Olympia remained mostly as a symbol of the Olympic Games.

Sport in nature v. sport in culture

Indeed, the relationship between environment and athletic activities has become an intensely topical theme to sport practice in recent years. As yet, both the Gaia’s foundational symbolism for environment and sport and the rehabilitation of Olympia as also the birth place of environmentalism did not completely occur. As such, based on Jorge Bento’s interpretations, the pervasiveness of this environmentalist theme may be primarily regarded as the restoration of an historical relationship between sport and nature rather than a newly articulated phenomenon of modern sport.¹⁶

The re-infusion of self-expression in physical activities within natural contexts – brought about at large by environmentalism – might however be one of the distinctive approach to contemporary sport. A good illustration of this current interpretation is provided by Fernand Landry when nothing that “self-realization and self-expression aimed at personal well-

being, health and adaptation to one's environment" seems to be the completion of the globalization process of sport, as early perceived by Coubertin as a fact of cosmopolitanism.¹⁷

Although its foundations have been on individuals, the distinctiveness of sports interdependence with nature will likely to be more clearly contextualized in the new global culture. In other words, sport might be understood comprehensively in present days by a twofold statement, that is by means of the ontological argument of sport as a being-in-itself in natural circumstances and by the explanation of cultural identity of sport.

Significantly, Hans Lenk already in 1985 defined sport as a "cultural phenomenon on a natural biological basis" and more recently Ommo Grupe pointed out boldly:¹⁸ "Sport as a cultural phenomenon reaches far beyond the traditional boundaries of sport itself, it is the expression of a new understanding of culture".

These interchangeable definitions are otherwise apart from the conception of sport as independent of things, in which the traditional view of universals is applied, similarly to the theory of play as elaborated by Johan Huizinga and others.¹⁹ Actually, sport as an entity of nature presupposes universals as existing within particulars (*universalis in re*) while the cultural meaning of sport refers to universals derived from particulars (*universalia post res*).

But this universality cannot be regard as a basis for principles of judgement if the so called naturalistic fallacy is accepted as a philosophical criterion. Significantly this fallacy reduces from natural characteristics a nonnatural property. Nevertheless, distinguished philosophers such as Jürgen Habermas (foundationist) and Richard Rorty (antifoundationist) have been rejecting the naturalistic fallacy validity.²⁰ Thus, whether in universalist or in relativist points of view, sport in nature expresses values and sport in culture represents facts. As yet both interpretations are claiming universalizability although playing independent roles, not mutually exclusives.

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The ambivalence towards sports is furthermore similar to the ambivalence of globalization which corresponds to diverse claims of universality. Milton Santos sees this controversy in the grounds of the universal dominance of man in postmodernity, contrasting with separate and disperse damages to life everywhere on Earth. ²¹ For Michel Serres, this self-degradation of society induced by technology is mainly referred to a demand of **natural contract** instead of **social contract** which formerly typified modernity ²² besides the Olympism proclaimed by Coubertin.

Sustainability and ethics

At this point of reasoning on environment and sport, the current proposition of **sustainable development** can illuminate the potential of natural contract. To enhance a sustainable society is to arrange development and environmental protection as complementary forces rather than antagonists. That is to say, increasingly high standards of any sort ought to be consistent with the needs and constraints of nature. ²³

This reconciliation constituted the common challenge of both the Stockholm (1972) and Rio de Janeiro (1992) United Nations Conferences on Environment and Development. As historical milestones for environmentalism these conferences focused on promoting the union of single-minded forces of international society as a global agreement. The attempt to have such natural contract in a planetary scope, among successes and failures, proved the importance of a harmonious combination of political actions and environmental ethics. Put another way, this global agreement took the denomination of “Agenda 21” for its perspectives towards the 21th century. ²⁴

However, the challenge of sustainability gained more visibility on local levels where politics and ethics become a

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combination of instrumental values with intrinsic values seeking for environment preservation. This conception in spite of variety of forms, is commonly shared by leading thinkers of environmentalism, such as Hargrove, Rolston, Fox, Lovelock, Turner, etc.²⁵

Drawing primarily on the propositions of these philosophers and scientists, sustained development is specifically the ethical instrumentalization of nature, respecting its intrinsic values. Or, more pointedly for sport concerns: physical activities, games and competitions are sustained when their instrumentalization respects the intrinsic values of nature and sport. From this point of view there should be a sustained sport and even more appropriate a sustained Olympism.

Moreover, the best way to lead into a discussion on sustainability in sport is to be aware of Arne Naess' ontological argument. For this Norwegian philosopher, proponent of **Deep Ecology** in the 1990s, intrinsic values derive from richness and diversity of life forms which "contribute to the realization of these values and are also values in themselves"⁽¹¹⁾ Arne Naess also calls attention to the typical attitude of *friluftsliv* (free air life) when arguing the roots of Deep Ecology:²⁶ "Norwegians walk, run, creep into nature to get rid of whatever represses them and contaminates the air not only the atmosphere. They don't talk about going out, but *in* and *into* nature".

This life-based approach warrants a sport, culture and nature trait to Scandinavian people. "The people, human body and nature", as asserted H. Meinander, in 1998, "constitute thereby a unity in the Nordic mind"²⁷. This "physical pilgrimage back to nature" follows the tradition set by Fridtjof Nansen, a well-known nineteenth century explorer. His influence, still alive in Scandinavian countries, is characterized²⁸

"by an appraisal of simple 'antitechnological' ways of life and by and emphasis on the struggle

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with nature as a means to develop individual courage, daring and determination. These examples are an indication of the fact that physical activity in nature is culture bound”.

The Lillehammer and Sydney's narratives

The interplay between environment claims and narratives is actually a peculiarity of Ecology in its associations with other areas of knowledge, ²⁹ going far beyond Gaia and Olympia aspirations and needs. In this sense, Felix Guattari had proposed a new “Ecosophy” and Warwick Fox mentions an “Ecophilosophy”, both giving emphasis to the role of subjectivity in human relations with environment. ³⁰

On the other hand, symbolic narrative is an essential characteristic of sport that is often overlooked. So, the Olympic Movement and Olympism, by their very nature, may have sustained sport as a mode symbolic production. But in this course of actions innovative claims were included already in Coubertin's era, being marked by some cities that hosted the Games which became milestones of modern Olympic history. That was the case of Lillehammer and later of Sydney .

In fact, there was a convergence during the 1994 Winter Olympic Games in which the meaning and identity of culture, nature and sport had an interface with a contract of sustainability calling for a redefinition of sport management and facilities. Early on, in Norway, a democratic process of negotiations took place shortly after the initial demonstrations and protests against the Games. In effect, the environmental damage occurred during the 1992 Winter Olympics of Albertville brought forth strong reactions from governments and environmentalists. ³¹

The Lillehammer Olympic Organizing Committee (LOOC) consequently forged a partnership with local

environmental groups, injecting a new sensibility into the Olympics. This became the first time in history that the Olympic Games assumed a positive pseudonym, “the Green Games”.³² Further, the phrase “environmental showcase” was officially coined by the Norwegian Government that also brought together local technological private enterprises to join the reformed project.

The LOOC proceeded to develop a “green profile” by means of coordinated project for the management of the environment and sport under the auspices of sustainability as an unified concept for the Games.³³ The improvement was evident at virtually all athletic venues in Lillehammer. As a result, the expressions “the greening of sports”, “the third dimension of the Olympics” and even “eco-correct sports”³⁴ become synonymous with the Lillehammer experience besides contributing to a values-led narrative.

The case of 2000 Sydney Games may be also seen as a historic one either by the environmental technology involved or by the typical Olympic narrative accomplished. On account of the Olympic scholars Cashman & Hughes as an early source³⁵, “the Green Games has extended public debate on green issues and sport and, even the bad new stories had made the public more aware of this nexus”. On one hand, opinion leaders stressed positive aspects of the Green Games; on the other hand activists “were dissatisfied with the inadequate remediation procedures and public consultation at Homebush Bay”. Finally, at its 1998 stage “the Green Games is a focus for continuing debate. It is an ideal worth pursuing from an environmental perspective. It also represents Sydney’s unique contribution to the Olympic Movement”.

By 1999, the narrative continued in the same tone as ascertained by an official statement delivered by Peter Ottensen, Program Manager Environment in Sydney Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games (SOCOG)³⁶: “With 12 months to go, Sydney

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organizers are well advanced against all measures in meeting the goal of setting a new standard of environmental excellence in staging an Olympic Games or any other large sporting event". In the end, even the early critics of the Games' negative impacts adopted the hyperbole of "the best Games ever", as can be admitted by this public statement issued by the Greenpeace movement during the 2000 Games ³⁷: "Since 1992, Greenpeace, the world's leading environmental organization, has been campaigning to ensure that the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games are a global showcase for environmental solutions".

Summarizing, it might be said that the so often criticized gigantism of the Olympic Games is able to transform a trade-off into a symbiosis of opposites, as defined by sustainable values versus economic, technological and political interests. This harmonic association purportedly makes reference equally to observable entities, i.e. from science & technology, and to collective aspirations and beliefs (values, myths and narratives). Naturally, Lillehammer and Sydney Games may ensure the acknowledgement of this interplay by future epistemological sport researches.

In the Olympic sport context, it is appropriate to say a few additional words about the meanings and visions which have been unfolding throughout this text. The construction of descriptive and explanatory concepts is legitimized by the absence of a tightly articulated theory, in addition to restrictions imposed by traditional disciplinary domain. This requirement is not sufficient managed yet by scholars when dealing with multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary investigations. But, a naturalized epistemology - as proposed before in this Chapter - in this case should correspond theoretically to a twofold Olympic epistemology which could balance eco-friendly technology with values-led Olympism. The reconciliation possibility had support at least in the IOC institutional discourse on environmental issues in the early 1990s.

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To quote Richard W. Pound, member of the International Olympic Committee Executive Board during the 1990s, seems to be significant now because from his statements the roots of the IOC involvement with sustainability can be traced. In 1993, sport institutions were still seeking to respond only to baseline demands imposed by environmental challenges, what required a straightforward demand, as follows: ³⁸

“It is natural that the International Olympic Committee, as the leader of a worldwide humanistic Movement, should be concerned with the integration of the activities of the Olympic Movement with the well-being of the world in which we live. Indeed, the Olympic Movement is predicated on holistic principles of balance between body and mind, between action and contemplation, between sport and culture. It would be unconceivable for the IOC to divorce itself from recognition of the desirable balance between the needs of the present and those of the future”.

In 2002, coherently with his environmental legacy's pledge, Richard Pound, as chairman of the World Anti-doping Agency, when urging the Olympic athletes to preserve themselves from performance-enhancing drugs ³⁹, declared vehemently in symbolic terms that “we want heroes, not just winners!”. The expectation of the Olympic athlete as playing the role of hero is analyzed in depth in Chapter 16 of this book, but here this mythological entity is primarily considered a value holder as properly defined by Nikos Yaloures ⁴⁰:

“Myth is the language of the spirit. Unlike history, it does not refer to ephemeral events and incidents, to ever-changing external factors

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and phenomena of human life. Myth is the embodiment of man's earliest memories of his own origin, his "god-given origin", as Pindar says (Frg. 137a). Inseparably linked with religion, it formed its very roots and ramifications in the life of the Hellenes ... As "immanent reason" myth is expressed in the fine arts, in poetry, music and dance - all of which lead to beauty and the attainment of man's true nature".

In a nutshell, both statements frame coded indication of desirable values to be found in Olympism and , of course, they encounter one basic requirement of modern epistemology, that is, they try to answer on how human beings can arrive at believes about the world around them. As the philosophical and scientific dialectics on the environment and sport relations continue, the meanings and visions as presented in former sections may be here presuppose the validity of both sport sciences and Olympism proposals. While the former course concentrates its efforts in fragmented and inductive approaches the latter might be able to adopt deductive and in-depth theoretical advancements, as seen in Nansen, Coubertin, Naess and other cornerstones.

The symbiosis of knowledge

In developing epistemic principles for Olympism from environment and sport theory, the descriptions and explanations of the preliminary sections of this Chapter were overviewed in Table 1. In this exhibition, the all-inclusive epistemic justification of Olympism are focused by the validity criterion expressively called "symbiosis" by Arne Naess in his

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Deep Ecology. In other words, meanings, visions and myths & narratives may combine in knowledge structures as basic and significant as foundations ⁴¹.

Table 1
Environment and sport theory -
Olympic Epistemology

MEANINGS	VISIONS	MYTHS & NARRATIVES
Ontological Identity	Universal Value	Gaia
Culture of Sport	Universal Fact	Coubertin
Natural Contract	Ecological Conscious Society	Lillehammer and Sydney
Culture-Nature-Sport Values	Sustainable Olympism	Olympia
Eco-friendly Technology	Sustained Olympism	Green Games

In conclusion, these relationships must be attached to limitation first and foremost related to science & technology approaches for being reductionist in their nature. Secondly, taking into account the environmental knowledge which has a fact-value multidisciplinary bottom-line implying often acceptance of the on-going process of theory building. Overall, ecological conscious philosophers interpret these limits in terms of mutual adaptation , as did Eugene Hargrove when endorsing the reconciliation thesis by explaining the peculiarities of the so-called environmental science: ⁴²

“Humans have most successfully manipulated nature by applying principles from physical

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sciences... No comparable degree of manipulative ability has as yet been developed in the environmental or natural history sciences. Although it is sometimes suggested that complete technological mastery of the environment might be possible if environmental science could somehow be reduced to physics and chemistry, it is important to recognize that these sciences are based on a reductionist method that may be only partially appropriate to environmental science, thereby making this possibility very unlikely”.

Notwithstanding, Holmes Rolston summarizes the option usually taken by environmentalist thinkers: ⁴³

“Still a philosopher ought to hope for some veridical unity in the mind, whatever its divisions, and to try to make explicit rationally what is so often tacit...Our upsets follow from our mindsets, and we are aroused to act in accord with what we believe. It is a blending of thought, affection and willing that the epistemic powers of the mind lie, and we need accordingly a philosophical account of a suitable emotional response to nature”.

Now the final words belong to Gregory Bateson who inspires us the proposal of developing a sustained Olympism ascribed to this Chapter. Already in 1958, dealing with environment and culture, he came up to the conclusion that “explanation means to put frames of knowledge together” ⁴⁴. That was the main task throughout this text which focuses on how the cultural meaning is encoded in all aspects of

contemporary life, including sport and , of course, a renewed Olympism.

Notes

1. See in the proceedings of the 1990 event: Landry, F., Landry, M. & Yerlès, M. (eds), *Sport...The Third Millenium*. Les Presses de L' Univerisité Laval, Quebec, 1991, p. xxxii.
2. Boulongne, Y.P., *Pierre de Coubertin: un Regard Neuf Sur Son Humanism, Ses Croyances et Son Attitude à l'Égard du Sport Feminin*. In Landry, Landry and Yerlès (eds), *Op. Cit.* pp. 366 - 382.
3. A in-depth analysis on this theme is found in DaCosta, L.P. (ed), *Environment and Sport-An International Overview*. University of Porto / International Olympic Committee, Porto - Portugal, 1997.
4. See Dancy, J. & Sosa, E. (eds), *A Companion to Epistemology*. Blackwell, Oxford, 1996, p. 297.
5. *Ibidem*, p. 178.
6. Coubertin, P. (1907) *A Propos des Rallyes*. *Revue Olympique*, mars, pp. 238-240. In *Pierre de Coubertin-Textes Choiesies*, Tome III – *Pratique Sportive*, Müller, N. et Schantz, O. (eds.), Weidman, Zurich, 1986.
7. Telama, R. , *Nature as Motivation for Physical Activity*. In Oja, P. & Telama, R. (eds) *Sport for All*, Elsevier Amsterdam, 1991, p. 609.
8. Pausanias , *Pausanias Hellados Periegesis*. N. Papaxangis (ed.), Messnniaka, Athina, 1965, p. 293: V, 14, 10. (original text of Pausanias and comments from the editor). See also in Latin version of the Greek text: *Pausanias Descriptio Graeciae* , Ludovicus Dindorfius (ed.). Editore Ambrosio Firmin Didot, Paris, 1845, pp. 249-250.

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9. Personal communication of Nikos Yalouris and field observations in 1992 and 1993. Actually, the Rivers Alpheios and Kladeos converge in southwest area of Olympia, producing in the past frequent floods in part of the sanctuary. Flooding and earthquakes covered the location of the supposed geological break with silt, nearby Kronos hill. Apparently the instability of water, earth and stone is peculiar to the locality, washing away the area between the plain (where religious and civic monuments were built) and the slopes of Kronos hill. As a result the myth of Gaia made a connection with the flowing of water, if the text of Pausanias is taken into account.
10. Bateson, G., *Mind and Nature – A Necessary Unity*. Bantam Books, New York, pp. 150-151. In addition to this explanation see Morgan, C., *Athletes and Oracles – The Transformation of Olympia and Delphi in the Eighth Century B.C.*, Cambridge University Press, 1992, p.43: “It is possible that Gaia and Themis presence at Olympia may be the result of mythological family ties also, yet it is perhaps more likely that these cults are genuinely early, and if so, their chthonic and rustic attributes are suggestive of a rural shrine, Judith Swaddling wishes go further still, and have the early Olympiads primarily as agricultural thanks givings”.
11. Pleket, H.W., *The Olympic Games and Their Decline*. Report of the 1st Joint International Session of I.O.A., 20-27 May 1992, *Ancient Olympia*, pp. 19-24.
12. Personal communication in 1993.
13. Yalouris, N. *Ancient Elis - Cradle of the Olympic Games*. Adam Editions, 1996, 132- 133.
14. *Ibidem*, p. 132.
15. See Thompson, W.I., *Gaia Emergence: the New Science of Becoming*. Lindisfarne Press, New York, 1991, pp. 11-29.
16. Bento, J., *Desporto para Todos: os Novos Desafios*. In *Os Espaços*

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- e os Equipamentos Desportivos, J. M. Constantino (ed), Camara Municipal de Oeiras, p. 248.
17. Landry, F., Preface. In Sport... The Third Millennium, Op. Cit., p. xxxiv.
 18. Both Hans Lenk and Ommo Grupe quotations are from Grupe, O., The Sport Culture and the Sportization of Culture. In Sport... The Third Millennium, Op. Cit., pp. 135- 145.
 19. See for further analysis in this matter, Fink, E., Le Jeu comme Symbole du Monde. Les Éditions de Minuit, Paris, 1966, pp. 205-240.
 20. Rorty, R., Habermas and Lyotard on postmodernity. In Habermas and Modernity, R.J. Bernstein (ed.), The MIT Press Cambridge, 1988, pp. 161-175.
 21. Santos, M., 1992: a Descoberta da Natureza. Estudos Avançados, 6 (14) , Sao Paulo, 1992, pp. 95-106.
 22. Serres, M., O Contato Natural. Nova Fronteira Editora, Rio de Janeiro, 1991, pp.21-29.
 23. This concept is accounted to Reilly, W., Economic Growth and Environmental Gain, Dialogue, September – 1991, pp. 3-8
 24. The Agenda 21 approaches from Stockholm to Rio's experiences in contrast with other international declarations on environment and sport are analysed in DaCosta, L.P., Desporto e Natureza: Tendencias Globais e Novos Significados. Simposio "Cidadania, Desporto e Natureza" – Universidade do Porto, Junho 1993.
 25. Among several contributions from these Authors the following works approach to politics, ethics and environment: Hargrove, E.C. , Foundations of Environmental Ethics. Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, 1998; Rolston, H. , Philosophy Gone Wild-Environmental Ethics. Prometheus Books, Buffalo, 1989; Fox, W., Toward a Transpersonal Ecology-Developing New Foundations for Environmentalism, Shambhala, Boston, 1990; Lovelock, J.;

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- Turner, F.; Botkin, D.B.; Foreman, D., *Man and Nature: a Symposium*. Dialogue, September, 1991.
26. Naess, A. , *The Norwegian Roots of Deep Ecology*, In *Nature – The True Home of Culture*, Dahle, B. (ed.). Norges Idrettshogskole, Oslo, p.18.
27. Meinander, H. and Mangan, J. A. (eds), *The Nordic World*. Frank Cass, London,1998, p. 6.
28. The quotation is from Vuolle, P., *Nature and Environments for Physical Activity*. In *Sport for All*, Oja, P. and Telama, R. (eds.), *Op. Cit.*, pp. 597-606. In addition, the philosophy of Fridtjof Nansen is described by himself in *FRILUFTSLIV*. In *Nature, - The True Home of Culture*, op. cit. pp. 6-7 (text written in 1921).
29. The narrative connection is analysed in historical and philosophical concerns by DaCosta, L.P., *O Olhar e o Pensar Ambientalista*. In Soares, A. (org.), *Ecologia e Literatura, Tempo Brasileiro*, Rio de Janeiro, 1992, pp.35-40.
30. Guattari, F., *As Três Ecologias*. Papyrus, Campinas (French original version: 1989).
31. See the editorial, *Le Parlement Européen Critique Ferme l'impact Ecologique des Jeux Olympiques d'Albertville*. *Lettre de l'Économie du Sport*, no. 160, mai 1992, Editions Sportune, Paris.
32. For more on this, see *The Greening of Sport – The Third Dimension of the Olympics*, elaborated by Ministry of Environment – Norway. In “Green Issues” (Special issue), Oslo, February, 1994, pp. 5 - 10.
33. Personal communication with Sigmund Haugsjaa in 1993 and the paper Haugsjaa, S. “Lillehammer: Do Desafio às Oportunidades”. Simposio “Cidadania, Desporto e Natureza”, Universidade do Porto, junho 1993.
34. See Star, M., *Now, the Green Games*. Newsweek special issue, February, New York, 1994, pp. 46-47.

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35. Cashman, R. & Hugues, A. (eds), *The Green Games - A Golden Opportunity*. Seminar on Sydney's Green Games, University of New South Wales. Proceedings, Illustrations Publishers, 1998 (Introduction).
36. Ottesen, P., *Environment and Sydney 2000*. Paper presented at the IOC World Conference Sport and Environment, Rio de Janeiro, Oct. 1999, p. 11.
37. Greenpeace Australia, *The Greenpeace Green Olympics Campaign*. Institutional pamphlet distributed during the 2000 Sydney's Olympic Games.
38. Pound, R. W., *The IOC and the Environment*. Olympic Message, no. 35, March, 1993, p. 14.
39. Pound, R. W., *We Want Heroes, not just Winners!*. WADA news, no. 2, June 2002, p. 1.
40. Yalouris, N., *Pegasus: The Art the Legend*. Westerham Press, London, 1977, p. vii.
41. For "symbiosis" concerns in epistemology see Naess, A., *Ecology, Community and Lifestyle*. *The Ecologist*, 1989, no. 19, pp. 196 - 197.
42. Hargrove. E.C. , *Op. Cit.*, p. 159.
43. Rolston, H., *Op. Cit.*, pp. 249-250.
44. Bateson, G., *Naven*. Einaudi, Turim, 1998, p. 264 (English original version from 1958).



CHAPTER 10

Visioning an Olympic culture: philosophical and aesthetic foundations v. theatrical mass representation

The Olympic Movement's historic contrasting directions as analyzed in previous chapters may have a cultural understanding when sharpening the global focus of interpretation. Indeed, "globalization as a concept refers both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole" as it has been assuming by Robertson, a leading interpreter

of this today's geographic and somewhat cultural phenomenon ¹.

Much more than other forms of culture, the Olympic Games may be regarded as part of the so-called global culture (consciousness of the world) in addition to a cultural meaning in themselves (compression of the world) on account of their ancient Greek roots. This far-reaching interpretation might also include the 2004 Athens Olympic Games in view of the opportunity of staging the Games in the place in which they stand simultaneously as reality and memory (*lieu de memoire*). Although the Olympic Games' restoration had already took place in 1896 Athens, to rethink the Games in 2004 would imply in portraying the worldwide and multicultural audience provided by television and other global media as a Greek legacy on the 21st century outset.

This Chapter grew out of evidences that there is an Olympic culture now admitted as global but which has been passing through different epochs and places due to a typically universal appeal. And the appealing element of this contemporary globally accepted culture is the Olympic Games. "Despite all criticism the Olympic Games remain immensely popular", concedes Barney, Wenn & Martyn, adding that "a record audience of 3.7 million people watched Olympic television coverage from Sydney" ². This statement was made in 2002, but by many accounts the universality of the Games has been inherently taking part in the Olympic meta-narrative started earlier by Pierre de Coubertin.

A simple demonstration of this modern and even postmodern mythological discourse is seen in the Olympic Museum, in Lausanne. In that electronic temple of today's Olympism key historic statements from former IOC presidents are displayed in the walls, representing the state of guidance in different stages of the Olympic Movement development. Particularly, words from Coubertin's memories were enshrined

in the Museum's main space praising the all-encompassing meaning of Olympism: "L' Olympism a une mission universelle et séculaire. Il est ambitieux. Il lui faut tout l'espace et tout le temps". In the same space a statement from Lord Killanin - IOC president in 1972/1980 period - also focus the universals derived from particulars as seen in the cultural approaches of Olympism: "The Olympic Movement is not only the allocation and ruling of the Olympic Games. It is something through of the world; which exists for 24 hours a day for every day of the year. It is something that can be good to all".

Given this universal appeal that permeates Olympism, the primary purpose of this Chapter is to review the vision of the world as a category of analysis that is able to re-interpret culturally the Olympic Games. Together with the scrutiny of the Olympic Movement's universality, an approach on the role of Greece, Athens and Ancient Olympia as *lieux de memoire* of the Olympic Games and the sports em general will follows. As such, the cultural meaning of this quadrennial multisport festival may be observed as a celebration of athletic competitions embedded in one single community vision, firstly bounding up the ancient Hellenic world and finally marking the global culture of present-day sport.

Summarizing, this Chapter offers an account of world-views as constructed by pre-Socratic philosophers in Ancient Greece and later restored in Italian Renaissance, reinvented in 19th century European Olympic restoration and now it has been representing one of the globalization direction in which the world is heading.

Philosophy and visions of the world

One of the most common interpretation of philosophy 's origin relies on the Greek pre-Socratic thinkers from the sixth century BC, for their creation of speculative reasoning. In short,

these founders of philosophy tied their theories to the observable natural world. They also constructed arguments from basic uniformity of behaviors associated to natural environment's properties and changes. Explanations of the universe as a whole were then what the predecessors of Socrates elaborated, as the sixth-century Milesians: Thales, Anaximander, and Anaximenes.

In today's language these first western philosophers were much concerned with cosmology. Indeed, their vision of the world dealt with the origin and uniqueness of the universe. From a primordial principle (*arkhe*) they had brought into comprehensive statements the multiplicity of things that apparently constitute the world. In this sense, another pre-Socratic philosopher, Heraclitus from Ephesus (c. 540 - 470 BC), claimed that the world is a unity-in-opposites within an implicit harmony³.

As the impact of these and further interpretations from the first philosophers of Ancient Greece cannot be told here in its full complexity, it is intended to capture merely some of the more fascinating aspects of the successive construction of world's views. Contemplating today that cosmological universe built by primordial philosophy can help us to identify the next exploratory efforts to be placed on record. Thus far, Socrates, himself, in his life-time was in conscious rebellion against the prevailing cosmogonies. Living in the fifth century BC already, Socrates maintained that men must know how themselves ought to live, not how nature works. Therefore, what should be needed to consider first and foremost are moral questions.

Despite the contradictions between Socrates and his predecessors, behind both views there was the prevalence of a supreme order (*ananke*) historically sought by the Greeks either as a mythological belief or as a philosophical or artistic elaboration. According to H. Kitto, in Homer's narratives even the Gods were many times submitted to this universal order; also, famous dramatists as Aeschylus and Sophocles discussed

the universal laws that rule men's life ⁴. Plato in *Timaeus* set out the demiurge as the maker of the universe imposing order into the world's chaotic matter⁵.

To many analysts of the Greek thought, the demiurge represents the anthropomorphic version of *ananke* and a link to the search of perfection (*arete*), another cultural, philosophical, artistic and communal pursuit of Ancient Greece. For instance, following is a meaningful interpretation quoted in John Passmore:

“ The demiurge is not, it should be observed, omnipotent. That is why not all men are in fact godlike (...) But as a result of the Demiurge's desire that all things should be as far as possible like himself (...), every man has within him a ‘guiding genius’ (...) Man has a divine element in himself; he perfects that divine element by contemplating the ordered glory of the universe; in so doing he becomes ‘godlike’ “ ⁶.

Such accomplishment of making order combined with the search of perfection should have as a symptomatic example the Olympic Games, which notably congregated the ancient Hellenic world located in different parts of the Mediterranean for more than one thousand years. As we have demonstrated elsewhere by means of comparison with the Roman Peace (*Pax Romana*), the Olympic Games was also an explicit instrument of imposing order or truce (*ekecheria*) among the ever-lasting belligerent status of Greek cities. But as opposed to the Roman cultural traditions, the communal pledge of the Olympiads was only headed to Hellenic ethnic groups for their need of contemplating themselves in a glorified and ordered ritual. Foreigners, i. e. barbarians, belonged to the chaos and the hostile variety of the world's parts still untouched by demiurgic interventions. In sum, Roman

civilization exerted peace control by leveling down differences while Greeks by praising similarities. Suggestively, both approaches remain today as modes of promoting cultural identity in international perspective⁷.

Philosophically speaking, the observation of the Greeks as order seekers is just an evidence of their overall reflection on nature and man as common grounds of the universal knowledge (*logos*), as early proposed by Heraclitus. This latter connection is discussed in contemporary terms by Werner Jaeger in his classic book *Paidea*. As a result, Jaeger demonstrates the existence of a peculiar style and vision developed by the ancient Greeks founded in aesthetic values. So far, philosophical reasoning is closely related to art and poetry, and man's political participation and education are encompassed by the "image of a totality which renders a position and a sense as parts of a whole". Jaeger additionally concludes that the spiritual principle of ancient Greek civilization does not favor the individuality of men, reaching the ideal later denominated by Roman thinkers as *humanitas*, "an image of the generic man in his universal and normative validity"⁸.

The Jaeger's approach is indisputable today when comparing similar interpretations derived from Greek legacies throughout different categories and disciplines of knowledge. In Olympic Studies area, for instance, we have discussed this topic following the Pierre de Coubertin's conception of equilibrium of man facing the complexity and challenges of life. Inspired in the Hellenic vision of the world, Coubertin reinvented the modern Olympic Games and outlined the doctrine of Olympism having as one main point of departure the unity as defined as playing a regulatory role jointly with justice and beauty. Additionally, Coubertin adopted the ancient Greek nexus of eurhythmy (proportion, measure, harmony) for grounding sport participation and competition. Therefore, eurhythmy should be the content needed by sport to master its efforts in harmony and prudence⁹.

Overall, philosophical approaches to pre-Socratic views of the world as assumed afterwards by Plato , Aristotle and other ancient Greek thinkers, remained faithful to the notion of *logos* , inherited from Heraclitus. Similar apology was later made by modern philosophers as Hegel, Nietzsche and Heidegger¹⁰. The Hellenistic humanism survived in Cicero (106 - 43 BC) and other Roman writers as well as among leading protagonists of the Italian Renaissance during the 14th and 15th centuries AD¹¹. Today's fine arts and social sciences as taught in most universities worldwide are still reflecting both Hellenic and European Renaissance's legacies. Actually, nowadays expressions such as universal, totality, equilibrium, harmony and unity become synonymous of order when they are historically and culturally mediated by Greek traditions. In philosophy's jargon, the German expression *Weltanschauung* (world-view) currently stands as a general vision of the universe and man's place in it which affects one's conduct, implying again in a surviving Greek holistic conception from antiquity.

Concerning to the modern Olympic Games and the pretentious philosophy of Olympism, Coubertin's legacy has been assuring the acknowledgement of their ancient Greek culture, art and philosophy bases. But, of course, successive adaptations to international conflicts, commercial interests, moral deviations, new technologies and other updated pressures and advancements have been diminishing the traditional meanings of the Games¹².

The renaissance revival

The vision of the world centered in the universe, the humanity, and the equilibrium of man emerged again in the European Renaissance having the ancient Hellenic images, behavior and thinking as inspiration. Pico della Mirandola,

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author of “ On the Dignity of Man” (*De Hominis Dignitate*), published in fifteenth-century Italy, is often mentioned as a model of the ancient Greek rediscovery for his exaltation of men seen as the core meaning of history, arts and knowledge production.

In fact, Renaissance’s thinkers and artists in addition to the flourishing scientists of that time, had displaced the Middle Age concept that considered humanity as being opposed to divinity. An authoritative synthesis of this much deeper significant turn is found in Erwin Panofsky:

“ Thus the Renaissance conception of *humanitas* had a two-fold aspect from the outset. The new interest in the human being was based both on a revival of the classical antithesis between *humanitas* and *barbaritas*, or *feritas*, and on a survival of the medieval antithesis between *humanitas* and *divinitas*. When Marsilio Ficino defines man as a ‘rational soul participating in the intellect of God, but operating as a body’, he defines him as the one being that is both autonomous and finite. And Pico’s famous ‘speech’, ‘On the Dignity of Man’, is anything but a document of paganism. Pico says that God placed man in the center of the universe so that he might be conscious of where he stands, and therefore free to decide ‘where to turn’ “¹³.

Arguably, the Renaissance man preceded the Renaissance artist and indeed the chief idealizations of man adopted a theatrical approach accounting on an interpretation of Paul Frankl on this particular re-creation. This held particularly true in regard of Renaissance’s architecture to which spatial conceptions became a reflection of man’s corporeal dimensions. In other words, to the golden mean of ancient Greek art it was added spatial relationships originated from

perspective techniques that were at that time mathematized, making the visual world objective and measurable in different artistic expressions¹⁴.

As icons of this Renaissance achievement, it is significant to mention the “Proportion of the Human Figure” (c. 1492), a popular drawing redone by Leonardo Da Vinci to represent the “universal man” (*uomo universale*); and the public spaces and buildings designed by Felipo Brunelleschi (c. 1415) in Florence, where the “human measure” (*misura umana*) became central aesthetic and functional references of urban development in Europe¹⁵. Unsurprisingly, the theatrical vision of the world (*theatrum mundi*) from Renaissance transformed citizens in spectators of themselves when bringing city centers’ spaces to their measures and perspectives. It is remarkable too that the notion of eurhythmy reappear explicitly among Renaissance’s architects in their development projects.

Suggestively enough, a similar conception of the *theatrum mundi* made appearance in first-century AD Greece as a Stoic proposal of education. In the *Enchiridion*, Epictetus introduces another role for the traditional theater, giving opportunity to spectators to discuss moral-political arguments. He also presents a dramatic conception of the world able to be transferred to the stage. Thus, theatricality could provide a practice of common men in order to improve their societal participation. Once Stoicism understood also the world as a ordered whole, says Epictetus when indicating acceptance of misfortune without complaint: “Remember that you are an actor in a drama of such a sort as the author chooses - if short, then in a short time; if long, then in a long one”¹⁶.

Undoubtedly, the *theatrum mundi* conception from Ancient Greece to Renaissance change its pedagogic sense and content by raising the narrative to the broader theme of visual meaning in a spectacular relationship with audiences. The baroque style in the 15th and 16th centuries-European painting

and architecture had ultimately brought this visual interplay with spectators to the limits of its aesthetic appraisal. The example of the Venetian painter Giambattista Tiepolo (1696 - 1770) is particularly appreciative to analysts of contemporary global culture.

Travelling and working in different regions of Europe, Tiepolo covered palaces and churches' ceilings and walls with fresco decorations depicting worldly scenarios and religious glorification by architectural arrangements and perspective compositions. The world-view was represented by a variety of human ethnic types in different levels and situations between landscapes and heavenly clouds. In addition, the spectacular baroque art of Tiepolo included paintings of normal dimensions portraying communal events in urbanite everyday life into which acrobats and dancers are often protagonists¹⁷. In a nutshell, Tiepolo's visions somewhat earlier had caught on the forthcoming two-fold standpoint of the global and the local, currently recognized by analysts of today's cultural practices.

The nineteenth - century rediscovery

In the century that science consolidated its fundamental role in social, cultural and economic relationships of the so-called modern world, Ancient Greece came again into focus among intellectuals and academic circles pertained to European traditions. The 19th century was also the epoch that historical and cultural knowledge had expanded their influence for reinforcing national identities and setting tone to international understanding. In this context, cosmopolitanism and tourism became part of modernity and a symptom of capitalistic wealth in many countries.

The internationalization drive that coincided with that century of nationalistic endeavors everywhere in the world,

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had corresponded to archeological initiatives that restored many historical sites in Greece. Unsurprisingly, philhellenism was then openly assumed by some European , North and South American intellectuals, specially during the Greek war for independence. Moreover, for Olympic Studies concerns, Greece, Athens and Ancient Olympia gained referential visibility as landmarks of western culture in contrast to Renaissance's nostalgic revivals and theatrical participation provided to city's dwellers.

Under these circumstances, the role of Pierre de Coubertin was not only attained to the reinvention of the Olympic Games, reflecting similar attempts previously occurred . Overall, the Coubertinian philhellenism recreated a world-view centered in Ancient Greece's values having selected athletic competitions as support for international visibility . Notwithstanding, Coubertin trusted in the universal significance of sport, a condition broadly accepted by social sciences in present days. In all, he had renewed the Olympic Games reproducing the successful experience of international exhibitions, another nineteenth-century invention. These events were proposed to create spectacular views towards national commercial and industrial developments associated to the promotion of host nation or city images during a certain period of time.

The world's exhibitions, festivals and fairs as a means of international insertion of new technologies, scientific knowledge or life-styles had their emergence and impact coincidentally with the surge of multinational corporations and institutions after mid-nineteenth century. Thus, to trace the Olympic Movement evolution has frequently the meaning of an identification of intersections with international and national exhibitions. Coubertin improved his Olympic Games' project with meetings and contacts during the 1889 Paris Fair¹⁸. The second Olympic Games of modern era took place jointly with the 1900 Paris Exhibition and the third in a merge with

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1904 Saint Louis World Fair. The regional Olympic Games of 1922 in Rio de Janeiro was held taking advantage of the international fair promoted in that city in the same year ¹⁹.

The size and importance of both the 1932 Los Angeles and the 1936 Berlin Games nevertheless proved that the Olympiads would have no need of support from another world class event. But, the influence of international exhibition according to its 19th century style remained henceforth in the Games. Conclusively, the contemporary Olympic Games have been representing a spectacle and an insertion of a particular host city in the world-view of sports audience, additionally to cultural and technological acknowledgements. The continuous update of media support to the Games has been giving stability to this composition of fixed scenarios (stadia and facilities for the competitions) with changing places to host the celebration. Again, the heroic role of the Olympic athletes has been proved to be a necessary dramatization of this spectacular arrangement, confirming the Coubertin's timely restoration.

The 20th century celebration

Therefore, putting the focus on visions of the world, today's Olympic Games are still keeping the core meaning originated in Ancient Greece. Essentially they are a ritual to celebrate humanity as present in this life-world. This interpretation is convergent with the following words from Yves Pierre Boulongne when describing Olympism today:

“ By the call to excellence, to the shared gift, it is a trial and communion. By rhythm and purification, it is mystical, approach and sanctification: it is one of the last tribal

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celebration of humanity. It is offering and revelation. Because it chooses to believe in a transcendental order, in links between man and the cosmos, Olympism is an active culture. Thus it really is about man”²⁰.

Should the celebration of humanity constitute historically the unchanged implicit and primordial element of the Olympic Games, then there are parts of the grand narrative related to Olympism that we may now re-write as follows:

(i) Man in equilibrium with the order of cosmos was a ritual representation that had made the Olympic Games a theatrical view of the world in the ancient Greek culture.

(ii) Ancient Olympia as the sanctuary of the Games was a fixed stage in a fixed location, creating a *lieu de memoire* in Greek and western cultures.

(iii) Man as an actor in the social order of the city was an artistic expression originated in Renaissance that transform the theatrical view of the world in local and accessible spectacle, and then producing *lieux de memoire*.

(iv) International exhibitions reinforced the Renaissance tradition of the theatrical view of the world during the late 19th century and the early 20th century, but emphasizing more the spectacle than the memory of participation and performances due to the changing of host sites.

(v) Man as a performer framed in fixed stages located in different cities was a dramatic actor in the early versions of the Olympic Games, which has made him or her the center of the spectacle.

(vi) Man as a dramatic and heroic athlete framed in fixed stages of the Olympic Games in different

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locations during the 20th century, participated in the spectacular view of the world promoted by mass media.

These provocative statements poses a demanding question related to this Chapter's aim: if the celebration of man - necessarily added to woman in today's global society - and humanity survived through different views of the world since the Greek antiquity, are man/woman the *dramatis personae* (main acting protagonists) of the Olympic Games? For Boulongne , the humanism that places man/woman in time and space “ to be better positioned in the world to face the Gods” is inspired in paganism ²¹. Moreover, this French researcher of Coubertin's life and work classifies the Coubertinian man/woman as a pagan entity although the founder of Olympism preferred the epithet of “religio athletae” , for his obsessive cult of surpassing oneself ²². This is a contentious topic of discussion among Olympic scholars today, however it is consensual the acceptance of the ritual nature of the Games as centered in their praised athletes²³.

Furthermore, whether as an expression of modern paganism or not, the celebration of the heroically athletic man/woman may explain the close connection of the secular mass media of nowadays with the Olympic Games. And the vision of the world is mostly adapted to the narrative of athletes' deeds in terms of television, newspaper, radio and other media news and reports.

Towards a global celebration

The theatrical interpretation of the Games may be approached by reading Plato's “The Republic” when he calls for a prudent use of the theater as a pedagogic tool. In opposition to Epitectus, Plato detected a paradoxical effect in

the *theatrum mundi* which could also teach vicious and unjust deeds to youth²⁴.

The ambiguity of the theatrical view of the world has been sharing by the mass media in present days ²⁵. As yet, the emphasis in the spectacle is not a deviation but a limitation of mimetic learning as already depicted by Plato in his time. As a result, the dramatic revelation of the world should not be rejected as Plato did, or emphasized as Epictetus did, but recommended with additional examples from history as Jean Jacques Rousseau suggested in his “Emile” , written in 1762 ²⁶.

In effect, the Rousseau’s educational advise coincides with those adopted by the Olympic Games Organizing Committees (OCOGs) in recent years as a development from their own experience. Given the need of promoting the host city of the Games and its country, the respective OCOGs have been creating locally appropriate communication policies generally proposed to give support to the Games’ opening ceremony as well as the cultural program. In this respect, the present days OCOGs work in a two-fold approach, opening channels to international media enterprises for meeting the spectacular dimensions of the Games, and generating concepts and narratives bridging the local culture with the outside world.

For the 1988 Seoul Games, for example, it was produced a “Dae-dae cultural grammar” that Kang Shin-Pyo described as

“the backbone in the management of the Olympic event from conception to completion. This is not to suggest that the Olympic spectacle witnessed in Seoul was not without powerful constitutive elements best understood by cultural grammars imported from outside Korea. Indeed, the Olympic institution itself represented unfamiliar territory for Koreans. However, the Olympic games took on unique significance after being placed on Korean soil. The

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key to grasping this significance is found by understanding Dae-dae cultural grammar, which itself is not to be taken as something static but is always in a creative process of becoming”²⁷.

In the terminology here previously adopted the aforementioned “cultural grammar” equals to “world-view” or to “narrative” as well. Thus, Seoul’s motto for the opening ceremony “Bring the World to Seoul, Send Seoul out into the World” had the following codification:

“In Dae-dae grammar, going and coming, bringing and sending are not opposed but two aspects of the same dialectical process. In the Olympic and historical context, the Seoul/World pair is associated with further oppositions seeking mediation in the new order of things”²⁸.

Other examples for drawing attention to nationally and locally adapted narratives are 1992 Barcelona and 2000 Sydney Olympic Games. The former for recovering in the opening ceremony the universal appeal of Ulysses’ legendary voyages across the Mediterranean. The latter for presenting a new nation to the world, again in the opening ceremony, having as point of departure the long-time aboriginal culture still surviving in the Australian continental area. In both cases, contextual studies were made to select the appropriate approaches in order to meet universal understanding²⁹.

In the case of Athens - 2004, a narrative for the adaptation to outside world is in readiness since Coubertin’s days. Differently from all last century previous sites that hosted the Olympic Games, this narrative shall be the original one. Simply put, in Athens’ Olympiad the ritual will celebrate the initiation not the passage. Moreover, Ancient Greece is a foundational

symbol of the world in many dimensions of today's life everywhere. The examples of science, philosophy, history and art are significant in terms of knowledge development's origins since their long-standing fundamentals had passed from Greek and western traditions to the rest of the world.

Certainly, only foundational elements of Ancient Greece make sense in the so-called globalization since they already became of universal usage. The theme of globalization is also controversial and an obvious object for ideological suspicion as long as it often justifies the dominance of western culture. Conversely, accounting on Malcon Walters " globalization has been in process since the dawn of history (...) , it has increased in its effects since that time, but there has been a sudden and recent acceleration"³⁰.

Indeed, holding these statements as historically reliable, the vision of Ancient Greece as related to knowledge construction may represent the vision of present days' world. And this comprehensive bridge between the past and the present of humanity is commonly conceptualized as a knowledge-oriented single unit. On this argument, Robertson and Garrett suggest to apprehend the whole as "one place" for being more understandable in its variety of approaches³¹.

The Olympic culture

To conclude, let us come back to the issue of *lieux de memoire* initially proposed in this Chapter. This conception has been circulating among historians since the 1990s after being introduced by Pierre Nora. In short, historical accounts are more meaningful when preferably attached to concrete references (monuments, buildings, cities, regions, festivities, books, works of art etc.) instead of events. The general sense of this kind of account is the location, the place in which the

references gain identification, coordinates and directions, resulting in narratives connected to changes occurred in the place as a whole. Therefore, Nora's methodological proposition coincides with Robertson & Garrett's overview, being both attempts updated means of preservation of memory³².

To the extent that Olympic Studies have been progressing in recent decades, the Olympic Games should stand as a typical instance of *lieu de memoire*. In fact, Olympic historians have been focusing the modern version of this celebration mostly in terms of evolution and comparisons since the 1896 Games. But they also produces narratives when scrutinizing circumstances respecting to a particular host city and its country. In the former approach, historians are concerned with the diachronic meanings of the Games, while in the latter the option is to make synchronic interpretations of the same event. Once the sites of the modern Games are movable, the memory of the celebration has mostly become a result of diachronic studies.

Although these two distinct methodological definitions are traditional categories of historical interpretations, Pierre Nora has been calling upon the fact that synchronic approaches produced specialized memories in France (e.g. protestants, women, workers etc.) in addition to a few overall themes of national meaning. In summary, this experience is showing that the most important memory is the diachronic one when referred to a broad view of reality³³.

Trusting in the suitability of the *lieux de memoire* thesis in order to appreciate narratives derived from the Olympic Games as well as meeting the Olympic culture as presupposed in the beginning of this Chapter, we are able to present the following theoretical and concluding statements:

- The vision of the world is an Ancient Greek philosophical speculation that became later a cultural invention which has been re-shaped successively in different ages and places.

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- Ancient Greece, Athens, Ancient Olympia, sport and Olympic Games have close historical intersections that may jointly represent a vision of the world in terms of one place with universal meanings.
- There is also an aesthetic foundation in the world-vision's tradition in sport that has rather been adapting to electronic media technical needs jointly to dramatization of the athletes' role in Olympic venues. In this concern, the theatrical dimension emerges as the core meaning of the Olympic Games, past and present.
- The Olympic narratives are then cultural representation of the main elements of the Olympic Games' rituals and theatrical accounts into the scenario of their *lieux de memoire*. The Olympic athlete, he or she, then gives the dramatization content to the intercultural communication, the ultimate link between the Games and the globalization trend.

This collection of statements draws together the insight of Olympism as a meta-narrative already described in Chapter 1 of this book. Of course, narratives should be concerned to micro or locally situated accounts of the Olympic Games. Moreover, to take these representation references to comparison with practices, it is recommended to consult global spectacle's theorization and intercultural communication's approaches, as they have been respectively elaborated by John MacAloon (USA) and Miquel de Moragas (Spain) in the sphere of Olympic Studies. This new area of knowledge has been active since the 1970s, researching the intercultural dynamics of the Games and of its opening ceremony in specific³⁴.

Finally, by way of introducing MacAloon's and Moragas' widely elaborated approaches, it remains to spell out the radical universalistic theories that reject local culturally interpretations of sports. "These theories ignore a crucial discovery of the anthropological experience", says Roberto da Matta (Brazil) in a book edited jointly by him, MacAloon and

Kang (Korea), “the fact that the same event can be appropriated and thus socially and politically redefined in different societies”³⁵.

Overall, these academic positions were able to balance the Olympic universal meanings with the cultural relativism from the late 1980s supported by MacAloon and other Olympic anthropologists. But today’s global trends seems to emphasize the mediation role of the Olympic culture and other similar specific or/and local cultural manifestations. After all, as the distinguished sport historian J. A. Mangan (UK) recently remarked “As yet there is no such thing as a global society, but societies are increasingly global”³⁶.

Notes

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CHAPTER 11

An inquiry on IOC crises: lack of ethics or overestimated pragmatism?

Complex systems can only exceed a certain minimum size if they can do without solid, continuous connections between all their elements, and are internally able to organize the resulting instability. This can be achieved by selecting allowable connections or the system can work with temporally unstable links, seeking to achieve order through controlled succession. If the focus of attention is upon the Olympic Movement's complexity then Pierre de Coubertin's early efforts to manage

internal and external conflicting relationships may perhaps be considered a significant example of how to deal successfully with institutional instability.

Moreover, conflicts and crises that have been challenging the International Olympic Committee - IOC since its creation in the 1890s, were primarily rooted in international power disputes then evolving to the gigantism of the Games and to various forms of harassment such as discrimination against women, false amateurism, nationalism, drug abuse, terrorism and more recently over-commercialization in addition to corruption among IOC members (see Chapter 14). Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that the IOC survival amidst such deviation impacts is due to the continuous high priority given to pragmatic choices concerning its power maintenance ¹.

This allowable connection can be traced back to Coubertin who had explicitly modeled upon historical members of IOC - Colonel Viktor Balck (Sweden) and Professor William Sloane (USA) - the conciliation of two temporally unstable links that could achieve order in the Olympic Movement through controlled succession: pragmatic actions and historic-cultural based directions. Significantly enough, Coubertin praised this constructive combination, according to his view, by a synthetic statement in his refined French language: “ Balck, c'était l'action, et Sloane, intellectualism au service de l'Olympisme rénové ” ².

However, this successful doctrine set back just after marking its 100-year subsistence. The testimony of the IOC Director-General, François Carrard, in the United States House of Representatives' hearing on the IOC members bribery issue in 1999, is rather significant to comprehend the suggested turning point ³ :

“ Unfortunately, while the Games evolved, our organizational structure did not keep up with the pace of change. In effect, we did not realize we were going through a growth crisis. The result of an old-fashioned structure managing modern Games was not corruption, but a situation in which some of the less responsible members - a small minority - showed poor judgment and abused the system. Our problems were caused by weak people, structures, and procedures.”

Under such conditions, it might be primarily assumed that the IOC pragmatism has been overestimated in recent years and the consequent hubris is now demanding a balance with ethical dimensions of Olympic sport issues. The creation of reform commissions with independent members in 1999-2000 by the IOC as a result of its moral crisis ⁴, signaled the inclusion of advisors with a desirable constructive criticism and an adequate academic background. In view of this change in the IOC decision-making process, a research was designed yet in 2000 on account of the following point question: Are the intellectuals with academic involvement with the Olympic Movement consciously prepared to adapt or create ethical principles as well as to theorize on their roles facing their possible inclusion in IOC organizational bodies?

Arguably, given the need of evaluative perspectives towards the reconciliation drive, if any, it appeared significant to place on record the preliminary judgements, convictions and values of the intellectuals themselves. Indeed, this initial approach to individuals and group identification is necessary - but not sufficient - to acknowledge moral stands that should be pointed out for the future IOC conducts. Besides, the argument continues, as scholars this group of respondents is potentially able

to develop moral discernment once this task is part of their professional life. This presupposition also stood as a support to the planned inquiry in terms of fact-findings and assessment to the ongoing IOC reform.

Framing the investigation

The previous assumptions had been formulated in the beginning of 2000 in view of the “International Panel of Olympic Scholars - University of New South Wales - UNSW” planned to be held during Sydney’s Olympic Games in the same year. By June , 2000, in response to the Panel’s initial proposals, the survey was then designed “aiming to provide an overall identification of moral principled stands or values from Olympic scholars according to their perceived social responsibilities in the face of IOC recent immoral issues”. To be precise, this survey’s purpose pertained to the desirable position of Olympic scholars whether giving sanctions to the ongoing IOC reform. Furthermore, Olympic scholars *qua* intellectuals was a prerequisite set for the inquiry to observe their willingness to endorse theoretically and practically the task of IOC renovation.

Accordingly, an in-depth questionnaire was prepared textually proposing “ to survey the views of selected respondents on the recent moral crisis within the Olympic Movement and on the judgments of the Olympic Scholars themselves” and then distributed to 50 selected targets, from June to November, 2000. The profile of these potential respondents was outlined as a professor with a Ph.D. degree dedicated to Olympic Studies and found among (1st) participants of the UNSW Panel of Olympic Scholars in Sydney Games, (2nd) lectures of International Olympic Academy - IOA sessions, (3rd) members from centers and research

groups on Olympic Studies and (4th) authors of books and articles on Olympic Movement history with academic reputation.

The data-gathering instrument was composed by two sets of proposition statements (Group “A “ and Group “B” questions) to be checked in terms of frequency of agreements as well as to avoid individual identification. The second block included 14 items with directions regarding the ongoing IOC reforms, which should be checked as proposals considered both theoretically valid and appropriate as endorsements from Olympic Scholars. Most acknowledged authors or declarations from issues related to both blocks identified each item of the questionnaire. The Group “A “ statements encompassed 12 items describing institutional and social roles of intellectuals in general, either in terms of desirable, condemned or unattached attitudes, has resulted in a more detailed study now being published by Richard Cashman , director of the Center for Olympic Studies - UNSW ⁵.

The contents of either propositions (block “A ”) or directions (block “B”) were not mutually exclusive in their construction since the respective intellectuals’ roles and Olympic Scholars endorsements should be placed in hierarchical order of choices. This receiver’s end was due to the investigation’s theme in itself. The delimitation intended by this procedure was to aptly express endorsements from the Olympic Scholars in terms of Olympic Movement’s internal criticism. In other words , the chosen moral demarcations for questionnaire’s block “B” statements were submitted to meanings and trustworthiness assessment in view of sport and Olympic traditions and knowledge. Corrections did not comprise block “A” items since the theme of intellectuals with self - appointed social responsibility was prior considered somewhat ambiguous and often overlapping in its interpretations, as mentioned above. Coherently, the questionnaire’s final form was admittedly a free-response (open

- ended) descriptive instrument that might prove valuable in broadening perspective and in calling attention to the novel presupposed role of the Olympic Scholars dealing with IOC problems.

In terms of respondents, the delimitation was planned to include Olympic Scholars from all continents, both sexes and with Ph. D. degrees conferred in less than ten years (<10 yr) and before 1990 (>10 yr). Assuming that in Africa, Asia and Latin America there are few scholars with the profile required by the survey, five Ph. D. candidates from these continental areas were selected as targets following the criteria of Olympic Studies themes as options for their dissertations' research. The source for this selective process was the students from the IOA Post Graduation Seminar' s on Olympic Studies held every year in Ancient Olympia - Greece.

Interpreting the returns

The percentage of returns from the total of 50 questionnaires distributed by Internet and mail was 72%, totaling 36 respondents being 8 (22,2%) women and 28 (77,8%) men. The group with more than 10 years of Ph.D. status totaled 20 (55%) respondents and the younger group, 16 (45%). In this latter group are included 4 (11,1%) Ph.D. candidates.

The continental distribution of respondents were: Europe - 13 (36,1%); North America - 11 (30,5%); Asia - 6 (16,6%); Latin America - 5 (13,8%); Africa - 1 (2,7%). By countries, major sources of respondents were Canada - 6 (16,6%); Germany - 6 (16,6%); USA - 5 (13,8%); UK - 4 (11,1%). Thus, these four countries alone totaled 58,3% of respondents with English speaking nations dominance.

The group of 36 Olympic Scholars declared 16 specialization involvement beside Olympic Studies such as :

history - 38% ; sport sciences - 27%; education - 13,8%; philosophy - 8,3%; ethics - 5,5% and others with 7,4%. Moreover, 30,5% of these respondents had consultant or executive functions in Olympic Movement's different bodies (IOC commissions, Sydney's OCOG, National Olympic Academies etc.).

In addition to the returns' summary, the choices from respondents put in rank order are presented below with the frequency obtained by each item (percentage over 36 respondents in selecting one or more items) , discriminated by time of experience in Ph. D. concerns. Also, remarks from respondents , if any, are placed on record in each item, identified by his/her continent of origin. This hierarchy may be seen as the intellectuals' views regarding the ongoing IOC reform:

1st - One pressing need is to educate the leaderships and the memberships of the IOC , the IFs, the NOCs and the mass media about the broad, developmental responsibilities of sports [B. Kidd, 1997] = 72,2% choices (<10yr - 14 + >10yr - 12 = 26).

Remarks : “ To educate the IOC members and the mass media is hubris. You can only inform and propagate” (Europe). “ ... ‘inform’ should be better. ‘ Education ‘ sounds too hard “ (Europe). “It is not a matter of education, but to promote a new cultural policy which could recuperate leadership in world's perspectives now dominated by sponsorship and television” (Europe).

1st - The Olympic Movement's organizational bodies must exhibit governance and structures that are responsible, inclusive, transparent, accountable and democratic [OATH Symposium, 1999] = 72,2% choices (<10yr - 13 +>10yr - 13 = 26).

Remarks: “But not too much democratic: the amateurism in the Olympic Games was cancelled by democratic vote” (Europe). “ Coubertin was right when saying that it should not take every decision by democratic vote as , for instance, to abandon the democracy or the Olympic Games” (Europe). “In the context of IOC reform, a new policy for sports is subject to claim in view of the growing trend of considering this area apart from other walks of life. World-class sponsors enforce this separation with their strictly commercial interests. Nevertheless, the recent conflicts between some FIs and the European Union - football, for instance - suggest that sport is becoming part of the welfare state in its conceptions today” (Europe).

2nd - The IOC are the guardians of the Olympic Movement and the Olympic Games, not the shareholders . To know that guardianship is being handled well implies in scrutinizing IOC activities in order to open them to public accountability [OATH Symposium, 1999] = 63,8% choices (<10yr - 8 + >10yr - 15 = 23) .

3rd - The choice is not to abandon the larger aims of Olympic-style sport and the Olympic Movement , it is time to stop piously repeating them and to start working toward them [J. J. MacAloon, 1986] = 58,3% choices (<10yr - 10 +>10yr - 11 = 21) .

Remarks : “American pragmatism: just do it “ (Europe). “Since long time we are working on some of those aims. So, we do not need to start them again, but make them higher, faster, stronger” (Europe). “In fact, all those aims are basically ‘good’ , so far any result shall be good either. Coubertin was much wiser. He confessed that in the future if the body would be emphasized too much, he could work

against sport! “ (Europe). “If the IOC believes in these aims - Olympic Education, for instance - it should stop paying lip service and in conjunction with specialists , it should start to make the aims highly visible “ (Europe).

3rd - There is a need to encourage an explicit discussion of the universal proclaimed values by Olympism as related to concepts of each culture and its autonomy [N. Abreu, 1999] = 58,3% choices (<10yr - 10 + >10yr - 11 = 21).

Remarks : “I fully agree. Better than piously repeating the aims is to ascertain if they fit to humanistic values or to help to realize them” (Europe).

“This does not say much” (North America).

4th - A genuine cultural and ethical shift must occur in IOC governance, with a movement away from exclusiveness and control and towards openness and accountability [A . J. Schneider, 2000] = 55,5% choices (<10yr - 10 + >10yr - 10 = 20).

Remarks : “ Away from exclusiveness: yes; away from control: no. The IOC must be controlled by a control organ” (Europe). “ IOC has to promote culture as a shift of focus of its policies” (Europe).

5th - The IOC must include in its decision - making independent members to offer constructive criticism , with nominations drawn from the world of sports and arts, sport academe, sport politics , sport business [OATH Symposium, 1999] = 47,2% choices (<10yr - 9 + >10yr - 8 = 17).

Remarks : “The constructive criticism exists , but the IOC has to act instead of waiting for proposals and counter-proposals “ (Europe).

6th - Athletes should be at the center of the Olympism and the Olympic Movement. So far, they need to be at the table at all levels of decision-making in IOC, IFs , NOCs [OATH Symposium, 1999] = 41,6% choices (<10yr - 8 +>10yr - 7 = 15).

Remarks : “I agree but not in relation to the proposition that athletes are the pure good and thus they will save the organization. There are corrupted athletes as much as corrupted leaders” (Europe). “ ... they would be part, but I argue against them being at ‘the center’ “ (North America). “At the table , yes. In complete control , no” (North America). “ Athletes must have access to decision - making process in order to defend their interests as well as to guarantee the institutions stronger positions in face of media and sponsorship power, which has not a sustained approach to sport” (Europe). “Third World nations are beginning to believe that the Olympic Games are irrelevant to the majority of their citizen - athletes. When countries cannot afford. to train athletes or provide international competition for the ones who have high Olympic hopes , then the Games are not ‘competitions for all nations ‘ just competitions for the economically-advantaged countries” (North America).

6th - Just as the IOC led the way in its opposition to the racism of apartheid , it must now lead the way in its opposition to sexism that pervades modern sports [OATH Symposium, 1999] = 41,6 choices (<10yr - 8 + >10yr - 9 = 15).

Remarks : “ The proposition is too general but what is concrete should be done “ (Europe). “ I agree 100% “ (North America). “ Concerning to a new cultural focus to be taken by the Olympic Movement, it should be valuable to make a reinterpretation of the ‘Olympic Truce’. In the grounds of a ‘culture for peace’ , the oppositions to racism and sexism should be core values of a renovated Olympic Movement” (Europe).

6th - The IOC Ethics Commission is set up as a watchdog monitoring and reporting on the honesty and integrity of Olympic family members and actions , especially focussing on human rights and social inequalities [Proposals for the Reform of IOC, 2000] = 41,6% choices (<10yr - 10 + >10yr - 5 = 15).

Remarks : “ Again, self-monitoring will not work this group” (Asia). “... but a tendency to be the fox guarding the chicken house” (Asia).

7th - Doping is rather a crisis of sport ethics and values. The solution is not just ever tougher punishment and control (although both are needed) but rather a shift in attitudes [OATH Symposium. 1999] = 36,1% choices (<10yr - 7 + >10yr - 6 = 13).

Remarks : “ Punishment and control are the only way to overcome the prisoner’s dilemma” (Europe). “Shift in attitudes? But how? This proposal is too idealistic” (Europe). “Disagree completely - both are needed “ (North America).

7th - The fuction of Ombudsperson is to allow a safe method of complaint or review that is. independent of the normal organizational structures. The IOC needs an

Ombudsperson [OATH Symposium, 1999] = 36,1%
choices (<10yr - 5 + >10yr - 8 = 13).

Remarks : "... outside the influence of IOC, preferred "
(Asia). "I am skeptical of this being useful" (Asia).

8th - The IOC Ethics Commission must draw at least 50%
of its membership from professionally educated (i.e.
Ph. D. in Ethics) ethicists [OATH Symposium, 1999]
= 30,5% choices (<10yr -6 + >10yr - 5 = 11).

Remarks : "No. Who? How select? " (Asia). "No. Ethicists
are not the only people who understand ethics" (North
America). " I disagree. Professional educated and
progressively practicing are two different things" (North
America). " 50% is a good idea if includes besides ethicists
specialists from sociology, economy, politics etc. " (Europe).
" I think there should be some representation of experts in
ethics, but it needs not be as high as 50%. Also in the US at
least, most people working in bioethics do not have Ph. D.
in Ethics *per se* , but in a variety of relevant fields"(North
America).

9th - The IOC Ethics Commission does not make direct
interventions , acting only with observation and
follow-up in order to suggest and to avoid judgement
[Proposals for Reform of the IOC, 2000] = 19,4%
choices (<10yr - 2 + >10yr - 5 = 7).

Remarks : " True " (Asia). "They have to be kidding" (Asia).
"I would need to know more about the intended
mission and composition of this Commission in order to
answer this question intelligently" (North America). "IOC
commissions have powerful titles but their members often

lack expertise. It seems some are appointed just to 'give them something to do between games' " (Europe).

Endorsements and critiques

The most preferred choice of Group " B " statements has put together 72,2% of respondents and apparently constitutes an endorsement of the educational role of Olympic Scholars yet probably focusing their primary professional mission. Noteworthy, some respondents have demanded more accuracy to the expression "to educate" once it is theoretically but not practically feasible. Perhaps, as suggested by one remark to this item , influence with moral demarcation should be the best way " to educate the leaderships and the memberships of the IOC, the IFs, the NOCs and the mass media". This interpretation also meets a remark which indicates that " scholars' relationships with IOC are essentially a matter of inquiry addressed to researchers". Indeed, this task is often embodied by social scientists when sharing the participant observation with subjects of their investigations.

Also with 72,2% of choices has emerged the item " The Olympic Movement's organizational bodies must exhibit governance and structures that are responsible, inclusive, transparent, accountable and democratic", which had not unbalanced views between old and young groups as much as the previous statement. Remarks in this case are concentrated on the recommendation of a democratic governance and structure for the IOC, recalling that since Coubertin's days excesses have been avoided in the theme of Olympic Movement's democratization. Again, a right measure is needed and it seems that the endorsement may be put in " the responsible, inclusive, transparent, accountable" as

desirable qualities for the IOC, while the search for democratic solutions should be placed in a step-by-step basis.

The 2nd preferred statement is concerned with accountability to be developed by IOC as a “guardian” of the Olympic Movement and the Olympic Games. This item has marked 63,8% of choices which is a high frequency as compared to others already appreciated above. As an explanation of this acceptability, the statement now being presented now may be understood as complementary to the preceding one. Notwithstanding, in this item the old group of Olympic Scholars surpasses the young group with almost double of the choices. This result is apparently connected to idea of “guardian” which might be more meaningful to the former group than the latter.

Considering the profile here previously outlined for the educational role to be played by Olympic Scholars, “guardian” may stand as a representational image of the desirable intervention blended with mediation and criticism. The words quoted in John Daly - as wrote in the aftermath of the recent IOC crises - are symptomatic for confirming the supposed representation, since he has a long Australian - based experience as an Olympic Scholar ⁶ :

“ I am committed to the philosophy of Olympism. The Olympics are a showcase of agonistic competition in an arena of honor and mutual respect. They exemplify the principles of fair play - or should - and vicariously display what it is to be human and excellent... excellent and yet human. They have provided the model for sporting behaviors and should be retained for this reason. However, if they become an arena for gladiatorial display and egotistical behaviors by a commodified professional athlete

using drugs , then they have no value place any more in our society”.

Such vivid maintenance of Olympic values is again productive to interpret the 3rd preferred statement regarding the IOC ongoing reform. Actually, “ the choice is not to abandon the larger aims... and start to work toward them” totaled 58,3% of the supportive marks with an equilibrium between old and young scholars’ selections. And the “guardian” logical pattern may be matched with the remarks placed in this statement . To be sure, these overviews from respondents suggest that the Olympic Movement’s larger aims were not abandoned but only have been losing their priority. Endorsement in this case would have the meaning of an empowerment to be applied to traditional values and aims of Olympism.

With the same quantitative support of 58,3% and also well balanced in old and young groups’ responses, the statement referred to the need of “an explicit discussion of the universal proclaimed values by Olympism as related to concepts of each culture and its autonomy” was classified equally in the 3rd position of the ranking. Though presenting a high frequency, this item has mutually exclusive remarks which suggest a misleading understanding of the cultural relativism as concerned to Olympism. Therefore, the endorsement given to this statement may have the meaning of a support to be obtained towards the respect to each culture encompassed by the Olympic Movement.

The 4th position in the rank - with 55,5% of choices - belongs to the statement that claims for less control and for a shift towards openness and accountability in IOC governance. This time, old and young groups of respondents in terms of Ph. D. careers are in fully agreement. However, remarks to this item express contradictory positions. Similarly to the previous item appreciation, these remarks exhibit

misunderstandings on control applicability. Public control (openness and accountability) is a recommendation of the statement which differs from management control focussed by remarks. In brief, endorsement as might as well be put on the cultural shift of IOC when submitted to public control.

The 5th position has reached 47,2% of choices, with a balance between old and young groups of respondents. The statement of this position concerns to the inclusion of independent members in the decision - making processes of IOC in order to offer constructive criticism. Remarks of this item are similar to the recommendation on aims from the 3rd position: the criticism exists but as a reactive approach to some demanding issues. The endorsement then might be properly given to criticism as a proactive manifestation provided by independent members' initiatives and participation.

Totalling 41,6% of choices, the 6th position proposes the incorporation of athletes in the decision- making process of IOC and other branches of the Olympic Movement. Old and young groups of respondents are in total agreement with this item of IOC reform. Although the statement regarding this position has gained significant support from Olympic Scholars, their remarks mostly define limits to that desirable participation. In short, the endorsement to this item can be granted if athletes are partially involved in the IOC decisions, without privileges.

Another two statements also occupied the 6th position in the ranking, both with 41,6% of choices. That is the case of the IOC leading an opposition to sexism, as it seems to have been done before in relation to racism . For this presupposition , there is not important difference between old and young respondents. Conversely, remarks reveal a diversity of approaches together with the acceptability of the proposal. Overall , endorsement may be established by putting the focus on the opposition to sexism without further demands.

Equally marking 41,6% of choices, came out the statement referred to the IOC Ethics Commission which has purposely been set up “as a watchdog monitoring and reporting on the honesty and integrity of Olympic family members and actions”. Facing this proposal, the young group of Olympic Scholars has forwarded double the choices in comparison to the old group defined by the survey. This difference can be explained by a possible skeptical attitude assumed by the old group concerning to the IOC commissions’ effectiveness. The two remarks of this statement belong to the old group’s respondents, reflecting otherwise the pessimistic perspectives of these scholars. However, the frequency displayed by the item is sufficient to endorse the monitoring proposal.

The 7th position (36,1 % choices) is occupied by the doping issue, stressing the solution of shifting attitudes towards ethical requirements instead of punishment and control. As occurred in most of the items, both old and young groups of respondents assumed similar positions. Nevertheless, remarks argue the attitudes shift in practical terms then urge for limits in the statement. Endorsement in this case requires an adequate focus: the shift is the solution according to respondents but not in radical terms.

The issue of the Ombudsperson as a need for the IOC reform marked also 36,1%, equally occupying the 7th position. Neither important difference between old and young groups of respondents emerged nor remarks putting limits to the statement made appearance. Endorsement to this suggestion is simply recommended despite the usual skepticism upon IOC organizational devices reinforced by remarks to this item.

The statement on the IOC Ethics Commission and its 50% membership at least drawn from professionally educated ethicists, had 30,5% choices (8th position in the hierarchical order) as a support to IOC ongoing reform. Old and young groups of respondents presented equal results but remarks put

forward strong arguments against the recommendation. In all, respondents have advised on the inadequacy of “professionally educated ethicists” as a requirement for participation in that Commission. So far, endorsement may be rightly granted with a support simply on “some representation of experts in ethics...not as high as 50%”, as suggested in one more detailed remark.

The 9th and last position in the ranking order concerns also to IOC Ethics Commission, marking 19,4% choices with major participation of the old group of Olympic Scholars. As yet, remarks to this item confirm the skepticism of respondents to IOC organizational procedures since the statement takes out from that Commission the prerogative of making direct interventions. Thus, to choose this item had apparently the meaning of to give less power to IOC, which coherently explains the predominance of the old group in the selection. Finally, the low frequency of choices in face of this statement suggests that the issue has not much importance to respondents.

Conclusions

From the non-quantitative data collected, the hierarchical order of statements indicates the general direction of the group of respondents' options and the chosen endorsements provide the form of the Olympic scholars' intervention roles. Taking into account the constituent elements of this inquiry's problem, lack of ethics and overestimated pragmatism were selected as central categories of interpretation of data. For the sake of explanation, the latter category is historically demonstrated as already seem in this Chapter, and the former represents the most relevant and immediate claim resulted from 1999 IOC crisis.

Hypothetically, the lack of ethics / overestimated pragmatism binary plays out as a continuum since they are extremes in a exchange of mutual influences particularly related to the aforementioned crisis. Summarizing the fact-findings of the research, most of respondents' concerns were connected to lack of ethics as observed in questions number 1, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 13 and 14. For the overestimated pragmatism the connections discerned were originated from questions number 2, 6,7, 8 and 12. In short, the major focus in ethics confirms the rejection of excesses from IOC when exerting its power.

Accounting the form of intervention roles as expected for the Olympic scholars, responses classified in the lack of ethics category stood mostly as reactive attitudes to be developed within the IOC, then representing a tradition-maintenance. In regard of the overestimated pragmatism, the major trend of responses was connected to proactive attitudes, that is an innovative shift in IOC management. Thus, educational and "guardian" role is the emblematic form of Olympic scholars' participation in IOC structure as much as responsible governance synthesizes their expectations for a tradition-construction of the Olympic Movement henceforth.

Such is the outcome to turn to the core questions posed by the survey , to which one should admit a conditional answer to the perspective of a new role for Olympic scholars in the Olympic Movement after the IOC reform. This condition relies upon the willing acceptance of these intellectuals to the novel role for themselves , as researchers and equally as educators , voluntarily defending the Olympic traditional values as well. Though this willingness was impressively described in the survey, perceptions of this academic and at the same time activist compromise are yet fragmented and often biased by skepticism and radical criticism.

In conclusion, the growing international concern with the "guardian" role of intellectuals as preservers of universal human

and environmental values, might be helpful to provide a mutual adjustment between IOC and Olympic scholars in a new key to understand themselves. In another context of analysis, the "Research Team Olympia at Mainz University" from Germany, has been advising that there will be "no new Olympic order without a joint understanding on a universal sporting ethics" on behalf of the past IOC reform discussions⁷. Of course, onto the present investigation's perspectives this claim is indirectly suggesting that the crisis can play a catalyst role for merging IOC and Olympic scholars interests and compromises.

Notes

1. See Chapter 6 of this book "Olympic globalization in history: sport geopolitics or IOC power politics?" , in which the IOC's politics of pragmatism is analyzed by historical accounts.
2. The last president of the IOC himself has praised this controlled succession as follows: "After a century of existence, the IOC, which since that evening in June 1894 has been maintained and strengthened by seven successive presidents and four hundred and fourteen members - citizens of every continent - can be proud of its achievements" . Quoted in Samaranch, J. A , *Tribute to Greece and to Pierre de Coubertin*, Olympic Review, vol. 25, no. 8, 1996, p.3.
3. Quoted in www.olympic.org, IOC Home Page, in December 1999.
4. See Mallon, B. , *The Olympic Bribery Scandal*, *Journal of Olympic History*, vol. 8, no. 2, May 2000, pp. 11 - 27. The quotation is from p. 18.
5. See Lamartine DaCosta, "Taking ourselves to task: Olympic scholars in face of moral crisis in the Olympic Movement". In: Cashman, R. (ed.) *Keys to Success*. Sydney: UNSW Press (in print).

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6. John Daly makes this point in his text for the OATH Symposium, 1999. See "The OATH Report - 1999 " , p. 58.
7. For an insightful discussion on universal sporting ethics as related to IOC reform, see Mueller, N. , Messing, M., Emrich, E. and Press, H., Thoughts on the Structural Reform of the International Olympic Committee. In Messing, M. and Mueller. N. (eds) . Blickpunkt Olympia, Agon Sport Verlag, Kassel, 2000, pp. 353 - 363. The declaration was quoted in p. 355.

EPILOGUE



CHAPTER 12

Olympic multiculturalism: proclaimed universal values versus cultural relativism

Neise Abreu

The multiculturalism as advocated in this book (Chapter 3) harks back to Coubertin's basic principle of international understanding. As yet, considering the present-day worldwide trend towards the promotion of cultural exchange, the Olympic

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Movement is one of the most representative attempts to create universal accepted values.

In retrospect, Baron Pierre de Coubertin, with his principles of Enlightenment, began this Movement with the modern version of the Olympic Games. He was successful in leading an international congress in Paris 1894, to call upon participant nations in order to accomplish this restoration. After controversy and negotiations, it was decided by a group of 10 nations to re-establish the Games, beginning in from 1896. Henceforth, Modern Olympism appeared, and Coubertin conceived it to meet a “philosophy of life” based on proclaimed universal values.

This pretension of universality is one of the primordial characteristics of both the Olympic Movement as well as the Olympic Games, as far as they were grounded in the presupposed philosophical principles of Olympism. As the initiator of Olympic Movement, Coubertin developed, after 1894, a renewed doctrine based on the Ancient Olympic Games and oriented to a social pedagogy, which supposedly could be adapted to any ethnic group or culture. In this sense, one of the main historians of Coubertin’s life, Yves Pierre Boulougne, divulges in one of his writings:

“The Olympic Congress Le Havre (1897), Brussels (1905) and Budapest (1911), as well as the Sport Psychology Congress of Lausanne (1912) and the Proceedings of the Congress of the 20th Anniversary of Foundation of the Olympic Movement in Paris (1914) defined the doctrine and promoted Olympism as an universal value. However, serious divergences have already been occurring between the official speech and reality. Falseness, mercantile, chauvinism and attacks to dignity of athletes have already become common within sports sphere” (p. 22).

Nevertheless, the cultural relations established within the Olympic Movement led to an international understanding implied meaning without explicitly promoting a discussion of the universal acceptance of the values of Olympism as related to the particular values of each culture. In other words, sports activities are taught and experienced in different ways in each society, according to the interpretations of the specific local culture.

Anyway, Coubertin's multicultural vision of Olympism had a specific construction based on the pretense of the universality of the Games and the Olympic Movement. In one of his texts from 1920 it was recorded that in the Olympic Games of London 1908, there was a "*resolution of include not only all the nations but also all the games. All games, all nations*" (p. 10).

In the Olympic Games of Athens (1896) there was a baptism of Olympism; in the second Olympiad (1900) in Paris, the modern character of the Games was revealed; and in the third Olympiad (Saint Louis, 1904) "*it was clear the universal trend of the Movement*" (p.10). This baptism was finally completed in London, four years later. Thus, the expression "*All games, all nations*", is representative of the Olympic ideology and for this investigation presupposes, as suggested in several texts including one from 1924, "*Autour des Jeux de la VIII eme Olympiade*" when Coubertin says: "*Our Society of Nations is complete. It can not be eliminated from the Games, some modalities such as fencing or rowing All games, all nations: essential and fundamental formula*" (pp. 262-269).

In another primary source from 1911, Coubertin has precisely reinforced the *all games, all nations* doctrine, depicting for the first time a multicultural trait:

"The fundamental rule of Modern Olympic Games is linked with two expressions: all games, all nations, it is not from the International

Olympic Committee power to change. I would add to this explanation that a nation is necessarily an independent State and that exists a sport geography that can differentiate sometimes from the political geography” (pp. 51-52).

In other words, a multiple cultural approach for Coubertin was an implicit universal construction, but clearly founded on the distinction between nation and culture, according to the beliefs of that period. Again, a reexamination of the texts shows that the period between 1908 to 1924 can be considered by and large as the period when Coubertin approximated the concept of multiculturalism . This latter term, by the way, is from recent extraction, and it will be examined later on. The assumption of multiculturalism could end in the deflection of Olympic universal proclaimed values since different cultures are being exposed to proclaimed values conjectured as universal to all.

The *all games, all nations* doctrine seems to have dissolved when Coubertin withdrew from the presidency of the International Olympic Committee - IOC, in 1925. However, the universal claim was kept up to present day under several rationales of the IOC, including the option that it should be incorporated into the Olympic Charter. For instance, the Principles of the Olympic Charter of 1997 clearly proclaim values. The second principle refers to the definition of Olympism as a movement which “*seeks to create a way of life based on the joy found in effort, the educational value of good example and respect for universal fundamental ethical principles*” (p.8). The seventh principle also demonstrates an assumption of universal values:

“The activity of the Olympic Movement symbolized by five interlaced rings, is universal and permanent. It covers the five continents. It

reaches its peak with the bringing together of athletes of the world at the great sports festival, the Olympic Games” (p. 9).

In retrospective terms, a multicultural focus was also apparent in Berlin Olympic Games (1936). This new approach was a different version from Coubertin’s, although generalized in its contents.

An evidence can be ascertained in the movie “Olympia” by Leni Riefenstahl in which the first part constitutes a consecration of the Olympic athlete under an esthetic body shape perspective, where different kinds of races, based on a Greek athletic paradigm – the discobolo - are shown. The scenes of this official Berlin 1936 Olympic Games’ documentary film have naturally been submitted to several interpretations, however the revelation of the Olympic athlete is unquestionable in terms of uniqueness depicted by differentiation. It is also proper to mention that in this same Olympiad event, there was an explicit racism as it pertained to the Nazi political system. An example of this was the case of Jesse Owens, a Black athlete, upon whom Hitler refused to deliver a gold medal.

In short, there was an apparent ambiguity in Berlin Games once from one side athletic multiculturalism was praised by the official movie of the Games, but on other hand the same kind of diversity was rejected as a consequence of the supposed supremacy of the Nazi movement. Nevertheless, this kind of ambivalence seems to be common in fascist versions of sports activities, as was interpreted by DaCosta (2000), who also analyzed the esthetic setting for staging the Berlin Games.

In sum, the motto “all sports, all nations” in the decade of 30’s was under a different interpretation key than Coubertin’s Olympism, as passed from an eclectic concept to an outlined understanding based on limited ideological and political confrontations.

Again, during the “33rd International Main Session for Young Participants” of the International Olympic Academy - IOA in July 1993, the theme “Different Applications of Olympism in the Major Cultural Zones of the World” was debated. Not surprisingly, a declared and explicit preoccupation with multiculturalism related to Olympism was noted. Thereafter, the systematization of topics listed by the Academy included intercultural relations with an international connotation. In addition, specific issues related to cultural particularities in reference to Olympism’s values, which have a pretense sense of universality, began to be discussed.

According to historical background, sports activities are taught and experienced in different ways, being interpreted according to the culture of each society. Based on this remark, at the “33rd Main Session”, some representatives from the African continent questioned the fact that modern Olympism only values the practice of sports that are characteristic of the European continent. In the same session, a discussion emerged about the viability to commend universal human values of sport practice upon societies still full of racial, social and political conflicts. In keeping with these debates, some principles proposed by Olympism continue to be distant conditions, since these principles are far from representing a singular sports culture.

The question of multiculturalism is not being derived from the same concept on the elapsing of history. Nevertheless, it was often present in cultural manifestations related to the Olympic Movement, whether in the sense of individual nations and cultures through ideological reasons or as a consequence of a globalized world.

Furthermore, in the 100-year history of Olympism, the concept of multiculturalism with an approach to cultural diversity has not been a constant. By coincidence, the issues of amateurism, gender prejudice, and gigantism of the Olympic Games developed internal conflict in the Olympic Movement. In all, these facts are assembled to frame the investigation of multicultural responses

to Olympism now being introduced with the aim to understand and interpret the meaning of actions of a multicultural group toward Olympism and its main components: the Olympic Movement, Olympic Education, and the Olympic Games.

Another aim is to detect main trends in terms of convergence or deviations when a multicultural group is exposed to universal values commended by the Olympic philosophy, namely the Olympism. The oscillations and contradictions found from the research group members' interactions will be described and interpreted. The meanings obtained through these descriptions will be confronted towards Olympism's proclaimed universal values.

My main concern in the present report is the behavior, attitudes, and actions of a multicultural group, when exposed to a system of values, which is founded upon the assumption of common values. This assemblage also poses the relevance of the aforementioned research, since its thematic implications have potential impacts far beyond sport or Olympic issues.

Furthermore, the subjects of the investigation were submitted to knowledge of universal pretensions, under similar day-to-day living conditions, which is the International Olympic Academy (IOA) setting. In other words, these conditions set a common infrastructure and support to the participants and the same learning and teaching opportunities. In addition, the presupposed theoretic relationships of Olympism with multiculturalism referred to IOA setting implied in choosing ethnography as an appropriate method for the enquiry which is reported henceforth.

Building the methodology path

Another reason that guided me to choose the ethnographic research is some particular IOA's assemblages in which persons

coming from different cultural backgrounds become social actors. Through the description of the many situations lived by those grouping procedures, it is possible to unattached and interpret a web of meanings. Although I complement my research by interviewing the participants, fact that move them to change from social actors to informers, the ethnographic social data collected during the whole time of the field research was crucial to interpret and analyze the connections. If only the responses were used, it would have been less precise, that is why came up the decision to privilege ethnographic social data to bring up reactions of actors involved related to Olympism and its values. This resolution emerged with the constantly reading of researches adopted by both Clifford Geertz (1989) and Gilberto Velho (1986 and 1994).

The main difficulty found was to describe in detail all situations without choosing from a banal one from a relevant one. Even that, under this kind of research approach what is considered to be trivial can enclose significance that brings up surprising meanings when analyzed inside a specific context. Thus far, the research elaboration focus the ethnographic work. As a tool of ethnomethodology, the ethnography seeks to describe, comprehend, and interpret the attitudes and answers of a specific multicultural group who met in Ancient Olympia, Greece, for a two-month seminar on Olympic studies.

In order to comprehend the influence of Olympic values on a multicultural group, having the same academic and social life, concrete conditions were analyzed in which unravels the day-by-day educational process. Factors such as, social class, race, age, and professional experience were shown throughout several situations among the participants. The Academy's infrastructure was also analyzed, in order to evaluate the students' attitudes in accordance to what is being offered.

Group Profile

The group was composed of students from the “Third Post Graduate Seminar on Olympic Studies” offered by the International Olympic Academy, who came from different countries and were selected by the International Olympic Academy based on recommendations from their advisers as well as curricular assessments. These students, mostly, belonged to post graduate courses, either masters or doctorate from a variety of disciplines but concerned somehow to sport and issues related to this field in which they study, research, or work within sport theory or practice. Experts in the field from several universities selected the components of this multicultural group. They come from different countries by offer not by request. The group is multicultural, however, it does not represent necessarily multiculturalism because it is an indicated group, not a picked and balanced one. Even though the group is multicultural, was not randomly sampled, but selected. It was not chosen purposely to fit a certain number of countries. Nevertheless, the group has a multicultural profile.

More specifically, the group under scrutiny was composed of 29 individuals, 16 women and 13 men, coming from 24 different countries, as follows: Australia (two women), Argentina (one man), Belarus (one man), Brazil (myself), Canada (one man), China (one woman), Czech Republic (one woman), France (one woman), Germany (two men), Great Britain (one woman from England and one woman from Scotland), Greece (two women), Hungary (one woman), India (one man), Japan (one man and one woman), Norway (one man), Poland (one man), Russia (one woman), South Korea (one man), Spain (one woman), Tanzania (one man), Taiwan (one man), Thailand (one woman), United States of America (one woman) and Zaire (one man). The average age group ranged from 20 to 43 and the professional occupations included Elementary Teachers,

Physical Education Teachers, Businesspeople, Anthropologists, and Journalists.

In addition to these participants, others also produced the local social interactions, such as professors, staff and coordinators. The administrative staff was mostly Greek, who lived near Olympia. Some specific roles, such as librarian, secretary, operator, and cooks were attributed to more specialized supporters brought from Athens.

On the “Third International Post Graduate Seminar on Olympic Studies” there were two professors from Germany, two from the United States of America, five from Greece, one from Australia, one from Canada and one from Great Britain, all of them males. Altogether, professors and supportive staff were considered for this research organization the *web of meanings*, according to Geertz’s (1989) that sets his definition based on an essentially semiotic concept of culture in which he believes “*man is an animal tied to web of meanings that he himself wove, assuming culture as being these webs and its analysis; thus, not as experimental science searching for laws, but as an interpretative science looking for meanings*” (p. 15). Velho (1994) also made use of the concept of *web of meanings* to describe, analyze, and interpret situations. According to this Brazilian anthropologist, “*besides the descriptions itself the most difficult thing when narrating an event is the maintenance of the atmosphere and the shape of what is being written*” (p. 13).

Data Gathering Procedures

Taking into account that ethnomethodology allows simultaneous utilization of different methodological techniques, the ethnographic social data and interviews shape a unified information ensemble, which helped me to clear the web of meanings.

The data gathering instruments chosen are composed by the field report to better understand the interrelations and interactions among staff, professors, and students. The field report made use of all situations that either called attention or surprised me. Classroom situations, sport activities, trips, daily tasks, meals, and cultural events were included. The description also covered social life, weekends, free time, and non-academic activities in order to describe the largest number of possible situations during the field research. These events consist in the group's routine that is being studied. It was utilized a field diary with observations about the practice and the way of life we were living in the Academy.

To describe the participants' perceptions of the Seminar on Olympism issues, a semi-structure interview was used in which five categories were selected: Sportsmanship or Fair Play, Sport for All or Mass Participation, Sport as Education, Culture Exchange in Sports and International Understanding. The categories were presented to the participants one by one.

The source that I was firstly inspired to choose the categories was based on an international comparative study directed by MacAloon (1991) about communication technologies and cultural exchange. For the panel presentation, MacAloon, Kang (Korea), Moragas (Spain) and Larson (USA) made use of 1988 Seoul Olympic Games' opening ceremony. The television coverage's study "*selected episodes from the Opening Ceremony telecast in three nations, to explore the manner in which culture is presented, interpreted and translated through globally televised multicultural performances*" (p.46). Although I opted to outline main trends instead of content analysis and verbal discourse, MacAloon's study helped me to build my own style of study. As a matter of fact, Dr. MacAloon as one of the professors during the "Post Graduate Seminar on Olympic Studies" helped me to polish and refine my first data-gathering instrument.

Moreover, these five categories were selected to identify trends of Olympism in terms of group attitudes. To reach this aim interviews were taped to identify the students' opinions about the five categories previously mentioned. The aim was to let them talk about their understanding about the five topics.

Given that I conduct myself, as both a participant and an observer, this fact could impose a limitation to the naturalness and spontaneity of the students. Nevertheless, this arrangement did not interfere at all, since notes were taken in concordance with the interactions. Events that had occurred during the day were usually written down with the objective of keeping an up-to-date follow up of the happening and interactions.

Understanding the formation of a multicultural group

When dealing with a multicultural group, it is essential to discuss culture and research in this field. The concept of culture that Geertz (1989) proposes is essentially semiotic. In agreement with Max Weber, Geertz believes that a Human Being is an animal linked to *web of meanings*, composed of social actors. He assumes culture as a product of these webs and its analysis - a science of interpretations searching for meanings. Culture ultimately is what culture realizes. Still, according to Geertz, culture is public because meaning is also public. One can not do anything without knowing what that thing is considered to be. He does not consider culture as being a power system or something that can be attributed occasionally to social events, behaviors, institutions, or processes. Culture for him is a context- something inside, in which these facts can be described in a detailed way - that is, described in a *thick* way - described with density.

To become engaged in the semiotic concept of culture and into the interpretative approach is to become engaged with an

ethnographic expression quoted from W.B.Gallie by Geertz, which is *essentially contestable*. Interpretative anthropology is a science that deals much more with refining debates instead of achieving perfect consensus.

The essence of interpretative anthropology is to look into the symbolic dimensions of social action – art, religion, ideology, science, law, and morality - searching for in-depth meanings. It does not answer our deepest questions, but puts at our disposal the answers to other questions. In this way, we do not retreat from life existential dilemmas and we can use those answers to think while observing or studying other groups, other tribes, other villages or other islands.

The important approach within anthropologists' findings is the specificity and circumstantially. With this elaborated material produced from field work, mainly qualitative, highly participatory, and realized within limited contexts, the broad concepts afflicting contemporary social science can obtain all kinds of possibilities to concretely think “about” them and “with” them, in a creative and imaginative way. These broad concepts are legitimacy, modernity, integration, conflict, charisma, structures, and meaning. This is the difference between a superficial description and a *thick description* (Ryle, quoted by Geertz, 1989).

In order to study a multicultural group in action, it is necessary to take an internal look at the term “multiculturalism” and its origins. It is also advantageous to establish relations between multiculturalism and education, that is, multicultural education. The plural reasons for this are the intense concerns that the Olympic Movement devotes to Olympic Education and Olympic studies towards multicultural groups. Most of these studies are offered within the International Olympic Academy setting.

Multiculturalism as a term appeared very recently. According to the paper “*Curadoria e Transculturalidade*” (1996), this word emerged in the United States of America,

in the beginning of the 1980's, as a code to hide the word "race". It became linked with the appearance of the language considered "politically correct" established in that country to fit the social-economic minorities discriminated against by the First World market. Within this context this expression began to be used, for that reason, multiculturalism often gives the impression of a cultural mixture or cultural diversity, but carries a politically correct statement.

In another interpretation given to multiculturalism, Eller (1997) presents the one in his article about the concerns of Multiculturalism and Anti-Multiculturalism. He makes use of the expression created by Geertz in his paper, *Anti Anti-Relativism* (1981/1998) which he adapted to *Anti-Anti-Multiculturalism*. This text introduces the similarities of multiple perspective notions pertaining to multiculturalism and anthropology, as well as the rejection of the idea that only one answer exists that everyone should accept. Within this worldview of global complexity, Eller and Geertz have in common the cognitive principles based on an open-ended understanding of the world without truths established. Nevertheless, Eller emphasizes the distinction between anthropology and multiculturalism, where the former is a global science and the latter is a typical problem concerning the United States' minorities. Eller considers multiculturalism, "*an activism, a social movement, a demand for certain types of social change*", directed specifically to "*America, especially American minority groups*". For him, "*The debates between multiculturalism and anti-multiculturalism are really about which groups and interests will hold power and shape the production and reproduction of society in such domains as education, government, institutions, and art*". (p. 251).

Eller's focus is the initial concept of multiculturalism that seems to be similar to a concept of Anthropology, both terms contradict when they are treated under the concept of culture. Otherwise, paraphrasing Cardoso (1995), in his paper "*Antropologia e Multiculturalismo*", multiculturalism, under political

and practical conceptualization in several domains, has formed, in some Western countries, debates and endless polemics. Multiculturalism was confronted to different philosophies related to the way to promote equal opportunities. From these debates, concepts from several areas, like Biology, Sociology and Anthropology emerged. Above all, the multiculturalism found its roots and its theoretical stems in anthropology.

Culture and cultural relativism concepts are indications of a multicultural approach although with different usage and ideological implications. Anthropology as a social science, has been brought into relation with the development of multiculturalism and also influencing it. Yet, according to Eller, in a certain way multiculturalism is an applied Anthropology. But in spite of this proximity, the dialogue between both areas of knowledge has not been intense and sometimes their influences can not be seen.

The increasingly growth of heterogeneous societies from the intensification of migrations, ethnic interactions, globalized intercultural relations, and movements in favor of Human Rights, guide approaches that can not stem from traditional cultural concepts and traditional cultural relativism concepts. Facing these realities, becomes indispensable the problematic of culture concept and considers it a collective elaboration, in continuous transformation.

Within this scenario, how are Olympic values going to be brought into discussion and being fit into an Olympic educational project? How are proclaimed universal values going to be attached to cultural diversity? Epistemologically, to what future is it possible to guide these values? In this context, an attempt is needed to find solutions for economic and social inequality, including concepts such multiculturalism, post modernity, ethnic and gender issues.

Eller's concern (1997) towards this topic is related to the debate around the dangers of either adopting a multiculturalist's point of view or an anti-multiculturalist's point of view.

First of all, multiculturalists' conception about multiculturalism is that several cultures living together can either destroy a country's national identity or enhance the power of a nation with cultural diversities. According to Eller (1997):

“Multiculturalists worry that certain constituencies in the American population are excluded from such important cultural domains as knowledge and scholarship, arts, and politics. They express the problem as a centering of intellectual and cultural attention on the European or European-derived elements of America. (...) For them knowledge, value, and culture are political and perspectival and must be treated as such. (...) Culture or scholarship is thus not entirely a disinterested process of values or knowledge production but a negotiation for the means of signification and legitimation in a society. (...). Multiculturalists warns white or European-descendent people to beware that they too are merely one group in the American multiculture” (p. 249).

Universal values are old attempts from Human Beings of creating values accepted, absorbed and reproduced among all cultures - a kind of knowledge that is valid to any situation. While trying to relate multiculturalism with universalism an adjoining line between the preservation of culture's characteristics and the good use of all the traditional and classic values stored by mankind is being established.

The impact of the civilization toward the rearrangement of the world order settles a collision between power and culture as well as the tendency of establishes universal concepts. The political structure of some civilizations reacts against Western universalized concepts and transfers the presupposed established

power to other representative issues such as: the necessity of international understanding, preservation, inclusion and valorization of non-Western cultures. It does not mean that we have to get rid of philosophies that proclaim universal values, but we have to consider the world conflicts and examine if certain paradigms do not have eternal validity.

Thus, Olympism has to take multiculturalism in consideration and it is significant to take into account that a focus that was adequate in a certain period of time does not mean that it would be likewise in another period. A growing number of institutions, organizations, research centers and teachers are debating now about multiculturalism and its influence in everyone's life. Several channels are being used to make these groups meet, including schools, Internet, and the International Olympic Academy.

Nowadays a multicultural group can be considered as such when a group of people of different nationalities meet and discuss issues related to international interests or specific benefits. Some of these groups are exposed to proclaimed universal values and either reject, accept or question them. Some groups are considered being multicultural even when they are not named as such. Others though, are truly called multicultural.

In this context, it is found the International Olympic Academy, located in Ancient Olympia, Greece, which has been trying to provide a variety of courses on Olympic studies, offered throughout the year. Multicultural groups compose 95% of these courses. Students come from all around the world to participate and study Olympic subjects. Besides being a multicultural group - which per se presents a peculiar situation - participants, in their majority, stay thousands miles away from their homes, cohabiting during days, weeks or months under a different and special situation.

Despite some contradictions about the term multiculturalism, either used in the sense of cultural diversity or based on

anthropological meaning towards relativism, the International Olympic Academy have been using this term related to Olympism, which presupposing universal values. The Academy has been successful in reaching this desirable enterprise that is the appreciation of diverse cultures and peoples. It is structured, both in content and process allowing participants not only to study but also question the proclaimed universal values, prejudices, discriminations, questions related to amateurism, doping, gigantism, media, commercialization, and politics. These issues have individual reactions to each culture and nation. Notwithstanding, the Academy is adopting Olympism's theory and trying to act and create ideals and proposals, as for the case of Olympic education. During the seminar where Olympism is presented to the students, it is difficult to imagine that in those audiences there is a confluence of diverse culture heritages, experiences, perspectives, and various types of diversity being exposed to the Olympic philosophy. Although, at first glance it seems like everyone is quite familiar with Olympic issues and speech, some concepts are misinterpreted and ambiguous to some cultures. Their representatives try to adapt the official discourse, but sometimes can not avoid their dissatisfaction toward their non-participation in the building process of the Olympic Movement. A lack of a bridge appears when making meaningful connections between the abstractions of Olympism and sport ethnically and culturally different. Some representatives from Asia and African countries claim participation in both content and process in the Olympic Movement. For them, it should include changes to reflect cultural diversity.

In retrospect of the already mentioned "33rd IOA Session for Young Participants", it is worth to emphasize the interpretations from Marius Francisco (1993), Benin, to whom the Modern Olympism is being incorporated by the African culture and expanding its roots within African society.

Considering sport and Olympism as a social phenomenon worldwide to the African culture, the combination of Olympism and culture means a re-appropriation of its universal Humanism. The flourish of the sports heritage is interacting with Olympism. Nevertheless, Marius Francisco questions the fact that there is a risk of losing African culture's soul. The culture's interference follows universal laws of History and can lead either to domination or disappearance, but also to synthesis. In sports, this conflict embraces the Olympic Games, especially, and the Olympic sports that have almost exclusively Western origins. On his speech, Marius Francisco emphasizes the fact that Europe had been the birthplace of the Olympic Games and this brings advantages and precedents over the others. To him, the Olympic Games were a historical accident without property of or race. No one can monopolize them. The Games belong to the world. The hegemonic culture of sport should be temporary and can not hide the real proposal that Coubertin established for the Games. He asserts that the development of the Olympic program of the Games grows with a number of events and sports that are constantly included. Sports, however, being a social phenomenon, can grow or die, abandoned by the public or banished by moral or technical reasons. He suggests that with all these frequent readjustments, the program would be able to include sports that are considered to be typical from African countries.

Despite the apparent legitimacy of Marius Francisco's claims, this issue has been proved to be a very polemic one, since the inclusion of a new sport depends on the number of countries in which that sport has been practiced, the number of continents involved and if its practice include men and women.

Building up olympism throughout the 20th century

Many people and institutions have been trying to define and establish a concrete meaning to Olympism. This term and concept in fact started with Pierre de Coubertin, the founder of the modern Olympic Movement, while looking for a supporting philosophy to his proposal of all nations coming together to participate in games under the Ancient Olympic Games model. The concept of Olympism for Coubertin clarified in his article *“The Philosophical Foundations of Modern Olympism”* (1935) quoted by Parry (1998), embraces the religiosity of sport and athlete:

“I was right to create from the outset, around the renewed Olympism, a religious sentiment (transformed and widened by Internationalism, Democracy and Science)... This is the origin of all the rites which go to make the ceremonies of the modern Games” (p.131).

It is noticed that the religiosity, which is seen at Coubertin’s proposal, is not the same as the Ancient Greeks had considered through the Games making use in name of Gods – a transcendental meaning. Even though the emotion brought by a religious feeling is stimulated to be the same. This concern of adapting ancient rituals and symbols helps to keep the equitable bounds between Ancient Times and Western societies.

The conflicts and contradictions increase as the years go by, since some values are not suitable to our times. Moreover, all of these definitions and Olympism’s follow-ups indicate the amount of ideas that come together with Olympism’s origin as well as with factual Olympism. The factual Olympism, which has been transformed throughout these past years according to political and social contexts, is being built based

on an abstract basis rather than on social world changes. Olympism's concepts are being discussed in the International Olympic Academy - IOA and among International Olympic Committee members. Although many people consider Olympism a dogmatic theory and criticize it for its doctrinaire discourses, Olympism has changed its profile thanks to some scholars that advocate for an applicable Olympism. Lining up with this model, Parry (1998) *suggests that the philosophical anthropology of Olympism promote the ideal of:*

- *individual all round harmonious human development*
- *towards excellence and achievement*
- *through effort in competitive sporting activity*
- *under conditions of mutual respect, fairness, justice and equality*
- *with a view to creating lasting personal human relationship of friendship;*
- *international relationships of peace, toleration and understanding;*
- *and cultural alliances with the arts*

With this proposal, Olympism embraces a variety of contemporary issues that cover some basic required conditions to be adjusted to our present world. In this concern, DaCosta (1998) understands Olympism as an ongoing process of development in philosophical grounds when facing practical experiences. Thus, this conception has been coined as a “process philosophy” which also fits in the search of an equilibrium between extremes of conflict-resolution circumstances as those that the IOC has been dealing since Coubertin's time..

A good example in which Olympism values were put into practice was the one related to the apartheid. The International Olympic Committee pressured African

countries, which adopted racism to give up this practice under the risk of being banished from the Games. That is why the Olympic philosophy should take into account the ethical approach and enforce it on a daily basis.

It is necessary to reinforce here that Olympism, Olympic Education, the Olympic Movement, the International Olympic Academy, and the Olympic Solidarity are not necessarily linked exclusively to the Olympic Games. Even though, the Games are the main manifestation of the Olympic Movement.

New perspectives of Olympism or Olympism in progress

A valuable source that helped to compose my own Olympism constructor was all my experiences throughout the last six years in close contact with the International Olympic Academy. I had the opportunity to participate in three different ways in the Academy.

When I was first introduced to Olympism and its studies, I was in Olympia for the 33rd International Main Session for Young Participants , whose main subject was “*The Different Applications of Olympism in the Major Cultural Zones of the World*”. As referred to this Main Session of 1993, as opposed to customary ideas about the contribution of sport to the social and cultural progress of the world, some lectures examined the meaning of Olympism at the present time in which social and economic inequalities still exist. Their concern registered that sport activity is taught and lived in a different way in each society, being interpreted according to singular values of a specific local culture.

It is easy to see the complexity of this issue that keeps traditional concepts transmitted by general society and, at the same time, presents polemical positions referred to contemporary matters.

So far, by the occasion of Seoul Olympic Games, Shinpyo-Kang pronounced about the singularity of those Games, in which Koreans, as hosts, had attributed a profile

to the Games that reflects their place on the world scenario. Although he pointed out the fact that Koreans found it difficult to understand the Western world, he admitted that the more they understand and are able to reproduce it, the more they value their own singular traditions. Comparing Seoul Games with other ones, he noticed that they represent a balanced between an international event and a national event, synthesizing universal culture code with particular culture code. Those outsiders' values were able to build a setting in which the world could situate the 1988 Olympic Games as an international event organized in South Korea.

At the center of this context of consensus and conflict, modern Olympism's debates grow and develop looking for unanimous world acceptance. Olympism's definition is not as controversial as it is voiced. Actually, its challenge is the coexistence between Olympism's values and codes towards each specific local culture. These cultures are inserted in their autonomy and particular concepts and when these proclaimed universal values from Olympism are confronted to each singular code of culture, a voice in the emptiness can be felt. Of course, the generalization adopted by the official definition can not be avoided, once it faces the need of broad inclusion in following Coubertin's traditions.

The desire of different sport systems living together, and the survival of sport traditions and singular sports, animates the discussions between firmly incorporated values and specific culture codes. These so-called adaptable values are presented and immersed in different cultures and showed in different ways of facing omnipresent dilemmas such as racism, gender issues, doping, and sports commercialization.

Retaining these facts I returned in Olympia in 1995 as a student of the Post-Graduated Seminar for Olympic Studies

with a project to be developed. The contents addressed by the seminar were deeper in terms of expanding the subjects to either analyze or suggest other forms of approach. Projects and papers were presented in an attempt to reach and analyze the panorama in which Olympism and its branches are inserted. At present, Olympism is examined not only considering History, but also Sociology, Philosophy, Anthropology, and Education. These approaches help to intersect polemic and controversial issues into an equitable look towards culture.

From that distinct look I could see how Olympism discussions were outgrowing and still far from being homogeneously understood by different cultures. Nevertheless, it was still attained to universal proclaimed values commended by the official belief. Based upon my Olympic Studies' new approaches, courses and my field experiences related previously, I selected the five categories as they should represent values of Olympism.

The way I selected the categories and authors was inspired after reading Tavares (1998), in which he presents several Olympism's interpretations. In order to emphasize the relevance of the categories chosen I introduce them with the main authors who had included these subjects into concepts, definitions, or classifications. Chart number one (parts a, b and c) displays the authors and the concepts - categories - they have been concerned and linked with definition.

Chart 1

**Olympism's Meanings, Values, Aims and Terminology
Authors and Categories Selected(a)**

Sportsmanship/ Fair Play	Sport for All/ Mass Participation	Sport As Education	Culture Exchange in Sports	International Understanding
Lenk (1964) <i>fair-play</i>		Lenk (1964) Religious- cultural import	Lenk (1964) Religious-cultural import; <i>Festive, artistic and spiritual planning of the Games; Desire to give the Games the character of the host country; Ancient meaning of the Games in relation to their modern form.</i>	Lenk (1964) Ancient idea of an unarmed truce and the movement's peaceful mission; <i>Making the movement international and independent; Sweeping aside all cultural, racial, national, religious and social barriers</i>
Samaranch (1995) <i>generosity; solidarity; friendship</i>	Samaranch (1995) <i>friendship; non-discrimination</i>	Samaranch (1995) <i>tolerance; generosity; solidarity; friendship; non- discrimination; respect for others.</i>	Samaranch (1995) <i>generosity; solidarity; friendship.</i>	Samaranch (1995) <i>tolerance; solidarity; friendship; non- discrimination; respect for others</i>

Chart 1 (b)

Sportsmanship/ Fair Play	Sport for all/ Mass participation	Sport as Education	Culture Exchange	International Understanding
Brundage (1963) <i>fair play and good sportsmanship</i>	Brundage (1963) <i>(...) sport is for fun and enjoyment (...)</i>	Brundage (1963) <i>teach that sport is for fun and enjoyment (...) a national program of physical training and competitive sport(...) will make better citizens(...).</i>	Brundage (1963) <i>stimulate interest in the fine arts through exhibitions and demonstrations, and thus contribute to a broader and more rounded life.</i>	Brundage (1963) <i>create international amity and good will, thus leading to a happier and more peaceful world.</i>
Parry (1998) <i>Mutual respect, fairness, justice and equality</i>	Parry (1998) <i>view of creating lasting personal human relationships of friendship</i>	Parry (1998) <i>through effort in competitive sporting activity</i>	Parry (1998) <i>Cultural alliances with the arts</i>	Parry (1998) <i>International relationships of peace, toleration and understanding</i>
	Segrave (1998) <i>same opportunities</i>	Segrave (1998) <i>education</i>	Segrave (1998) <i>cultural expression</i>	Segrave (1998) <i>international understanding</i>

Chart 1 (c)

Sportsmanship/ Fair Play	Sport for all/ Mass participation	Sport as Education	Culture Exchange	International Understanding
Brundage (1963) <i>fair play and good sportsmanship</i>	Brundage (1963) <i>(...) sport is for fun and enjoyment (...)</i>	Brundage (1963) <i>teach that sport is for fun and enjoyment (...) a national program of physical training and competitive sport(...) will make better citizens(...).</i>	Brundage (1963) <i>stimulate interest in the fine arts through exhibitions and demonstrations, and thus contribute to a broader and more rounded life.</i>	Brundage (1963) <i>create international amity and good will, thus leading to a happier and more peaceful world.</i>
Parry(1998) <u>Mutual respect, fairness, justice and equality</u>	Parry(1998) view of <u>creating lasting personal human relationships of friendship</u>	Parry(1998) <i>through effort in competitive sporting activity</i>	Parry(1998) <i>Cultural alliances with the arts</i>	Parry(1998) <u>International relationships of peace, toleration and understanding.</u>
	Segrave (1998) <u>same opportunities</u>	Segrave (1998) <i>education</i>	Segrave (1998) <i>cultural expression</i>	Segrave (1998) <i>international understanding</i>

As it can be seen, the categories selected are matters historically approached by trends of thoughts, desires and values proposed and required by leaders and scholars who suggested directions for the Olympic Movement.

“Fair Play” and “Sportsmanship” supported by the Philosophical Anthropology of Olympism, proposed by Parry (1998), are a great and exciting source for research which could include schools, colleges and other kinds of educational programs which desire to expand the ideal of sports ethics.

“Sport for All” and “Mass Participation” are polemic. There are countries that decide to put the short budget destined to sports into elite sports, which makes the

development of mass sports fail. In the other hand, they could get eminence in elite sports to bring political prominence in other fields. The Olympic Movement through the International Olympic Committee is entitled to promote mechanisms to organize and develop mass sports as an incentive to encourage social benefit.

The International Olympic Committee took a very distinguished procedure with the inclusion in the Olympic Charter's *Fundamental Principle* the statement where it states that, "*The practice of sport is a human right. Every individual must have the possibility of practicing sport in accordance with his or her needs*". As a matter of fact with this measure, the IOC highlighted and recommended the developing of mass participation in sports, therefore, encouraging "Sport for All" programs. Moreover, on account of DaCosta & Miragaya (2002) research on worldwide experiences of Sport for All, the IOC's involvement with such promotion started in 1919 with Coubertin himself.

"Sport as Education" is known to be part of an educational program. Since the majority of my informers are linked with Education within their jobs, I found it would be primordial and relevant to establish a dialogue where they could express their opinions about this wide subject. Besides, Olympic Education is one of primary concerns in the history of Olympic Movement.

"Cultural Exchange in Sports" is one of the most cultivated characteristics of the Modern Olympism because it embraces all nations since its beginning. The former concepts of superior and inferior cultures are being extinguished little by little as soon as human beings know more, understand and, therefore, respect the other cultures to a great extent. The idea of exchanging cultural knowledge came as a necessity of entrance in the third millenium and the wave of globalization as a consequence of a more integrated - not necessary consensual - world.

As a consequence of inter knowledge and priority to world peace, the “International Understanding” as a concept is much more than a goal, it is a constantly effort shown by many institutions that claim to improve quality of life, environment and a better world understanding. MacAloon (1991) requires more studies under global interconnection and cultural differentiation field. According to him the lack of these themes contrasting to biomedical and sports technical fields needs to be overcome in order to provide opportunities to reflect on global and cultural matters. In all, this category stands of a core value of the Olympic Movement since its very beginning.

Unraveling the web

As far as the presupposition of the original research is concerned, the claims for universality represented the macro references of the ethnographic interpretations developed in Ancient Olympia. In turn, the macro level descriptions carried on with the multicultural group were referred interchangeably with proclaimed universal values of Olympism. As a result, trends have been identified when Geertz and Velho’s methodological recommendations were associated. These ethnographic observations combined with the interview data set were included in details in my Doctoral dissertation (Abreu, 1999).

However, productive assemblage of descriptions and cross appreciation of categories is here additionally included to complete the ethnographic interpretations as well as to meet the aims of this Chapter in terms of conclusions. As such, five matrices were elaborated in order to identify main trends of the multicultural group under scrutiny, as may be seen in the appendix A of this report.

These trends as primarily admitted as expressions of convergence or deviations from Olympism’s proclaimed uni-

versal values, do not encompass quantitative break down analysis. Instead, only meaningful declarations were drawn from the interviews made as yet with the multicultural group. Let me present the matrices by title and short clarifying comments in the following paragraphs.

Fair Play/Sportsmanship

This category was divided in four blocks of responses in order to accurate the search of trends. The first block denotes *fair play* as following rules with the reasonable statement that it will be difficult to take part in a game without rules being settled. In addition, the drug-taking behavior came up as an unfair advantage.

The second block considers *fair play* by going beyond the rules. This vision is illustrated by attitudes towards the opponents, such as respect, interaction, cooperation, help, and friendship to others. Besides, it is indicated as being a good sportsman, attitudes belonging to one's own. These attitudes are the acceptance of opponent's apologies, the hard working to achieve excellence, the fairness attitude beyond sports field, the recognition of one's own mistakes, the acceptance of defeat and the enjoyment of playing by the sake of the game. It is also presented situations in which the coach exerts an important role in pushing the athletes to act according to his/her philosophy of winning at all cost or accepting victory and defeat in a good way.

Block three concentrates the responses in *fair play* concepts such as the use of the term sportsmanship as a sexist terminology. *Fair play* is also considered to be an abstract concept. However, the concern established between culture and *fair play* concept was raised under the desire to consider the differences among cultures to improve and enlarge other cultures beliefs.

The last block of responses shows some scattered thoughts related to economic aspects. As to develop sports practice it was required equal conditions to its occurrence. It was mentioned the role sports marketing plays upon athletes' image. The *sportsmanship* which is demonstrated by top level athletes on TV during international Games are seen as insincere due to the maintenance of the exemplary image to be used as individual marketing. This statement is brought up by one of the informers and seemed to be a singular affirmation. Although this response does not show any dominant trend I consider as a contemporary approach to be further studied. In fact, sport image has been often considered an extraordinary financial source to make money as an individual in addition to the one obtained by professional sport sponsoring.

In spite of the fact that there is an immediate and strong tendency to define *fair play* as **following the rules**, there is a unanimous trend that demonstrates *fair play* denoting attitudes that goes **beyond the rules**. Besides, general behavior is presented linked with fair play and sportsmanship on a sport field.

It is important to note that the same person could have respond with a sort of statements from the four different blocks. This flexibility of view reveals a search to sharp and accurate **fair play** concept in favor of embracing general logical concept. As a result, a wide variety of ideas will fit and please to a multicultural approach.

Sport for All/ Mass Participation

Although Olympic Charter states in principle eight that sport practice is a human right that every single person should be allowed to practice, I did not see from the responses an intense link between the Olympic Movement and the proposal of **Sport for All**. The reason for this lack of association is

probably connected to the only recent inclusion of principle eight belonging to the Fundamental Principles of the Olympic Charter. This revision was decided in 1997 during the International Olympic Committee meeting in Lausanne, Switzerland. However, **Sport for All** was suggested in the responses as integration between elite sport and school sport as well as a feeder system for top-level sports, meeting an academic definition of non-formal versions of sport as found in DaCosta (1991),

“Nevertheless, to many of its interpreters, sport for all was also a result of non-formal games and exercises combined with media motivation involving sports practice. With its emphasis on identity in pluralism and its association with the mass media, sport for all has recently been seen as atypical product of contemporary life. This naturally applies to many other public activities in both rich and poor societies”. (p. 152).

Anyway, according with their own views, informers emphasized the aims that should be focused on a **Sport for All** program. The goals highlighted were comparable to the enjoyment and pleasure of the activity provided, longevity and body awareness promotion, and the development of friendship and equality. Issues associated to the removal of youth from drugs and bad habits were also cited. There is a solid concern to include all kind of people within a mass sport program, especially women, children, and old people. Watching big sports events was included as **mass participation** program, nevertheless, countries with a huge gap in social inequality see this fact as an excuse to retard the implementation of a democratic sport program. While the educational system was suggested as one initiator to provide the development of a mass sport program, it was mentioned a preference to deal with top

athletes in order to obtain more prestige. It was also brought up an assumption that government puts more money in top-level athletes program.

There is an impressive tendency to consider **sport as education**, an excellent tool to achieve social understanding as well as specific abilities linked to motor development and health improvement. Moral values and physical abilities concentrate the majority of incidences which still show the significance role and hope society lies on the educational system. Even though sometimes this system is questioned, it is yet considered to be a mechanism to cultivate good habits, improve life quality, and learn values that can be transferred to every day life situations. The group emphasizes that especially through games and sport situation, teachers can lead kids on how to work together, interact with others and develop body abilities in order to reach human well being and establish a wellness education program. None of the informers deny the importance and special role Physical Education exerts towards sports education, nonetheless, responses indicated that the obligation of being involved in sport practice is harmful.

Culture Exchange in Sports

In general there are more positive aspects indicated by the group within **Culture Exchange in Sports** category rather than negative, however, there are important concerns considered to be a discouraging inclination. Mainly, these directions go towards the influence Western countries put forth upon others. Cultural exchange is discreditable because it is not seen any real exchange within a Movement that only Western patterns put over others. The lack of tolerance among cultures and the interference of political issues in *culture exchange* are also influenced points.

The fact that competitions do not promote *culture exchange* is also thought over. Nevertheless, the advantages that *culture exchange in sports* exerts over negative aspects is immense. There is a clear view that sports promote *culture exchange* even considering the existing tension among countries, the group still recognizes the greater achievement sport events have been exerting to put down prejudices, providing athletes and spectators to see, learn and accept other cultures. Media's role is distinguished in being either attentive to promote *culture exchange* or negligent. Its action will depend on financial and marketing interests. Most of them conceive culture principles as being caught through sports attitudes, admitting the fact that top athletes usually belong to a select group and fortunate social class. Elite athletes are considered to be representatives of their own national culture, even if sometimes they train and live in other cultures. According to the group point of view, these athletes do show signs of their national identity. These marks are not a stereotyped profile they are indeed, culture characteristics delineated throughout its individuals.

It is never too much to highlight within this type of approach that one can consider sports as being used to increase antagonism and that same person, however, can also demonstrate the possibility to achieve *culture exchange* through sports. This interpretation shall not be considered as a contradiction but certainly a wide variety of approaches that will depend on several circumstances. These contexts can be political, social or economic conditions. Parallel to these elements, Olympic education plays a crucial and pertinent part in promoting basic knowledge to comprehend and tolerate other culture's values.

There is evidence from the increasing number of mixed nationalities cohabiting, educators, sociologist, anthropologists, and independent discussions groups that the best way to respect one another and consider cultural differences is group self-

knowledge. This difficult and challenging task we are facing can help to improve mutual understanding among cultures.

International Understanding

Western's patterns and its controversial supremacy is again blamed by some informers in this category. They accuse powerful countries to domain and block the expansion of others' culture influence as well as to impede mutual understanding by imposing their own values. Notwithstanding, on the whole, there is optimist estimation mixed with an idealistic view rather than a pessimistic one. This scene is shown due to the amount of occurrence over the consideration that sports events collaborate to **international understanding**. Several aspects are considered to be relevant to make this particular meaning happen. These aspects are related to political, economic, and educational spheres, besides media and culture understanding, which are also recommended to improve **international understanding**. However, the finest faith relies on sport, suggested as a valuable direction to collaborate to the understanding. Although, sport can promote life quality, it has to be connected with a social, political and educational program, otherwise it would be naïve to think that sport acts independently from other spheres of societies.

An additional remark ought to be made on the emergence of group self-knowledge and equal opportunities. Actually, these attitudes were pervasive in interviews since they were not presented in the scope of Olympism. In retrospect, both emerged interpretations seem to be connected to friendship as far as ethnographic social data are interpreted.

Symptomatically, the friendship bond demonstrated by the interactions was not externally imposed. It was constantly built

on daily basis' connections. As such, two different situations were often manifested: when equal conditions were provided the multicultural group had not internal conflicts. On the other hand, when this group faced financial personal problems the friendship bond became elusive.

Situations such as the ones on non-historical visits in which participants had to pay for their own ticket, demonstrated that the group was cohesive under equal circumstances until getting to a point that inequality made opinions and actions be divided. While the Academy was paying all the expenses, everyone was being exposed to all facilities, activities, benefits, and services. When the Academy did not cover the expenses, the group strongly disagrees and became detached under a non-homogeneous structure. Associating the short visit to the island episode, in which two people from the group had to pay a fine and the other group's component decided to share the penalty, is possible to see that both situations were managed under an opposite way, with the same multicultural group involved.

A common reason was noted to determine the act of finding a fairness solution. Comparing situations involving money, the reason, which guided the difference among them, was **friendship**. That specific sub group - the one who traveled to the island - had developed a profound friendship relation, therefore they care for each other. It is important to notice, however, that **friendship bond** was built among those social actors. Actually, several circumstances were surrounding those situations and the sub groups did not act under the same values because friendship was one the most important point to distinguish attitudes.

The other situation with money involved happened with the idea of collecting money to buy cake for the person having a birthday. This episode stress the problem that conflicts starts to appear whenever involves expenses not covered by the Academy. Financial issues did not interfere in the group

relationship if it remains steady. While if external constraints affect its stability the harmony would be influenced. Summarizing, cultural differences seem to be more accepted and tolerated when basic needs are equally provided.

Conclusion

In conclusion, friendship was one of the most important values detected at Ancient Olympia's experience of 1995, however delimited by the existence of equal opportunities. Besides, this relationship may be more meaningful when putting in the same focus friendship and group self-knowledge, another main trend depicted by the matrices. Again, the ethnographic method here faces its key attributions: to know the *other* and to deal with the *differences*. Notwithstanding, knowing the *other* means to recognize *ourselves* as much as others' singularities.

Conversely, equal opportunities and group self-knowledge are built-up outcomes determined from the field research, which were respectively developed by the IOA-Olympia and the multicultural group by itself. In this concern, both outcomes stood as *tools* not values, having in mind they were supportive to friendship. By the way, the friendship values appeared before in chart one, as a component of all categories selected not as a clear prescribed value for Olympism. Thus, friendship is ultimately a micro development in the scrutinized group, but according to its declarations, it acts as a macro reference. This is particular true because friendship permeates all values interactions.

Worth to mention, in this sense, is DaCosta's (1998) argument when approaching to dilemmas, paradoxes and overall constraints of the Olympic Movement worldwide at nowadays:

“Then philosophically, the practical meaning of Olympism is more concerned with cultural claims than with scientific or pedagogical prescriptions. This argument moreover may be further re-elaborated by the productive metaphors of ‘homo athleticus’ and ‘homo symbolicus’ in order to explain the cultural pitfalls of Olympism. In principle, while athleticism requires control in macro-relations, the symbolic identity of man in his pluralistic environment comprises values and contingent experiences in micro-relations, demanding a new approach to equilibrium after all” (p.198).

Regarding this interpretation, a concluding remark of the present investigation concerns to the two-level differentiation of Olympism. While DaCosta had recommended a codification – “control” - to the former and a pluralistic adaptation – “contingent experiences” - to the latter, MacAloon (1991) proposes in the same context of analysis “global interconnections” and “cultural differentiation” both mutually adapted. Equivalent approach has Müller (1990), to whom Olympism progresses keeping “immutable values” from its historical foundations and developing “updated values” as well to contingent adaptations. Coincidentally, Liponski (1987) envisages present-day “Olympic Universalism” as opposed to “Olympic Pluralism”, prescribing a long-lasting process of introducing “to Olympism the cultural and philosophical experience of societies other than Western” (p.517).

On behalf of the conclusions illuminated by the present investigation, I propose **core values** as an appropriate denomination to macro level relationships once they constitute universally accepted values. Moreover, **core values** may also express those values able to be developed either globally or locally, since they are referred to practice. That is the case of

friendship and **international understanding** if this Ancient Olympia 1995 research is concerned. Of course, being **core values** defined by macro perspectives they should be naturally hosted in Olympic Charter what is now occurring with environmental values. As a consequence, **core values** become proclaimed as much as accepted.

As corollary, **cultural values** follow straightforward **core values** once the former represent in my view local belonging developments, either independent or adapted from the latter. Therefore, **cultural values** can not be embraced by the Olympic Charter although this code might give legitimacy to them.

In short, this ethnographic study when combining prescriptive focuses from Geertz and Velho allows me to consolidate **international understanding** and **friendship** as **core values** of Olympism. In addition, a third core value has been recently disclosed in the Olympic grounds by means of a step-by-step agreement, that is the environment protection. For this late development, as reported by DaCosta (1996), it was adopted for the first time in the IOC's history a contractual solution for building up values. In my view, this case not only disclosed a new value of Olympism but also essentially established the method of producing similar collective compromise.

In another context, the contractual solution was the option of Liponski (1987), that namely proposed “an international co-operative pluralism” for Olympism’s adaptation to non-Western cultures. This proposal had emerged after he witnesses facts that deserve a full textual quotation as follows:

“During the Session of the International Olympic Academy, held in Ancient Olympia in July 1983, a secret meeting took place. About 30 representatives from Asian and African countries discussed some political and cultural problems connected with the Olympic

Movement. Not all of these questions are interesting for us here. One of them, however, is certainly worth of our attention. It was a problem of allegiance to basic Olympic principles. With one exception from India, the rest of the Olympic activists, intellectuals and scholars from African and Asia countries, declared, that Olympism is basically a European idea, unacceptable for non-Europeans in its present form. They each asserted that the Olympic Games have been latterly a very convenient political form of national expression and should be used now and in the near future for helping the political integration of the Third World. But after achieving this goal they must be abandoned as an undesirable form of neo-colonialism. The only person from India who tried to defend Olympism against rest of the gathering, was openly warned: "Be with us, not with Europeans and Euro-Americans. If not, you wake up some day at a vacated post, left alone by your own countrymen. Beware of that". I was informed about this meeting several days later probably because I had a short paper in Olympia. In this paper I called upon more respect for the cultural and sporting achievements of Asian and African countries within the Olympic Movement and especially within its intellectual principles. This is why I had been admitted to their unofficial conspiracy. I would like to emphasize this word: "unofficial". Officially representatives of these same countries display a totally different attitude. I do not know to what extent it is a kind of deliberate yet unofficial stand, and to what extent it is transitory resentment as a result

of decades or even hundreds of years of European colonial domination over those countries. In both cases, however, the principal component of such a negative attitude seems to be obvious: it consists in the differences between the concept of Olympism- which is basically a product of European thought- and the non-European understanding of fundamental ways of living typical of particular nations, ethnical, religious or geographical areas. Let us examine the Olympic Idea from the perspective of this growing and not so distant conflict" (pp. 513-514).

Yet, Liponski reinforced his cultural compromise proposal here already mentioned making a fundamental question: "what kind of values, now so essential for Olympism should be kept, and what should be limited or eliminated if any in order to respect non-Western societies?" (pp. 517-518).

In my perspective, the present investigation, concluded in 1999, was an initial answer to similar interrogations. Further developments shall come up with new research projects on the theme of Olympism's values and mainly by means of international agreements, as recently observed in environmental conflict-resolution area. But substantial changes in Olympic Movement respectively to proclaimed values can be only expected if Olympic Education adopts multiculturalism as one of its basic rationales.

The absence of significant interactions over cultural issues may reinforce stereotypes and cause individuals to be skeptical and untrustworthy of any kind of universal proposals. In the very beginning of the third millenium, it is necessary to know how to avoid being succumbed to false homogeneous proposals, proclaimed as universals. Some of them obtains undervalue because they do not embrace world differences whether economical, cultural, political or religious.

An **Olympic Education** under a multicultural focus should help youth learn the value of cultural diversity. This new focus is a necessity for the long-term survival of the Olympic Movement. After studying a multicultural group in action and knowing that there is a construction concern devoted from the Olympic Movement to Olympic Education, I would suggest the adoption of a multicultural approach in key initiatives of the International Olympic Academy as well as in educational and cultural events promoted by the International Olympic Committee.

Should this approach finally represent the making of the so much expected Olympic multiculturalism? Should we all be finally able to find a balance between the need of universal values and the respect to particular cultural identities?

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Appendix A

Matrix n° 1

Multicultural group responses to universal values Sportsmanship /Fair play – Main Trends

Informers Categories	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	
Follow rules	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*		*	*		*	*				
Go beyond rules	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*		*	*		*	*				
Respect others	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*		*	*		*	*				
Do not run up the score				*																			
Interact with others	*				*		*														*		
Fake within International Games		*																					
Sexist Term				*																			
Deny "winning at all cost"					*																		
Do not use drugs				*									*			*							
Go beyond sport field	*				*												*					*	
Linked with general behavior																	*				*	*	
Recognize mistakes					*																		
Accept opponent's apologies							*																
Enjoy playing					*		*						*	*						*	*		
Help the opponent								*		*			*										
Do not cheat			*					*	*	*									*				
Work hard to achieve excellence								*	*	*													
Different concepts according to cultures											*												
Accept culture behind sport																		*			*		
Moral constraint												*											
Accept defeat											*	*											
Friendship													*								*		
Opponent is not enemy								*													*		
Abstract concept											*						*	*					
Coach exerts an important role					*																	*	
Cooperation								*															
Take win and loss in a good way													*										
Equal conditions																							*

Matrix n° 2

**Multicultural group responses to universal values
Sport for All/Mass Participation – Main Trends**

Informers Categories	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Government should promote it									*									*				
Schools' initiative							*							*								
Teachers' initiative							*															
Olympic committees should be in charge																*						
Everybody included		*	*	*		*	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*	*		*	*	*	*	*
Especially children		*				*	*	*	*				*	*						*	*	*
Especially old people		*																			*	*
Include more women																					*	*
Pleasure, leisure time, enjoyment	*			*	*	*	*	*													*	*
Develops friendship								*	*											*	*	*
It should promote body awareness				*			*		*					*	*							
Improves longevity		*			*				*													
Integration between elite and school sport								*		*												
Top level athletes do not represent their country sport life	*																					
Mass participation also include to watch big sports events		*																				
No programs are being develop			*																			
It should not emphasize top level sports	*			*	*																	
Government spends more money with top level sports				*																		
It is a feeder system for top level sports				*																		
Work with top level athletes give more prestige				*																		
It do not need any big financial support							*															
Facilities should be provided either at school or at work													*									
Keeps youth away of drugs and bad habits													*									
Countries have not achieved equal opportunities													*									
Do not force people to participate																		*				
Equality through sports																					*	
People have to incorporate it into life																						*

Matrix n° 3

Multicultural group responses to universal values
Sport as Education – Main Trends

Informers Categories	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	
Both positive and negative aspects					*												*	*					
Should be attended by States and Government											*												
Teaches ethical, moral and social understanding					*	*	*	*	*			*	*			*			*		*	*	
Values learned within sport situation can be transferred to every-day-life					*			*															
Teaches specific abilities linked to motor development	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*			*	*				*			*			*	
Sports should have more time at school					*			*		*													
Sport should not be the only tool of PE.					*					*													
PE teachers plays a special role towards sports education							*											*	*			*	
Teaches how to grow up through games	*																						
Parents should take part	*																						
Includes every kid			*					*															
Sport is part of life			*				*																
Sport by itself is education													*										
Sport cultivates soul and spirit														*									*
Teachers should be more interested in sport pedagogy															*								
Teachers should not force everyone to do sports																	*						
Olympic education is an abstract concept																					*		
Media does not care about Sport education																						*	
Teaches how to work together	*	*	*	*					*													*	
Improves health			*		*	*																	
People enjoy more if they go by their own choice																	*						
It's not showed within international level																					*		

Matrix n° 4

**Multicultural group responses to universal values
Culture Exchange in Sports – Main Trends**

Informers Categories	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	
Sport events can have both positive or negative aspects			*																				
Top athletes do not represent culture identity					*																		
There are no exchange among cultures	*						*											*		*		*	
There are lack of tolerance among cultures			*																				
Political issues interfere on culture exchange			*																				
Competition do not result on culture exchange							*																
Western patterns are too emphasized	*														*			*		*			
Western countries are less tolerant than should be			*																				
Modern Olympic sports is culture imperialism																					*		
Media is not interested in promoting										*													
Coaches only think in win the opponent										*													
There are only exchange among athletes and coaches	*																						
Education programs promote it		*						*		*	*												
There are influences of new sports from west						*																	
Media plays an important role in promoting		*																				*	
Helps to put down some prejudices					*																		
International events provide to see, learn and accept other cultures		*	*		*			*											*		*		
Includes national and international exchange								*								*							
Through sport practice you get to know more about others				*	*			*	*	*		*					*		*	*	*	*	
Culture principles can be seen through sports attitudes				*					*	*	*	*											
Sports can promote culture exchange			*	*			*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

Matrix n° 5

**Multicultural group responses to universal values
International Understanding – Main Trends**

Informers Categories	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	
It's related to political decisions							*	*			*		*									*	
It's related to Education					*			*			*	*	*			*							
It's needed a culture understanding	*				*							*	*			*	*						
It's needed to talk to others																		*					
Abstract and vague concept																						*	
Idealistic view	*							*			*				*							*	
Other sport cultures should be included to promote it																						*	
Modern sports are not able to achieve it				*	*		*															*	
Western culture impedes the understanding	*							*															
Internationalism conflicts with nationalism			*	*			*						*										
Sport provides struggle among cultures																			*				
Media helps to promote it		*								*					*								
Technology helps to promote it													*										
Truce can be reached																						*	
It happens by playing rather than talking						*																	
The understanding only lasts during the tournament																						*	
Knowledge about others wipe out prejudices																			*				
Understanding of what you are and what others are													*										
Sports events collaborate to the understanding	*	*	*		*			*			*	*				*	*					*	



CHAPTER 13

Olympic education: sameness versus otherness in multicultural approaches

Marta C. Gomes

The aim of this Chapter is to critically analyze the superficial way in which Olympic Education has been dealing with multiculturalism, as well as to suggest alternatives for future developments. Moreover this report refers to an empirical and preliminary investigation which has used teaching materials from different countries as the object of observation. The theoretical focus for this scrutiny is the opposition between

ethnic similarities and differences that hypothetically lies behind the Olympic Education when universal propositions are transferred into pedagogic processes and instruments.

The interest in developing a theme comprising Olympic Education in the context of multiculturalism is mainly based on a theoretical concern on the cultural approach to Olympism, which has become a central focus for leading Brazilian Olympic scholars¹. However, the stagnant theoretical concern about its practical repercussions is innocuous to the Olympic Movement, since we are addressing questions brought by sociocultural contexts produced by the differences that become manifest even in the practice of sports.

These differences of culture, race or gender are not often perceived in our daily school activities because we are used to seeing the world through generalizing categories². Thus, the peculiarities go unnoticed and, even though unintentionally, we end up reproducing discriminatory values and practices. We just need to be more perceptive and, within certain generalizations, look for the slight differences that result from the construction of a cultural identity and form small fragmented islands motivated by distinct reasons. The absence of this perception may lead to a lack of adequate information as well as to behaviors neither in accordance with History itself nor with the sense of respect and valorization of the differences.

A good example is the young neonazis from industrial areas in the city of Sao Paulo, in the southern region of Brazil, who are children of proletarians; most of them are half-breed, in spite of belonging to an apparently white racial class. The neonazis are contradictory and ignore a great part of history and their own background, persecuting Negroes, Jews and homosexuals. Based on this, Abreu (1999) has emphasized that "Educational programs cannot ignore the differences (...). On the other hand, they can not underestimate common dimensions among cultures and contribute to a discriminated and separated practice" (p.44).

Chapter 12 of this book otherwise reviews multiculturalism with in-depth details, so mostly addressing the present analysis to educational considerations.

Thus far, I confirm primarily what Binder (2000) has proposed for a multicultural Education: that it contains more adequate and clear information about the issue of differences; that it has a critical outlook and, above all, that it be a continuous process permeating educational *curricula* in a horizontal and vertical way.

However, if on the one hand the objectives of the Olympic Movement are to contribute for peace among people and mutual understanding, condemning the discriminatory practices and stimulating friendship³, on the other it seems that such a principle has been forgotten in the Olympic Education teaching materials. While the academic discussions about culture and multiculturalism are becoming more and more sophisticated, the knowledge developed in these areas is not being sufficiently applied in the teaching materials. These aspects should really be more present in the daily school agenda and the information should not be so superficial.

MacAloon (1986) recalls that in the declared objectives as well as in the sporting practice the Olympic Movement is justified as the promoter of intercultural understanding. However, after analyzing the total lack of attention given so that this cultural exchange, comprehension and valorization of other cultures really happen among the Olympics athletes, MacAloon concludes that the careless manner in which this theme is addressed in the sport of elite ends up in justifying its practice in itself. The question he raises in relation to Olympic sports is the same that I have in relation to Olympic Education for children and young people in school: "Why, in a movement supposedly dedicated to it, have there been so few concerted efforts towards cross-cultural learning and understanding?" (p.11)

Such negligence is shown in the teaching materials that I am analyzing in this report regarding the superficial way that the themes of culture and multiculturalism are approached. Inclusion and participation are the pillars of the Olympic Education, which makes even worse the lack of attention that is given to this area.

For a comparative analysis and approach of the theme in focus, I have selected the four teaching materials most known by those who work in Olympic Education in Brazil: 1) *Keep the Spirit Alive: you and the Olympic Games*. IOC, 1995. 2) *Learn and Play Olympic Sports*, Amateur Athletic Foundation of Los Angeles, 1992 (USA). 3) *Educação Olímpica na Escola*. Manual do Educador Olímpico. Cristiano M. Belem. Adapted from *Keep the Spirit Alive: you and the Olympic Games*. Poços de Caldas, 1999 (Brazil). 4) *Be a Champion in Life*, A project of the Foundation of Olympic and Sport Education, 2000 (Greece).

The multiculturalism approach

With reference to the multiculturalism approach, what one observes is an almost blank space reserved for this subject, except in *Be a Champion in Life*, which dedicates a full chapter to the students, including texts and activities on multiculturalism and human rights.

The material is analyzed according to some categories that in my opinion are the most significant: 1) The Meaning of Culture, 2) The Eurocentrism, and 3) Race and Culture.

1) The Meaning of Culture

It is interesting that after more than one hundred years Tylor's (1832-1917) ideas about culture still constitute the main way to approach this issue in the teaching materials. The

meaning of culture has changed and developed together with the anthropologic knowledge and, although it may seem illegitimate and indifferent, it leads to a line of thought that crosses all the three topics chosen for this analysis.

Tylor defined *Culture* as: “taken in its comprehensive ethnographic sense, it is this whole complex that includes knowledge, beliefs, art, moral, laws, customs, or any other capacity or habits acquired by man as member of a society”⁴. In addition to this concept of culture as a mass of overlaid aspects, Tylor developed his theories based on the evolutionist principle, in which man was considered a single species – a psychic and biological unity, and the cultural differences were related to discrepancies in the stages of civilization’s development. Although beginning a rupture between the cultural and the biological aspects, this trend defined a starting point in a progressive and linear development scale, and a peak, an end, as were the European societies at the end of the 19th century. According to Tylor and his contemporaries such as Morgan and Frazer, the primitive societies were an initial stage of a civilization’s morals and customs that all societies should experience or should have experienced, including the Europeans.

Comparison was the methodological basis of evolutionism, in which a single aspect of a given culture was taken and isolated from its context and totality and compared with the “same” aspect of other more “civilized” cultures, albeit according to principles based on the investigator’s culture. We can mention an example given by DaMatta (1987) on the structure of the family’s relationship and conception: studying the “family” as an isolated category, Morgan highlighted the custom of children in some cultures of calling “father” all those belonging to the same generation of their father, who in our culture would be the “uncles”. Attached to the classificatory nomenclature of his own culture, Frazer considered this custom as a “proof of the past when marriages were promiscuous” (p. 92), since

apparently the biological father was not recognized. Therefore, in the evolutionist scale of civilization, such a past would be the opposite of the final civilized society where marriages were individualized and nuclear.

The approach to culture in the teaching materials seems to be the same one pointed out by these authors. What one observes in the chapters or themes related to multiculturalism and to the “knowledge” of other cultures is exactly this overlaying of aspects of other cultures, which are taken from their context with no criteria and treated as pieces of folklore, compared among themselves and isolated from a meaningful context, like it occurs in museums.

In the teaching material *Keep the Spirit Alive*, module 4 - “Global Spirit”, the main objective is the knowledge of other countries and cultures. However, their activities are limited to locate in a map the cities where summer and winter Olympic Games took place, to choose one of them and identify their location concerning continent, frontiers, rivers, time zone, main language, most famous athletes, climate and customs (including typical food and dance, and religion). For that culture the meaning of the background history of these customs and their symbolic aspect is completely neglected. Thus, the objective of intercultural education is far from being reached and what is most acquired is some knowledge on physical geography.

We may place the teaching material *Educação Olímpica na Escola* and *Learn and Play Olympic Sports* in the same level of approach since the first is an adaptation of *Keep the Spirit Alive* and adds to its activities mentioned above a research on dance, food, craftsmanship and language of three countries participating in the Games, and suggests a presentation for the class of “one of the most curious characteristics” found in one of these countries.

The second teaching material, which suggests interdisciplinary activities separating them according to each specific matter,

proposes for the geography classes the same exercise mentioned above: to select two countries and identify their location in the globe, their continent, geography, climate, types of people, food, arts, music, religion and education. We should emphasize, however, that within these activities there is a quite interesting proposed discussion that leads the students to reflect on the athletes' intercultural contact: "Why athletes from all over the world, speaking different languages, and having different cultures, would be happy to meet with each other to pursue sports?"

Finally, *Be a Champion in Life*, unlike the others, presents throughout the material exercises and texts that seek for the origin of sports and the meaning of the activities and sports in each culture, as the story about Roger Milla, a football player from Cameroon who is considered a hero in Africa. This story starts placing sports within the culture, although it erroneously mentions Africa as a global and single culture: "In Africa, football (soccer) is more than just a sport. It is a celebration of life. If your national team wins a major international competition, the next day is a holiday for everyone (...)" (p.B14). We may mention another example of cultural context in the sub-item "What is Beautiful? Body Image", where the text starts as: "Different cultures and different communities have different ideas about what the beautiful boy or girl looks like (...)" (p.D12)

Although there are activities that include the location of cities and the main aspects of cultural habits, *Be a Champion in Life* also offers many other exercises on the understanding of moral values and on the meaning of activities in other cultures. It dedicates a chapter to the multicultural issue only, which centralizes the approach on the matter of social inclusion, respect and valorization of differences and citizenship practice, including many exercises on rights, obligations and social responsibilities. It seems that this material is developing towards the maturation process of the questions related to the teaching of multiculturalism.

This maturation process is in fact important and fundamental because although there are modern theories of culture that develop different perspectives, the idea of “multiple conceptions of life” proclaimed by MacAloon (1986) is shared by the community of social scientists and historians of our days, always in the sense of meaning.

As a matter of fact, this debate on the culture concept generated an attempt of the modern anthropologists to reconstruct this concept, to make it become more intelligible and “theoretically more powerful” (Geertz, p.14, 1989). However, the coexistence of different theoretical tendencies and concepts about a culture still mark our time, one communicating with the other. As mentioned by Geertz, anthropology is a science “of which progress is highlighted less by a perfection of consensus than by a refinement of debate”. (p. 39)

Geertz supports the concept of culture as semiotics, i.e., as “systems interlaced with interpretative signs” (1986, p.24). Therefore, I share with this author the idea that the study of cultures should not be linked to the “ontologic status” of a given custom or behavior: “What we should question is what is its importance: what is being transmitted by its occurrence and through its action (...)” (p.20). Finally, what should be raised in the teaching materials on the multiculturalism approach are the meanings of the aspects of a given culture for its agents, and not these aspects separately. This conceptual distinction is fundamental for the ethnocentric points of view to be put out of focus from the evolutionist perspective, which has followed history and has left residues to this day.

2) The Eurocentrism

The eurocentrism issue presented in the teaching materials seems to be a consequence of this evolutionary vision of culture and a remainder of imperialism, where the economic

rush for conquest and control of land in the planet led the world to be divided into “strong” and “weak”, “developed” and “underdeveloped”, “civilized” and “not civilized”, “westerns” and “exotics”.

We noticed in Hobsbawm (1988) that the idea of a civilizing superiority of the powerful countries over the colonies was prevailing in those days, when the “lack of evolution” of the natives also emphasized the attempts to convert pagans into the Christian faith, in a solid missionary effort. The news of the 19th century was that “(...) the non-Europeans and their societies were increasingly and generally treated as inferiors, undesirables, weak and progress delayed, or even childish” (p. 118).

The exotic and the western were constantly mixed in the novels and fairy tales; however, the stereotypes were always the eastern villains, Latin or Africans with the intention to ideologically reinforce the superiority of the “civilized” in relation to the “primitive”. Hobsbawm reinforces the idea that such approaches did not have a documentary aspect, but an imperialist one, because “(...) the central link between the exotic and the everyday worlds was the formal or informal penetration of the Western World in the Third World” (p. 120).

The multicultural approach in the teaching materials analyzed is affected by this influence, although I do not want to accuse them of imperialists and ethnocentric. On the contrary, from the interpretation of Geertz’s culture it becomes evident that the focus is on the socio-cultural context of the one who sees. Therefore, although the attempts to value diversity as a human possibility for giving sense to the world through the social integration are more and more disseminated, those who write the history always leave records of their *bias*, with their stories, their tradition. Similarly, those who read will have a different point of view if they do not belong to the same *ethos*.

In *Be a Champion in Life*, which is proposed as a resource for teachers worldwide, this question remains quite evident in

the stories of those who are considered the “others”: minorities, foreigners, refugees or immigrants in a strange country. The names of the characters who are “the others” are completely different from the standard European or North American names: Sungee, Margarita, Sibongila, Fatima, Vladimir and Tika, among others. The last two names are linked to problems of disability and obesity, respectively. This also reinforces an attempt to remove the focus from the characters already included as citizens in a social process, i.e., can’t we find a John on a wheel chair or an overweight Katherine?

If these materials are meant to be multicultural and resources for Olympic Education worldwide, they should modify the sameness approach and the otherness, which only depends on where they are read, or, then, all materials with these characteristics should undergo many adaptations. In Brazil, for example, at least with reference to names, Fatima, Margarita and Vladimir would not be “the others” but the “I’s”.

The issues “European” and “exotic” appear in *Keep the Spirit Alive*, where we attempt to culturally characterize the cold and hot weather countries when we refer to Winter and Summer Olympic Games. To describe cold countries, a story is told on the daily life of a young girl who ice-skates and plays all possibilities offered by the snowy winter days. The words that introduce that page are: “Olympic Winter Sports are based on activities that young people have enjoyed for hundreds of years in countries that have cold winter climates” (p.52).

On the other hand, a Jamaican poem (“Jamaica Market”) was chosen to describe hot weather countries; it mentions the “exotic” and unknown side of rhythms, fruits, animals and plants that can be found there. Just to illustrate, the poem starts this way: “Honey, pepper, leaf-green limes, Pagan fruit whose names are rhymes, Mangoes, breadfruit, ginger-roots....”. In the introduction of that page it is mentioned “The poet, a Jamaican, describes the colors, the variety and the bustle that

you would see in markets in many hot weather countries” (p.53). The tradition of cold weather countries (“*for hundreds of years*”) is set against the distinct, the primitive, the wild, and their hundreds of years of culture are set against the proximity of hot weather countries.

3) Race and Culture

This is an issue that would generate a long discussion and historical development about the conceptualization of race, culture, and of race as culture. However, what is important for us is to reaffirm that the multiculturalism movement, as well as the term itself, first appeared in the former colonial countries, where immigration and the mixture of races and cultures were big in order to fight for the rights of those minorities.⁵

Although the racial issue was linked to the multiculturalism movement referent to discrepancies, race as a social category was not sustained neither as a classifying basis of the different peoples nor a determinant of cultural discrepancies. However, even in common sense we tend to mix race and culture when in our day-to-day life we hear the term “black or African music”, when we know that there are non-African blacks who produce other musical styles and a diversity of African cultures that produce a great number of rhythms and musical styles.

The generalization found in the materials in relation to these aspects points to a need to call attention to some specific aspects of these categories. In the topics that deal with the *mutual understanding* its is understandable to find the problem of race mixed to cultural issues, since the central focus is the respect and valuation of the differences. However, it is necessary to make clear that the multiculturalism movement is multicultural and anti-racial and that, as Levi-Strauss (1952) affirms: “There are many more human cultures than human

racess, since while some are counted by thousands, others are counted by units (...)" (p. 10).

As in *Be a Champion in Life* the multiculturalism questions were more comprehensively discussed, and the questions of race and culture, seeming to belong to a same classification, were more frequent. For example, when exhibiting the teachers' challenge in multicultural societies, the initial text of the chapter on multiculturalism reads as: "Their task is to develop communities of learners who **accept and respect people from other cultures**. In South Africa, for example, with the end of apartheid, South Africans have to work together to create a new society, one in which there is **acceptance and respect for people of all races**. (...)" (p. C-4)⁶.

In this same chapter of *Be a Champion in Life* we find a sentence that seems to present the same confusion between race and culture: "Margarita is a student who comes from a different race than the other children in the class" (p.C-13). Margarita is a Latin name that suggests that she comes from a Latin culture; however, she may belong to any different race. So, then, what would her race be? In this case, the question becomes more complex because there is a classification according to race, mainly in the North American countries, that includes the Latin race as the ideal type, confirming Malik's (1996) idea that even the classification of race under biological terms may suffer with variations and manipulations, depending on the background of the defining place. For him the classification of population in races is not a natural division, but a cultural and historical use of the meanings of human physiological variations.

However, today there is an academic world consensus recognized by UNESCO that separates concepts of race and culture, placing the first in the biological scope (although there are different classifications) and the second in the scope of a set of common cultural characteristics with proper meanings for those individuals who belong to the same ethnic group.

In the beginning of the 20th century the anthropologist Franz Boas started the rupture of the biological determination for the understanding of the cultural differences and culture development level. Analyzing the evolution of the race concept for culture and population, Santos (1996) shows that in 1949, in the UNESCO First Declaration on Race, Boas's influence is clear in the final text, which article 10 reads as follows:

“10. The scientific data now available do not confirm the theory that says that inherited genetic differences would be of utmost importance among the reasons for the differences shown within cultures and the work done by many civilizations of ethnic groups. On the contrary, they show that these differences are first explained by the cultural history of each group (...)”⁷.

However, the various reactions on the part of geneticists and biologists led to a second meeting to formalize a more biological and less emphatic text in relation to cultural determinism. The major conclusions of the First Declaration were maintained and the “race” concept was replaced as biologically valid according to genetics.

Nowadays, as Laraia (1992) affirms, “The anthropologists are fully convinced that the genetic differences are not determined by cultural differences” (p. 17). The most recent document by UNESCO, the 1982 Declaration of Race and Race Prejudice⁸ is clear on this issue. In Article 1 – paragraphs 3 and 5, we find the following texts:

“3. Identity of origin in no way affects the fact that human beings can and may live differently, nor does it preclude the existence of differences based on cultural, environmental and historical diversity nor the right to maintain cultural identity.

5. The differences between the achievements of the different people are entirely attributable to geographical, historical, political, economic, social and cultural factors. Such differences can in no case serve as a pretext for any rank-ordered classification of nations or people”.

Therefore, what must be clear for a multicultural approach that considers racial differences and takes up the struggle against prejudice as a challenge is the awareness that all individuals of all races have the same intellectual capacity and faculty. The differences that exist among cultures are the fruit of the human capacity to give different meanings to actions and to things in the social relation dynamics, and not the fruit of a mental or physical incapacity for being more or less developed.

Conclusion and Final Considerations

The objective of this Chapter was to analyze the superficial way the Olympic Education teaching materials have been dealing with the multiculturalism issue, in order to provide realistic approaches for the educational proposal born with Coubertin but still searching universal validation after one-hundred years of modern Olympic history.

Four Olympic Education teaching materials, well known among those who work in Olympic Education in Brazil, were selected. The main concern was the concept of culture and all implications that it may bring to educational reference texts and activities suggested for the students. Therefore, the analysis of the materials was made considering three main categories: 1) The Meaning of Culture; 2) Eurocentrism and 3) Race and Culture, which are intrinsically linked.

The main conclusions are the following:

1) The Meaning of Culture: It was noticed that in general, except in *Be a Champion in Life*, the proposed activities for the knowledge of other cultures transmit a “tylorian” idea of the 19th century culture, with a concept close to a pile of disconnected aspects, free of a contextual meaning and of a symbolic articulation for those belonging to that culture. I suggest an approach more in accordance with the tendencies of modern anthropology, sharing with Geertz the conception of culture as a web of meanings to be interpreted, and that emphasis would be given not to the isolated aspects, *per se*, but to the importance that they have for each culture.

2) The Eurocentrism: Considered as a consequence of the “tylorian” vision that also developed the cultural evolutionist theory, which resulted in the separation of the peoples under the categories of civilized and non-civilized, developed and underdeveloped, western and exotics. Even if this vision does not seem intentionally ethnocentric and imperialist, it is evident in the teaching materials, in the characterization of hot and cold weather countries and under the circumstances where the relation between “I” and “other” always translates the “others” with names belonging to countries out of the European and North American continents. Since at least two of these materials are considered sources for teachers around the world, I suggest that a change be made in the “sameness” and “otherness” approach, which is intrinsically linked to the reference to the sociocultural place where it is read, or that a local adaptation of names and texts be made.

3) Race and Culture: Although this issue was not comprehensively approached in the teaching materials, I noticed the tendency to place the race problem mixed to the

cultural questions, since the central focus of multiculturalism is the respect and valuation of differences. However, I am aware of the fact that the conceptual mixtures may lead to a misunderstanding of the race concept as culture or of race as determining culture and behaviors. Thus, I suggest that the multicultural approaches emphasize the discussion about race not as a cultural determinant and that people of all races are born with the same intellectual capacity, and that the issue of cultural differences is the fruit of the multiple meanings that the groups may give in their interrelations.

The knowledge of the social sciences and of history should not be disconsidered from such an important issue as multiculturalism. The debate on culture and identity is becoming so sophisticated that Olympic Education cannot fail to follow it. Although nowadays there are many globalizing institutions and movements, there is a counter-movement to save identities. When fighting for the respect to disparities we may run the risk of helping the construction of identities that do not communicate among themselves.

The act of just respecting may be restricted to not touching, not getting involved, not understanding and not liking. Tolerance is a principle of civilization, which prevents man from invading the space of the other – the one who is different in his or in others societies. Therefore, the multicultural education, besides fighting for the preservation of and the respect to differences, should also reinforce the valuation of the differences as an opening of esthetic values, as well as other legitimate ways of being and of looking at life and at the world.

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Notes

- 1 In this respect, we may cite DACOSTA. *Olympism and the equilibrium of man*. In: N. Muller (ed.) *Coubertin and Olympism questions for the future* (p.188-199), 1998 and Gomes. *Solidaridade e Honestidade - os fundamentos do fair play entre adolescentes escolares*. In: Tavares e DaCosta: *Estudos Olímpicos*, 1999, that gathers many articles and questions on the Olympic issue.
- 2 This issue was very clear in my research “*Corpo e Adolescência: no cru é que estão as proteínas*” (1994), where the category adolescent, although having been created within a specific context of historical development of the European middle-class, now includes all young people belonging to a given age group. However, the feeling of adolescence and the limits of the beginning and end of this phase of life are quite distinct, depending on the sociocultural context of the adolescent in question.
- 3 These are ideas contained in the fundamental principle no. 6 of the Olympic Charter.
- 4 Edward TYLOR, 1871. Chap.1, p.1, cited by LARAIA (1986 - p.25).
- 5 To check Kenan MALIK, ***The Meaning of Race: Race, History and Culture in Western Societies***, 1996.
- 6 Highlight made by myself.
- 7 UNESCO Declaration on Race (1951), mentioned by LARAIA: In *Cultura: um conceito Antropológico*, 1992.
- 8 Adopted and proclaimed by the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization at its Twentieth Session, on 27 November, 1972. Available: <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/instree/d2drp.htm> or: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/ulis/ged.html>.



CHAPTER 14

The Olympic scholar: intellectual purity or direct participation?

Lamartine P. DaCosta

If the focus of attention is upon the Olympic Movement and the International Olympic Committee - IOC, then conflict and crisis might be central categories for a historical inquiry on those major sport initiatives. Symptomatically, since Pierre de Coubertin's early efforts to re-create the Olympic Games, conflicting relationships had characterized conceptions, institutions, personalities and international affairs involved in this one of the pioneer events of globalization¹.

Briefly, the history of the Olympic Movement's conflicts and crises primarily had the motive of an international power dispute during the Games revival in the 1890s. From the beginning of 20th century until today, the sequence of motives has been encompassing amateurism deviations; discrimination against women; nationalism-based confrontations; fascist ideological pressures during the 1936 Olympiad; the cold war between communist and capitalist nations; gigantism of the Games; media dominance; overcommercialization constraints; environmental harassment in the Games' sites; drug abuses; and more recently, corruption among IOC members².

The moral crisis

The last motive, in the 1999 version, has provoked a deep impact in the cohesion and credibility of IOC's from within, in an unprecedented manner. Actually, since Coubertin's days the organizational core delimited by IOC members has remained untouched³. But, as referred in the IOC leaders public statements, the one hundred years' old stage of creative responses to external challenges has apparently shifted to a period of decline and self-indulgence, as suggested by the IOC Director-General, François Carrard, in a statement issued at the end of the 1990s⁴.

The public recognition was naturally followed by initiatives of internal reform, beginning in mid-1999. So far, the so-called "IOC 2000 Commission" was charged with "reforming the entire structure of the Olympic Movement into the next millennium to help prevent such ethical breaches in the future"⁵. This *ad hoc* consulting group in addition to the already existing "Ethics Commission" consisted of independent members besides those assigned from IOC operational functions, Executive Board and members. Most probably, this composition had

represented a break in the tradition of corporatism inaugurated by Coubertin in order to prevent the IOC from nationalistic pressures during the heroic phase of IOC⁶.

Apart from the IOC ongoing process of operational changes which still prevail today, the social, cultural and public interest sanctioning are likely to be the appropriate focus to evaluate the intended reform. This requirement can be presumptively met by those independent members with a desirable constructive criticism and an adequate educational background. After all, if the last IOC crises was a moral one, actions for a better control of affairs are necessary but not sufficient. Behind this assumption lies a question that may synthesize an unsolved contradiction remotely related to Coubertin's times: to what extent should pragmatic control and actions prevail over historical and philosophical - based directions?⁷.

The triumph of pragmatism

In retrospect, by means of Coubertin's intellectual perspectives the prevalence either of action or of humanistic values represents much more than organizational strategic solutions for the IOC. In fact, as a result of his explicit adoption of eclecticism and eurhythmy, the opposition identified here should imply in the search of equilibrium between contrasting views⁸. And in terms of the Olympic Movement's conflicting evolution, common opposition was often concerned with scientific thinking versus humanistic values during the Olympic congresses, or to practical management measures versus intellectual arguments as frequently occurred during the IOC meetings.

The evolution of the Olympic Congresses *per se*, as acknowledged by Coubertin himself, had repercussions outside of the Olympic Movement, represented by new supportive

improvements in Physical Education in some European countries⁹. Nevertheless, the event had lost its *momentum* along with the increasing strength of pragmatism that proved to guarantee the survival of the renewed Olympic ideal constantly surrounded by conflicts and crises¹⁰. In short, the Olympic Movement after Coubertin and until today has become an activist and instrumental assemblage of sports' leaders in which ethics, education and humanistic values exert minor influences.

The return of intellectuals

Of course, the IOC is not an exception among other equivalent gigantic enterprises of today. But the very nature of sport competitions demands a legitimacy mostly attained by ethical and educational values¹¹. Thus, the well-established managerial power of IOC interventions was caught by surprise when conflictive situation created by its own lack of ethical standards was brought up.

This was particularly true in relation to environmental protection when the 1992 Winter Olympic Games of Albertville brought forth strong reactions from both governments and environmentalists. As reported before here in this book, since then the IOC has been undertaking a conflict-resolution profile. And partnerships with independent expertise and positive action groups came about in order to provide a "green profile" to the Games. Finally, in 1996, the principle of sustainability was included in the Olympic Charter in order to encourage the Olympic Movement "to take measures to reflect such concern in its activities and educate all those connected with the Olympic Movement as to the importance of sustainable development"¹².

It seems safe to say then in reference to recent years' experiences of IOC in maneuvering important crises, that the

Olympic Movement becomes more open to association with independent players - mostly public intellectuals - as well as to lead consensus building operations. Furthermore, during the early 1990's the IOC demonstrated an unprecedented sensitivity to social criticism despite keeping its close relationships with large-scale commercial enterprises. This ongoing process of adaptation to external social forces even encompasses the possibility of educating the so-called "Olympic family" to new values requirements.

The context of reconciliation has also been substantially levered up by the far reaching repercussions of the IOC bribery scandal, starting at the end of 1998. In practical terms, the moral crisis implied in ethical compliance with recommendations from either the IOC 2000 Commission or the Ethics Commission, both including a majority of independent membership. In these circumstances, a number of scholars dedicated to Olympic Studies area have joined the efforts to carry out a deep reform in the IOC basic structure and its leaders' attitudes.

In addition to these intervention procedures, since 1999 the IOC Internet home page has commenced the initial steps of a desirable accountability from within this institution by providing public proceedings and position papers from the reform process. Also, the creation of the World Anti - Doping Agency - WADA along with the IOC changes, brought another group of scholars with international reputation into that process. With less impact but influential in its recent repercussions was the group of intellectuals adherent to the Olympic Museum's cultural activities. In all, these measures corresponded to starting up again the reconciliation of intellectuals taking part effectively in the development of the Olympic Movement as a cultural, social and educational accomplishment, which has been undermined by the companions who have shared Coubertin's beliefs in the past and present.

The evaluative perspectives

However, respectively to this presupposed context of reconciliation a few timely and straight to the point questions should be addressed: is this adhesion of some intellectuals to IOC reform a construction of a new tradition or an updated version of IOC corporatist and pragmatic mentality? Are there still the risks of co-optation of independent consultants in order to hold the criticism from external sources and to absorb the moral crises' initial impacts? Will there be a new role to intellectuals in the Olympic Movement or will they be discarded after the reform gains stability? Are the intellectuals with academic involvement with the Olympic Movement consciously prepared to adapt or create ethical principles as well as to theorize on their roles facing their possible inclusion in IOC organizational bodies?

Far from being a result of a conspiracy model of thinking, these questions are historically based statements taken from the one hundred year evolution of the Olympic Movement and the IOC, in addition to the long-standing issue of intellectuals' relationships with institutional and political powers¹³. Arguably, the taken-for-grantedness that one might imply from these key questions is not valid, once the deterministic use of history to condemn IOC deviations is so much arbitrary than managerial decisions without ethical positioning.

Indeed, given the need of evaluative perspectives towards the reconciliation drive, if any, it seems significant to place on record the preliminary judgements, convictions and values of the intellectuals themselves. This general approach of individuals and group identification is necessary - otherwise not sufficient - to establish an ought-to-be framework from which desirable and ethical principles should be pointed out for the future IOC conducts.

Conversely, putting the focus in present status trends of IOC in order to answer the aforementioned key questions, it

would represent an *argumentum ad hominem* since data collected from IOC leaders and officials should not be logically plausible on the grounds that they were not yet compromised with ethical evaluative terms when the moral crises made its appearance. So far, it seems more appropriate for the scrutiny to keep in mind the adoption of the argument from *ethos* which would represent a survey joining intellectuals with the scholarly experience in studying IOC modes of intervention. Besides, the argument continues, as scholars this group of respondents is potentially able to develop moral discernment once this task is part of their professional life.

The survey

As such, the previous assumptions had been formulated in the beginning of 2000 in view of the “International Panel of Olympic Scholars - University of New South Wales - UNSW” planned to be held during Sydney’s Olympic Games in the same year. The Panel’s project was coordinated by Richard Cashman , director of the Center for Olympic Studies - UNSW, who proposed the event to help facilitate research works on Olympic issues by scholars individually or in joint projects. In September, prior to the Games, the Panel took place with 23 invited Olympic Scholars. And one of the research project discussed in that opportunity was the present investigation already in phase of collecting date.

By June, 2000, in response to the Panel’s initial proposals, the survey was then designed aiming to provide an overall identification of moral principled stands or values from Olympic scholars according to their perceived social responsibilities in the face of IOC recent immoral issues. To be precise, this survey’s purpose pertained to the desirable position of Olympic scholars whether giving sanctions to the

ongoing IOC reform, as noted above. Moreover, Olympic scholars *qua* intellectuals was a prerequisite set for the investigation to observe their willingness to endorse theoretically and practically the task of IOC renovation.

Accordingly, an in-depth questionnaire was prepared textually proposing “to survey the views of selected respondents on the recent moral crisis within the Olympic Movement and on the judgments of the Olympic Scholars themselves” and then distributed to 50 selected targets, from June to November, 2000. The profile of these potential respondents was outlined as a professor with a Ph.D. degree dedicated to Olympic Studies and found among (1st) participants of the UNSW Panel of Olympic Scholars in Sydney Games, (2nd) lectures of International Olympic Academy - IOA sessions, (3rd) members from centers and research groups on Olympic Studies and (4th) authors of books and articles on Olympic Movement history with academic reputation.

The data-gathering instrument was composed by two sets of proposition statements (Group “A” and Group “B” questions) to be checked in terms of frequency of agreements as well as to avoid individual identification. The questionnaire encompassed 12 items in Group “A” describing institutional and social roles of intellectuals in general, either in terms of desirable, condemned or unattached attitudes. These items were constructed with broad views which might give support to an interpretation to be made of Olympic Scholars as intellectuals in present days. The Group “B” focused on the IOC ongoing reform, which has resulted in another study published elsewhere¹⁴.

The research delimitation

The contents of the 12 items were not mutually exclusive in their construction since the respective intellectuals’ roles

and Olympic Scholars endorsements should be placed in hierarchical order of choices. This receiver's end was due to the investigation's theme in itself. In fact, intellectuals' role in social interventions by definition treats of issues on which researchers disagree when working at the intersection between overlapping claims of different sources¹⁵. So far, the state of knowledge for meeting the demands of the questionnaire would not offer a complete account of intellectuals' roles and choices of intervention, but rather a heuristic device to identify their appropriate options. At the very least, the proposed survey might suggest minimal standards for ethical conduct and generate discussion concerning future roles of Olympic Scholars. Corrections did not comprise the 12 items since the theme of intellectuals with self - appointed social responsibility was prior considered somewhat ambiguous and often overlapping in its interpretations, as mentioned above.

In terms of respondents, the delimitation was planned to include Olympic Scholars from all continents, both sexes and with Ph. D. degrees conferred in less than ten years (<10 yr) and before 1990 (>10 yr). Assuming that in Africa , Asia and Latin America there are few scholars with the profile required by the survey , five Ph. D. candidates from these continental areas were selected as targets following the criteria of Olympic Studies themes as options for their dissertations' research. The source for this selective process was the students from the IOA Post Graduation Seminar's on Olympic Studies held every year in Ancient Olympia - Greece.

Coherently, the questionnaire's final form was admittedly a free-response (open - ended) descriptive instrument that might prove valuable in broadening perspective and in calling attention to the novel presupposed role of the Olympic Scholars dealing with IOC problems. This proposal had become an introductory remark when presenting the form to potentials respondents.

Non-quantitative data and discussion

The percentage of returns from the total of 50 questionnaires distributed by Internet and mail was 72%, totaling 36 respondents being 8 (22,2%) women and 28 (77,8%) men. The group with more than 10 years of Ph.D. status totaled 20 (55%) respondents and the younger group , 16 (45%). This latter group includes 4 (11,1%) Ph.D. candidates.

The continental distribution of respondents were: Europe - 13 (36,1%); North America - 11 (30,5%); Asia - 6 (16,6%); Latin America - 5 (13,8%); Africa - 1 (2,7%). By countries, major sources of respondents were Canada - 6 (16,6%); Germany - 6 (16,6%); USA - 5 (13,8%); UK - 4 (11,1%). Thus, these four countries alone totaled 58,3% of respondents with English speaking nations dominance.

The group of 36 Olympic Scholars declared 16 specialization involvements beside Olympic Studies such as : history - 38% ; sport sciences - 27%; education - 13,8%; philosophy - 8,3%; ethics - 5,5% and others with 7,4%. Moreover, 30,5% of these respondents had consultant or executive functions in Olympic Movement's different bodies (IOC commissions, Sydney's OCOG, National Olympic Academies etc.).

In addition to the returns' summary, the choices from respondents put in rank order are presented below with the frequency obtained by each item (percentage over 36 respondents in selecting one or more items) , discriminated by time of experience in Ph. D. concerns. Also, remarks from respondents , if any, are placed on record in each item, identified by his / her continent of origin. This hierarchy may be seen as the intellectuals' engagement with institutional and social order in contrast with his or her detachment :

1st - Intellectuals are the conscience of society. They foster tolerance, struggle against evil and violence, promote human

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rights, and argue for their indivisibility. They also work as independent critics , holding up a much-needed mirror to politics and power or are directly involved in politics [Bertrand Russell, J. P. Sartre, Vaclav Havel , 1960s – 1990s] = 61,1% choices (<10yr - 11 + >10yr - 11 = 22).

Remarks : “Not all intellectuals foster tolerance. Some of them struggle against evil but not against violence - *apud* Karl Marx” (Europe). “Overall, I agree with this statement as compare to others in this section” (North America).

2nd - Intellectuals are a distinct social group with a self-appointed responsibility for guiding justice and development both in particular social settings and in culture areas transcending national boundaries [Saint-Simon, Emile Zola, Durkheim – 19th and early 20th centuries] = 58,3% choices (<10yr - 8 + >10yr - 13 = 21).

Remarks: “... but ‘self - appointed’ subject to some sense of peer review and social accountability, however difficult to define” (North America). “Intellectuals are not judges but knowledge producers. To create ‘public’ knowledge with free access is one of the main roles of this group today, to avoid major corporations’ dominance. In Olympic and sport area this risk is observed in the preference of medical and marketing sciences over social and cultural sciences” (Europe).

3rd - An intellectual is a person playing the role of a thinker or writer who engages in public discussion of issues of public policy, in politics in the broadest sense, while not deliberately

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engaging in the pursuit of political power [T. Garton Ash, 1995] = 50% choices (>10yr - 6 + >10yr - 12 = 18).

Remarks : "... but not always true or desirable"
(North America).

4th - Without political and public commitments social theory is in danger of becoming an esoteric, elitist and eccentric interest of marginal academics [B. S. Turner, 1996] = 38,8% choices (<10yr - 6 + >10yr - 8 = 14).

Remarks : " The opposite is also true: social theory with political and public commitments is in danger for its short term interests"(Europe).

5th - Intellectuals must be condemned for their readiness to serve particular social and political causes and to betray their true commitment : the disinterested pursuit of universal justice [J. Benda, *La Trahison des Clercs*, 1920s] = 27,7% choices (<10yr - 4 + > 10yr - 6 = 10).

Remarks: "Not all, but some intellectuals"
(Europe).

5th - During the 20th century, intellectuals have been submitted to mechanisms of absorption and co-optation from universities becoming prisoners of academic policies and requirements: they lost contact with the real world [C. Buarque, 2000] = 27,7% choices (<10yr - 6 + >10yr - 4 = 10).

Remarks : "... but what is the real world?"
"(North America). "Centers for Olympic Studies are terribly ambiguous concept, academically. By their very nature - at least those that have emerged in the last ten years - lucid

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criticism of the IOC is impossible” (North America). “The academic climate in western European - based societies does not permit scholars of being both academic and activist. Therefore, we are most effective if we pursue these two streams of work separately, distinctly and at the highest vital level” (North America).

6th - The new liberal and technological intelligentsia discards truth and morality in favor of specialization and power [N. Chomsky, 1960s] = 25% choices (<10yr - 5 + >10yr - 4 = 9).

Remarks: “Does Intelligentsia determine attitudes?” (Europe).

7th - The public intellectuals were left behind in favor of the growing number of specialists [C. Wright Mills, *White Collar*, 1950s] = 19,4% choices (<10yr - 4 + >10yr - 3 = 7).

Remarks: “The reverse could be worse. It is not only a matter of the number of intellectuals but what they stand for” (Europe).

8th - Free – floating intelligentsia is relatively detached from economic processes and provides synthesis of the varying viewpoints represented in the modern world [K. Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*, 1930s] = 16,6% choices (<10yr - 1 + >10yr - 5 = 6).

Remarks: “Scholars first need to distance themselves from the Olympic Movement in order to more clearly understand and evaluate the social and cultural function of this phenomenon “ (North America).

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8th - Intellectuals as social critics have disappeared as they became dependents of academic or governmental bureaucratic structures [R. Jacoby, 1980s] = 16,6% choices (<10yr - 4 + >10yr - 2 = 6).

Remarks: "This statement is too general" (Europe).

9th - Organic intellectuals have the organizational function of creating a web of beliefs and institutional and social relations which is called hegemony [A. Gramsci, *Quaderni del Carcere*, 1920s - 1930s] = 13,8% choices (<10yr - 3 + >10yr - 2 = 5).

Remarks: "The Olympic Scholars should not be 'organic intellectuals' , instead they should keep distance from the IOC to avoid 'blind spots' " (Europe).

10th - The modern intellectual no longer represents the bearer of universal values, once it is not at all necessary to relate ethical problems to scientific knowledge [M. Foucault, 1986]= 8,3% choices (<10yr - 2 + >10yr - 1 = 3).

Remarks: "The increase of knowledge is also creating ethical problems which cannot be solve by knowledge itself, but rather by building consensus on values" (Europe).

Having selected the choices in rank order, the respondents also forwarded in the questionnaire their position statements concerning IOC moral crises:

Olympic Scholars - "I have focused on what I think it should be, not what it currently is because I don't think enough

scholars speak out critically or strongly” (North America). “I do not think intellectuals have specific duties. People have duties: some intellectuals are intelligent and well informed, but that does not give them a greater duty to inform ethical opinions than anyone else, nor does it make their ethical opinions any more likely to be valid. After all, everyone has the duty to inform his/her conscience. But, the few of us who write about the Olympics do have a duty to decide and discuss how serious the recent events are and the extent to which they require changes in the organization of the Movement, in the responsibilities of IOC, etc. Here there are areas where specialist knowledge is essential “ (Europe). “Olympic scholars should participate directly in the IOC reform with their expertise, jointly with athletes, members, managers, etc” (Europe). “The IOC does not have good relationships with the academic world. Moreover, the contact areas have different reactions according to specialization. Historians, for instance, are more reliable than educators among IOC leaders” (Europe). “On one hand, we must participate in the reform but the point is whether they will ignore us. On the other hand, we have to learn how to change the Olympic Movement but the question is how to deal with its instability. In short, dialogue and mutual changes of IOC leaders and intellectuals from the Olympic Movement are the solution” (Europe). “The IOC has recently created or improved three channels of contacts with Olympic Scholars : 2000 Commission, Research Council of Olympic Studies and the Olympic Museum. So, isolation is not the right expression to describe IOC relationships with the academic world” (Europe). “Scholars’ relationships with IOC are essentially a matter of inquiry addressed to researchers “ (North America). “Critical issues for scholars demand involvement; more involvement with IOC is knowledge dissemination” (North America). “The relationship IOC - Olympic Scholars is a dialectic one” (Europe). “The experience of scholars’

participation in IOC commissions reveals cases of manipulation executed by their executive members” (Europe). “Just as there is tenure in university, Olympic Scholars need access to freedom to pursue pressing issues with a sense of independence” (North America).

Role of the intellectuals - “Most of these statements are gross oversimplifications of a much more complicated truth” (North America). “Each of these statements is a broad and all-encompassing generalization. None of them are true or supportable in their particularities - for everyone, everywhere” (North America). “Intellectuals cannot be put into single categories. There are as many motives, pressures and outcomes as there are individuals” (Asia). “The problem concerning intellectuals is that they are not ready to select statements *per se*, but instead, they elaborate lengthy comments which bring difficulties to a qualitative content analysis” (Europe). “In order to appreciate in-depth each statement it is necessary to go back to the context from which it originates” (Latin America).

Olympic Morality and Values - “I think the best way to start a program which tries to solve problems is: first to collect data, and second to analyze them. For me, as a historian, it is also very important to realize that human beings have two dimensions. One shows us mankind as it is, as it was and as it will be in future (I would call it the anthropological component; for instance: homo ludens). And another aspect shows elements which undergo changes during the times. Therefore, a special task of historical research should be the constant and variable elements. Thus, focussing on Group “A” questions, as a sport-historian I am mainly interested in explaining and understanding the development of the Olympic Games. I think it is not the historian’s task to promote ideals besides the ideal of truth. I am critical of an ‘esoteric’ and ‘sectarian’ Olympic

morality; I would rather foster certain universal values such as the Human Rights and fairness in all spheres and at all levels of life . As for Group “B” questions, my first and utmost proposal is a thoroughgoing democratization of the IOC, which until today has a quasi-gerontocratic nature. Athletes should be integrated. From a historical perspective, the organizational structure is out of date. I surely admire the idealism and commitment of people trying to solve the problem of doping by education. Having studied the history of sports all my life, however, I have severe doubts that the problems of cheating can be solved in this way. As a historian, I think that there are many arguments that contradict the widespread opinion that there is a decline in the values of sport. Things are not getting worse” (Europe). “Corruption is commonly found in today’s institutions. Thus, a code of ethics for the Olympic Movement is urgently needed, otherwise we will all be playing cynical roles” (Europe). “Coubertin was not a model of ethical conduct since he became powerful in politics. But power, in this case, cannot be identified as corruption. Scholars also use power in their relations with society” (Europe). “The risk of corruption grows with the increase of commercialization in sport. As such, to reduce business activities in IOC means preventing wrongdoings” (Europe).

IOC Crises’ Motives - “I have always thought that the rulers of the Olympic Movement had an exaggerated idea of their own importance. In my view, sport is good for people, competition is good for some people, the health and well-being that come from sports are of obvious importance. But, those are not reasons for the big people to regard themselves as important, and it is that self-regard that leads them to succumb to temptation” (Europe). “The IOC is in disarray. It is widely regarded throughout the world as corrupted, self-seeking, unaccountable and replete with cronyism, nepotism, bribery

and corruption. It represents the ugliest face of modern sport. It lacks credibility, dignity and above all, democracy. It is global totalitarianism in sports” (Europe). “Coubertin saw three classes of IOC members: the nucleus ones, who joined those committed to the cause; the nursery ones, with those who could be educated to the cause; the façade ones, who included those whose influence could be useful (e.g. aristocracy). The danger is to see the façade members pretend they are nucleus without ever setting foot in the nursery” (Europe).

Scholars as Educators - “Corruption is not an occasional event in the IOC under business pressures and power influences, therefore it will be potentially present if regulations and pedagogical initiatives cannot prevail. Scholars above all have to promote interventions of educational content instead of direct confrontations with the IOC bureaucratic structures. In addition, scholars have capabilities to act as role models in terms of ethical attitudes. In summary, scholars are potentially able to educate Olympic Movement adherents by means of interventions and examples” (Europe). “Scholars must be careful not to reproduce the very cronyism that IOC members have recently been accused of. Olympic Scholars should not be positioned as an elitist class of academics with luxury trips and other perks but ,instead, they should be leading intellectual debates about theory, method, application of knowledge in the Olympic Movement and advocacy where appropriate” (North America).

Limits and controversies

Certainly, in order to review more subtle fundamentals of stands and values of Olympic Scholars for the survey results discussion, it is necessary to re-exam briefly the intellectuals as

a distinct social group. Methodologically speaking, additional remarks from respondents suggest that Olympic Scholars mostly disagree with the abstract and contradictory conceptions of their social and cultural roles. In fact, their contentions may be illuminated by the dispute of the sociology of knowledge validity beginning in the late nineteenth century. This presupposed branch of social sciences primarily had the support of Max Weber, Durkheim, Max Scheler, Mannheim and other outstanding social scientists from the early twentieth century¹⁶.

The defenders of sociology of knowledge argued that all knowledge is, by definition, a social construction. However, these broad terms of approaching the intersubjective creation of knowledge by social groups were dismissed by the sociological thinking after the Second World War. In 1959, Thomas Merton, for instance, reflecting on the North American sociological production, wrote that “the sociology of knowledge remains largely a subject of meditation rather than a field of sustained methodological investigation”¹⁷. Later, in the 1980s, the renowned German philosopher, Juergen Habermas, rejecting both the relativism of the humanists and the scientism of the positivists has absorbed the sociology of knowledge into the broader concerns of his Critical Theory¹⁸. Today, sociology of knowledge is seriously discredited in spite of eventual attempts made to re-examine its basis.

Historically speaking, the topic of intellectuals as an unattached social stratum was reinforced in the 1930s by Karl Mannheim, when he had used the rise of intelligentsia, in many European countries, as an evidence taken from the sociology of knowledge’s explanations. Within this context of understanding, the intellectuals as individuals with a common consciousness of their distinctive social responsibilities had appeared in early nineteenth century with Saint - Simon’s notion of *avant-garde*. Most of the aforementioned assertions submitted to respondents have their roots on Saint - Simon’s

heritage which seems to be alive today, at least among contemporary writers and artists¹⁹.

Theoretically speaking, the conception of intellectuals as a group of social reformers is complex and contradictory by its relativist content and the loosely definition of either social class or social stratum²⁰. Although this sociological construction represents a tension in present days, the moral claims issued by intellectuals as a positive action group or even as intervention agents remain socially legitimate. Again, the questionnaire's assertions incorporate both approaches.

Moral stands and values

Giving the initial assessment of the survey outcomes, the discussion turns again to choices where ultimately lie key insights to search the desirable hierarchy of moral stands and values. From the three preferred statements from Group "A", a profile required for Olympic Scholars may be outlined as intellectuals representing the conscience of society (61,1 % of choices), acting as a distinct social group with a self-appointed responsibility for guiding justice (58,3%) and engaged in public discussion of issues of public policy (50%).

Apart from individual idiosyncrasies, these character traits and abilities, however, are not absolute requisites in face of difficulties of giving legitimacy to "self - appointed" position and to justice distribution as well. Moreover, the engagement in public discussions should not be always desirable in the perspective of this particular assemblage of intellectuals.

In developing these abilities, Olympic Scholars should keep the tradition of the intellectuals as mediators as well as following the intervention role with prudence. As long as the choices related to these issues had balanced results , old (<10 yr) and young (>10 yr) scholars are apparently in agreement, except

in terms of the public engagement requisite to which the latter group marked 50% less choices than the former.

Other concentration of choices from Group "A" statements had discrete results depicting some unaccountable generalizations. The forth preferred choice of this group (38,8 %) is also referred to political and public commitments, but not as a moral demarcation. Instead, this statement emphasizes the social theory behind the scholars' positioning, therefore becoming a relativist assumption as pointed out by respondents. Again, old and young scholars had a balanced distribution of choices in this item, to which must be added the high frequency of acceptance. In other words, this outcome might be interpreted as a support to the chosen intervention role from former preferred statements.

The 5th, 6th and 7th most preferred statements embody the common and already traditional accusation of intellectuals' involvement with praiseworthy corporatism advantages. Choices in these cases totaled respectively 27,7% , 25% and 19,4% without unbalanced positions between old and young scholars. In all, respondents have rejected generalizations implied by these items. But in relation to the 5th statement in the ranking order there were suggestions of mechanisms of co-optation existing in academic initiatives directly linked to the Olympic Movement .

Consequently, according to this latter view, the academic and activist senses expected to shape the mediation and intervention roles of the Olympic Scholars simply do not arise. Thus, the second recommended position for the Olympic Scholar regards carefully wrong or undesirable attitudes as opposed to the most preferred choices widely concerned with moral intervention role models.

In the context of these contrasting positions , the 8th preferred statement (16,6%) brings into the discussion the famous conception of "free - floating intelligentsia", developed

by Karl Mannheim, which here implies having a detached observation of IOC crises for a better assessment of its impacts. This advice is assumed by a respondent's remark, being somewhat contradictory to the mainstream, formed by direct engagement petitioners. But, unlike other statements from the survey, it was marked by 5 members from the old group against one single selection from the young group. Hypothetically, the difference is explained by a minor group of Olympic Scholars who trust in their moral role and in critics but not in direct interventions in IOC issues.

Coincidentally, the 8th (same frequency of previous item, but different content) , 9th and 10th statements of the rank order extracted from Group "A " items, also focus on particular roles attainable by Olympic Scholars. Now, the hierarchy is established respectively by 16,6%, 13,8% and 8,3% of choices. Furthermore, there are not discrepancies between old and young groups surveyed while respondents continue to put limits or to argue the statements. Thus, the generalization from 8th and 10th items are criticized as well as the relativism of 9th item is stressed as compared to the previous proposed detachment to assess IOC deviations. Finally, the low frequency attributed to the 10th statement signalizes a rejection of the "end of intellectual" thesis, coherently with the mainstream detected by the preceding items.

Conclusions

Even while recognizing the important role played by the intellectuals in today's societies and cultures, methodological challenges persist in order to produce appropriate generalizations about this group. Whatever their contours, intellectuals are not wholly defined by means of current scientific research. The multiplicity of approaches for having

point-specific understanding of this peculiar assemblage usually correspond to segmentation without unification. As such, the present investigation can only envisage an identification of moral and values traits.

Overall, intellectuals as a topic of research is inconsistent in theory but effective in practice. More precisely, intellectuals are a historical category still insufficiently explained by sociology. Such assertion is better acknowledged when intellectuals organize themselves for social and political interventions²¹. Recalling the 12 items of discussions, Olympic scholars apparently recognize themselves in the latter direction. Also, this self-fulfilling defines the intelligentsia from the nineteenth century and this is one main assumption behind the manifest "*Les Intellectuels et les Pouvoirs*", signed in Paris, 1973, by renowned intellectuals from 13 countries, when it declares in the closing paragraph²²:

"Wherever the place in the world he is found, whatever are the reasons for his engagement, to tell the truth - by all possible means and according to his beliefs - is the primary task of the intellectual. He must do it without messianic pride and with independence from all powers - and against them, whatever names and modes they are recognized. For him, there is not justification to change from criticism to apologetics. The ideal of a just society does not concern itself with a society without conflicts - there is not such an end of history - but to a society where those who criticize may be submitted to critics when they are in power; to a society where criticism equals freedom and apologetics has no utility at all".

From these points of view, intellectuals take themselves to task in the events of social injustice or in contingencies of serious wrongdoings before him or her. This contingent intervention is especially enlightening to meet the relativism of theoretical explanations on their public positions. In addition, the other-directedness of the eventually engaged intellectual presupposes a social identity mainly governed by the social, cultural or political context where s/he emerges with collective and peer approvals²³.

In stressing the importance of the context, it means that the influence of intellectuals depends on the cultural setting in which s/he makes interventions. In France and Latin America, for instance, intellectuals often become national heroes while in English - speaking countries they are frequently seen as civil-rights activists. During the 1950s, the international arena turn out to be a widely recognized context for intellectuals' interventions as proved by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The involvement of European prominent intellectuals in 1990s Iraq and Yugoslavia wars' debates is also a clear evidence of the re-formation of an international intelligentsia, now acting as guardians of universal human values²⁴.

Mutatis mutandis Coubertin's efforts to engage intellectuals in the Olympic Movement might be considered a foresight of either cosmopolitan or universal values approached as a means to overcome nationalist, ethnic and cultural confrontations. To be sure, a description of the "Consultative Conference on Art, Letters and Sports", Paris, Comédie Française, 1906, organized and reported by Coubertin himself ²⁵, emphasized the role of invited intellectuals. In brief, the 60 artists and writers of note who attended the event were expected to "study to what extent and what way art and literature could be included in the celebration of the modern Olympiads and be associated with the practice of sport in general so as not only to benefit from it but at the same time ennoble it".

Although the results of this desirable association never reached a much needed continuity as reported before, Paul Hazard by the early 1930s was advocating a close connection of the namely “sport intellectuals” with universal human values. For this French writer, physical educators as well as sport leaders and coaches should be trustees and promoters of those values. At this juncture, Hazard had recuperated also the Latin expression “*Ludus pro patria, pro humanitate ludus*” (Games for the Fatherland, Games for Humanity), as a label in order to identify intellectuals dedicated to sport matters²⁶.

In recent years, with the now vastly expanded higher education and the increase of university’s sport-related programs and specialization as well, scholars have been recasting light on the intellectual perspectives of sports development. The so-called Olympic Scholars can be considered an extraction of this academic elite in the name of Coubertin’s invented traditions. But, as a distinction from other sport specialists with doctoral degrees, the Olympic Scholar is supposed to take the task of interpreter and mediator of the Olympic values despite not being very clearly in the articulation of these roles.

This interpretation and its foregoing preliminary assumptions can yield theoretical disputes that cannot be developed in a single study. And the purpose of the present research is merely to capture elements to discern present and future roles and conducts of those particular scholars, facing a situational crisis. Moreover, it is then assumed that the historical reconstruction of the Olympic Scholars went far enough to respond to the questions addressed throughout this study.

With this understanding, the moral stands and values from the survey’s statements are presumably able to constitute the minimum repertory of roles and conducts as proposed by the investigation. Still regarding this objective, benchmarking assessments can be made through the repertory and also generate future discussions. The selected treatment of the

survey's results had as a model a similar option taken by Françoise Baylis in dealing with knowledge, abilities and character traits requisites for bioethics professionals²⁷.

Thus, for future assessments benchmarking is henceforth understood as a comparative ongoing search of moral demarcations and standards that lead to successive and superior practices with integrity - preserving compromises²⁸. Correspondingly, for putting this method to work one might suggest a review in the hierarchical order of Group "A" adjusted statements, in order to eliminate the 8th (Jacoby), the 9th (Gramsci) and the 10th (Foucault) positions since they focus on uncompromising roles and practices according to the survey's findings.

Finally, turning to the core questions posed by the survey, one should admit a conditional answer to the perspective of a new role for Olympic scholars in the Olympic Movement, after the IOC reform. According to "A" repertory re-established order and respective discussions, Olympic scholars are calling for actions with their direct participation and the re-elaboration of sport and Olympic priority values. This condition relies upon the willing acceptance of these intellectuals to the novel role for themselves, as researchers and equally as educators, voluntarily defending the Olympic traditional values as well.

Though this willingness became self - evident in the survey, perceptions of this academic and at the same time activist compromise are yet fragmented and rather biased by skepticism and radical criticism. In other words, during the IOC crises scholars involved with Olympic issues might have been acting according to a *continuum* in which there is an oscillation between intellectual purity and a direct involvement with the Olympic Movement's problems.

Ultimately, the trend towards common efforts to change the IOC and Olympic Movement internal values hierarchy may possibly progress as a renewed emphasis in the Olympic scholars' responsibilities. The IOC contemporary crisis

situation also may have the meaning of a break in the tradition of intellectuals' indirect influence on Olympic Movement's issues. In taking on the responsibilities they are outlining to themselves, Olympic scholars will benefit from the IOC crisis and will become really intellectuals *pro humanitate ludus*.

Notes

1. For a recent overview of the conflicting relationships of the IOC and the Olympic Games, see Schaffer, K. and Smith, S. (eds), *The Olympics at the Millenium : Power, Politics and the Games - Introduction*. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, 2000, pp. 1 -16.
2. A historical account on the meaning of sport competition' s deviations as related to Olympic Movement is found in DaCosta, L. , *The Central Problems of Olympism in the Face of the Constraints of Commercialization and Possible Solutions*, IOA Report, 32nd Session, 1992, pp. 77 - 84.
3. The president of the IOC himself has praised this continuity as follows: " After a century of existence, the IOC , which since that evening in June 1894 has been maintained and strengthened by seven successive presidents and four hundred and fourteen members - citizens of every continent - can be proud of its achievements " . Quoted in Samaranch, J. A , *Tribute to Greece and to Pierre de Coubertin*, *Olympic Review*, vol. 25, no. 8, 1996, p.3.
4. Quoted in www.olympic.org, IOC Home Page, in December 1999.
5. See Mallon, B. , *The Olympic Bribery Scandal*, *Journal of Olympic History*, vol. 8, no. 2, May 2000, pp. 11 - 27. The quotation is from p. 18.

6. A report on the adoption of a permanent membership structure by the IOC was included in Coubertin, P., L' Organisation Olympique, Revue Olympic, juillet 1903, pp.35 - 38. In Mueller, N. (Ed) Textes Choisis - Tome II - Olympism, Weidmann, Zurich, 1986, pp. 598 - 601.
7. For further information on this opposition , see DaCosta, L. , Olympism and the Equilibrium of Man. In Mueller, N. (Ed) Coubertin and Olympism - Questions for the Future, Schors, Niedernhausen, 1998, pp. 188 - 199.
8. Ibidem, pp.190 - 191.
9. A review of these repercussions was made, *inter alia*, by Naul, R. , The Impact of the Le Havre Congress on Physical Education in Selected European Countries. In Mueller, N., Schors, pp. 141 - 153.
10. For an account on the influence of the present days achieving society over the Olympic Ideals, see Lenk, H., Towards a Philosophical Anthropology of the Olympic Athlete and / as The Achieving Being. In Messing M. and Mueller, N. (eds), Blickpunkt Olympia, Agon Sport Verlag, Kassel, pp. 150 -164.
11. The topic of the legitimacy of sport practices has been discussed, for instance, by DaCosta, L. P., The Image of Sport in South America. In Mester, J. (ed), The Image of Sport in the World, German Sport University Cologne, 1995, pp. 93 - 94.
12. The Albertville crisis in addition to its further consequences on Lillehammer Games and the Olympic Games host city bidding, are fully analyzed by DaCosta, L. P., Toward a Theory of Environment and Sport. In DaCosta, L.P. (ed), Enviroment and Sport - An International Overview, University of Porto / IOC, Porto - Portugal, 1997, pp. 40 - 59. The sustainability principle in the version of Olympic Charter was quoted in the "Manual on Sport and the Environment", IOC, Lausanne, 1997, p. 72, as referred to Rule 2, paragraph 13.

13. For the issue of Coubertin and IOC hesitation in providing the Olympic Movement an intellectual base, see Mueller, N. , One Hundred years of Olympic Congresses - 1894 / 1994, IOC, Lausanne, 1994, p. 90. Accordingly, for the intellectuals' conflicting relationship with political and institutional powers, see Paramio, L. , L' Intellectuel, un Malentendu Historique, Lettre Internationale, n° 1, Autonne 1999, pp. 45 - 46.
14. See Lamartine DaCosta, "Taking ourselves to task: Olympic scholars in face of moral crisis in the Olympic Movement". In: Cashman, R. (ed.) Keys to Success. Sydney: UNSW Press (in print).
15. Quoted in Rorty, A . , The Advantages of Moral Diversity. In Frankel Paul, E. , Miller, Jr. , F. D. and Paul, J. (eds), The Good Life and the Human Good, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992, p. 43.
16. There were many instances of elaboration on the sociology of knowledge's pitfalls, but it is particularly recommended in this topic to consult Hekman, S. J., Hermeneutics and the Sociology of Knowledge, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1986. See an historical review of this discipline in pp. 13 - 49.
17. Merton, T. , Social Conflict over Styles of Sociological Work. In Curtis, J. E. and Petras, J. W. (eds), The Sociology of Knowledge, Duckworth, London, 1970, p. 507.
18. See Habermas, J., Knowledge and Human Interests, Beacon Press, Boston, 1971, p. 308 ff.
19. On this point see Howard, D., Les Intellectuels Français et le Marxisme, Lettre Internationale n° 1, Autonne 1999, pp. 51 - 56.
20. It should be noted that there was a growing agreement on this assumption in the 1970s already, as discussed by Gouldner, A., The Future of Intellectuals and the Rise of a New Class, Macmillan, London, *passim*.

21. This theoretically - grounded assumption has been giving support to several researches on the history of intelligentsia in many countries. For a description of this methodological option, see DaCosta, L. P. , *Intellectuels de France et du Brésil, Cahiers Caravelle - Université de Toulouse*, n° 57, Toulouse, 1991, pp. 161 - 170. Another study on the same line of research was made comparing intellectuals from Germany and Brazil in DaCosta, L. P., *A Transfiguracao da Historia pela Cutura do Dever - ser na Alemanha e no Brasil, Memoria e Cultura*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1993, pp. 5 - 10.
22. The Manifest "The Intellectuals and the Powers" was published in a special edition of the newspaper *Le Monde*, Paris, 4 juillet 1973. The translation from French was made by the author of this investigation.
23. The complexity of intellectuals' relations with social, cultural or political contexts has been conducting social scientists to make study cases of intellectuals by means of historical records and comparative analysis. For an extensive account of this approach, see Winock, M. , *Le Siècle des Intellectuels, Éditions du Seuil*, Paris, 1999. In this book, it is particularly interesting the chapter "La Fin des Intellectuels?", pp. 755 - 773.
24. See, for an extended account of this trend, Danner, M. , *The US and the Yugoslav Catastrophe, The New York Review of Books*, vol. XLIV, no. 18, 1997, pp. 56 - 64.
25. Coubertin, P. , *Olympic Memoirs, International Olympic Committee, Lausanne*, 1997, pp. 90 - 91 (original edition 1931).
26. Hazard, P., *A Educacao Fisica e os Intelectuais, Revista de Educacao Fisica*, vol. 1, no. 1, maio de 1932, pp. 16 - 17 (translated from an original article in French). In spite of this text does not mention the original use of the Latin expression, apparently it was taken from Coubertin' s writings. In fact, "Ludus pro Patria" was chosen by Coubertin as a motto for the symbol of the Union

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des Sociétés Françaises des Sport Athlétiques - U.S.F.S.A. in 1890, accounting on Mueller, N., Pierre de Coubertin Textes Choisis, Tome II. Weidmann, Zurich, 1986, p. 460.

27. Baylis, F. , Heroes in Bioethics, The Hastings Center Report, vol. 30, no. 3, 2000, pp. 34 - 39.
28. Ibidem, 35 - 36. The methodology of benchmarking is suggested by the referred source.



CHAPTER 15

The female Olympian: tradition versus innovation in the quest for inclusion

Ana Miragaya

The Olympic Games of the modern era started officially on April 6, 1896, in Athens Greece, with the participation of 245 male athletes from 14 nations of the western world. The main proponent of the Games, Baron Pierre de Coubertin (1863-1937), a typical man of his time, chose to follow the tradition of the Ancient Games keeping women out of courts, fields and other sports arenas and revering the figure of the

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ancient hero with his own extraordinary physical and moral virtues. The first modern Olympics did not have any women athletes, excluding therefore 51% of humanity. However, it is possible to observe a gradual increase in the number of female Olympians from 1900 to 2000 (from 1.9% in 1900 to 38.3% in 2000 of the total number of athletes)¹ and a very small number of women taking up administrative and management positions in the Olympic Committees after 1981.

This Chapter aims to review and discuss the evolution of the participation of women in the modern Olympic Games: from total exclusion (0.0% participation) and passivity prescribed by traditional values and beliefs at the very beginning, in 1896, to partial inclusion (38.3% participation) pressured by innovation and a change in gender roles brought about by transformations that occurred during the course of the 20th century. Empirical contributions will illustrate this theme, which is here primarily seen as an interplay between oppositions.

The inclusion of women in the Olympics came to being done gradually by the women themselves as a result of their development and awareness of the new active role they were beginning to play in the new industrialized society of the second half of the 19th century and during the whole 20th century. Women were conquering new positions in their countries, becoming more active, especially struggling to become full citizens with the right to vote. If women were increasingly calling for a place in the social order, it was not different in the sport sphere. Slowly women started to get into a realm that did not belong to them in the first place and they were beginning to enjoy it. They were streaming from a passive to an active position. Sport had always been a male construct in which very rarely did women take part. Traditional beliefs had always held that physical exertion and competition were contrary to a woman's nature. Besides, it was believed that the place of the woman was in the home, taking care of the house and the children, (indoors)

and that the place of the man was outside the home, working as the sole breadwinner of the family (outdoors)².

The history of the inclusion of women in sport is identified by some researchers^{3, 4, 5} not only as a history of power and male domination over women but also as a history of inequalities where women always played roles of submission, not being allowed to search for respect and equality. Other researchers have qualified it as a product of European and North American colonialism, a mirror of the games of these regions and not representative of indigenous peoples of the rest of the world⁶. It was a history based on tradition where changes and innovation played a very minor role. However, with the advancements of society itself in face of new technology and information, women began to realize that their history had to be retaken from another perspective: that of innovation, participation, activity and inclusion. The situation of women in the Olympic Games evolved then from total exclusion at the very beginning, in 1896, to some inclusion along the years. Women's advancement and awareness of their new positioning pressured society to come to a point where the next quest was not whether women should participate but how women should participate. In what sports and events and in what other positions, including as officials in international and national Olympic bodies, were women to participate actively. The 'permission' and the extension of this participation are still being prescribed by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) members, the majority of whom are men.

The Tradition of Ancient Olympic Games

Back in Greek times, at the root of all western tradition, Athenians believed that women should be covered up and not seen; therefore, they were not allowed to take part in athletic

competitions because they would have to expose themselves. Moreover, female bodies were to be conditioned for childbirth. At the same time, the Games of the Goddess Hera, whose first records date back to 200 B.C., were games that included young, adolescent, and unmarried women athletes in competitions held every four years ⁷.

The first recorded information of the Ancient Olympic Games dates back to 776 B.C. They were actually religious festivals in which competitive sports were believed to entertain the spirits of the dead. Therefore, a period of peace was supposed to happen during the Games. The tribes and cities constantly at war with one another welcomed the month of truce every four years for the Olympics. It was a welcome recess for everyone, especially because it was thought to please the gods. Although only men were allowed to take part in the competitions that were held in honor of Zeus, certain women were allowed to watch the Games. These were young unmarried women in search of a husband. They were there to watch the beautiful bodies and talk with their brothers or father about the one man each wanted as their mate. However, married women were prohibited from attending the Olympics on penalty of death. The only married woman allowed to watch the games was the Priestess of Demeter ⁸.

Women, who had been prizes to the winners in the chariot races, were allowed to participate indirectly as unofficial competitors in the Olympic Games some centuries later in the condition of horse owners. For instance, the Spartan princess Kyniska entered her horse in the chariot race in 392 B.C. and won it. It is interesting to observe that the first women athletes came from Sparta especially because Spartans believed that fit and healthy women that exercised regularly would have healthy children. At first this could seem a radically different thought than that held by the Athenians, who preferred their women covered up and left to their own passive household routines ⁸.

Actually the Spartans were putting physical activity to the service of women's old function of procreation. Women did not play any role model of heroines in the condition of being active and athletes. Women's participation was considered unimportant especially because the ancient Greeks were highly competitive and believed strongly in the nexus of 'agon' or competition for excellence.

The ultimate Greek goal was to be the best by means of comparative conducts and celebrations. All aspects of life, especially athletics, were centered on this cultural belief. They valued physical strength, agility, speed, and other physical qualities believed to be inherent to men only. Because Olympic champions were considered victors, they enjoyed great honors and were entitled to receive several privileges such as (i) being given a crown made from olive leaves (the 'cotinus'); (ii) having statues made of themselves placed at Olympia; (iii) having all their meals paid for at the public's expense; (iv) getting front-row seats at theaters and (v) occupying high offices. Furthermore, because they were believed to bring their cities into favor with the Greek gods, their compatriots pulled down part of the walls of their original cities for them to enter upon their return. The culture of the victor developed into the culture of the male hero, which has been carried on throughout the times from the tradition of the past to the inherited tradition of today's society^{7,8}.

On the other hand, women were valued for the quality of children they produced; therefore, they could not compete or participate in similar physical activities or competitions as they had been thought of for being very delicate. Women were not heroines because they did not fulfill the same pre-requisites of Olympic heroes related to size, physical strength, abilities and skills. On the contrary, seen as weak individuals, women were supposed to stay at home, leading a very passive life. This belief had been cultivated throughout the centuries and still existed

when the Olympic Games were revived by Coubertin. It was then gradually modified as science evolved to prove that women could follow the same paths men did and still have children

The Ancient Olympic Games lasted for almost 12 centuries, being abolished only in 394 A.D. by the Christian Emperor Theodosius II not only because of the bitterness of the relations between Greeks and Romans or the brutality and corruption that reigned during the Games but also because he believed that the festivals were pagan. Some years later, the Stadium of Olympia, where those events were held, was razed and the Olympic fields pulled down ⁸.

The Revival of the Games: Tradition Maintained

During centuries the places where the competitions were held continued to be empty and prey to floods, earthquakes and thieves. It is possible to say that athletic celebrations disappeared almost entirely for more than a thousand years until some enthusiasts of the Ancient Olympic Games considered reviving them for the first time around 1793, but they were unsuccessful. There seemed to be little funding and international coordination to back it up. Then, in 1881, Ernst Curtius, a German archaeologist, directing a research group, uncovered the ruins of the Stadium of Olympia.

Inspired by the German discovery, Baron Pierre de Coubertin took a personal interest in the archeological site and specially in the celebration that it evoked due to French educational and nationalistic claims. His vague proposal for an international sports festival and competition was initially greeted by blank stares, but in his capacity as general secretary of the Union of French Societies of Athletic Sports, he visited colleges, universities, and private sports clubs, talking to anyone who would listen. Then in 1894, speaking at the Sorbonne in

Paris to a gathering of representatives from nine nations—including the United States and Russia—he argued for and proposed that the Ancient Games be revived on an international scale. With his hearers' approval, he formed the IOC to organize the Olympic Games and make the rules⁹.

Following tradition, the IOC declared that all competing athletes had to be amateurs, not professionals and decided to hold the first modern Olympic Games in Athens, the original home of that celebration. Money was raised with personal and public donations and the sale of eight different Olympic postage stamps. However, with the same enthusiasm that he hailed the archaeological finding in Greece and with the same energy that he pushed the revival of the Olympic Games, Pierre de Coubertin completely kept his coherence with the old Greek tradition when he excluded the women from the Games. He was completely against the practice of sports and physical activities by women as most men of his times. According to him, women only had the function of bearing children: "a woman's glory would come through the number and quality of children she produced. As far as sports were concerned women's role was to encourage their sons to excel. She was not to seek records for herself ". The Games were "the solemn periodic manifestation of male sport based on internationalism, on loyalty as a means, on arts as a background and the applause of women as a recompense"³. As Lunzenfichter¹⁰ reports, Coubertin still claimed that a "female Olympiad would be impractical, uninteresting, unaesthetic and incorrect" just after receiving the support of Pope Pius XI, who had seriously condemned the playing of sport by women.

By ruling women out and still keeping traditional values of other people from another era, it is possible that Coubertin fired up the ancient Olympic spirit of the male hero, which has inspired athletes around the world along decades. It is important to observe that the figure of the male hero was

rescued with the revival of the Games and at the expense of the exclusion of the women. There was no rescue of the figure of the heroine once it did not exist in the Ancient Olympic Games. Neither did Coubertin want to develop the new role model of the heroine. The only role model that was reconstructed was that of the male hero.

The Response of the Women: the Olympian female in the very first Olympic Games

In spite of Coubertin's efforts to keep women out of the competitions, there was an unofficial competitor in the 1896 marathon, a poor Greek woman who became known as 'Melpomene', whose real name was Stamati Revithi. She was not allowed to compete in the men's race, but ran by herself the next day. The final lap was completed outside the stadium as she had her entry denied. After her marathon run, athletics officials could not remember her name so they labeled her 'Melpomene', who is the Greek muse of Tragedy. Looking at Stamata Revithi, they could see only tragedy, not her extraordinary feat ¹¹. She had finished less than two hours after the winner (in four and a half hours) and had beaten some of her male competitors ³. She was the first innovator to face the barriers of tradition.

The first modern Olympic Games took place at the very end of the 19th century, at a time when the western world was harvesting years of new inventions, hard work and technology that would change the face of the 20th century. Industrialization and social reform were essential in determining which direction the richest countries such as the United States and European nations would take from then on. With the evolution of technology and new inventions being added to the industries that started to flourish, more

labor had been necessary to move the different economies ahead. Women had already started gradually to work outside their home and join the labor force; therefore, they were taking on new roles. As they began to participate more in the economy of their countries, they wanted to be heard as citizens. They also wanted to vote. Many women organizations were founded to strive for citizenship. Slowly women were going from a passive to an active position. The end of the 19th century and especially the beginning of the 20th century saw the changes that also motivated women's actions in sports.

Although the International Olympic Committee, founded in 1894 in Paris, regulated over the Olympic activities, National Olympic Committees (NOCs) had to be created in the different nations that wanted to participate in the Games. In the very beginning, the local national committees were the ones that organized the Games in their host sites. The Games of 1900 and 1904 were connected with World Fairs; therefore, the selection of events to be included in the Olympic program was mainly in the hands of the fairs' organizing committees and thus to a large extent beyond the control of the IOC ¹². In fact the Olympics were slow to catch on. The following Games held in Paris in 1900, in Saint Louis in 1904 and in London in 1908 were sparsely attended and badly organized. That made the inclusion of women in these Games a little less difficult. However, since the admission of women to these Games did not have the official consent of the IOC, they did not have their status recognized. As a result, women competitors were awarded diplomas instead of medals and olive branches ⁵, which were supposed to only go to the male heroes. The role model of the female Olympian was still to be constructed.

Golf and tennis, elite sports, were open to women in the Olympic Games of 1900 in Paris: 12 women from five countries participated in these two sports or disciplines, in a total of three events. The Olympic Games of 1904 in Saint Louis only

had six female Olympians, all American, who participated in archery because the other international female athletes did not have the financial conditions to buy their way across the ocean to participate in the Games. Women's gymnastics was demonstrated but was not considered to be an official event.

The Olympic Games of 1908 in London had 36 women competing in four sports: tennis, sailing, ice-skating and archery, all of which sports of high social prestige. The participation of women was beginning to grow. Although the Olympics of 1912 in Stockholm had 55 women athletes (2.2% of all competitors) from 11 countries participating in six events of two sports, including swimming, women's sports remained a marginal phenomenon and were still not officially recognized by the IOC. According to Pfister ¹², it was the 'feminist' Swedes who introduced the swimming competitions in the Olympics, the first battle of female Olympians for meters and seconds. Swimming was a very popular sport at that time and considerably contributed to the participation of a greater number of women in the Games.

It is important to mention that financing has always been an important factor for the participation of women in the Games. Not all women have the credibility and the support they need from the local committees or from sponsors; therefore, it becomes very hard for many women athletes to travel on their own to the places of competition. Most of them do not work and when they do work, their remuneration tends to be lower than men's pay. Male athletes, on the other hand, have more credibility because of tradition; as a result, it is easier for them to be offered more opportunities. Besides, their income tends to be higher than that of women, which permits them to make up for traveling investments. The number of women athletes started to increase as it can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1
Participation of women athletes in the
modern Olympic Games³

Year	Sports	Events	Countries	Participants	Year	Sports	Events	Countries	Participants
1896	-	-	-	-	1956	6	26	39	384
1900	2	3	5	12	1960	6	29	45	610
1904	1	2	1	6	1964	7	33	53	683
1908	2	3	4	36	1968	7	39	54	781
1912	2	6	11	57	1972	8	43	65	1058
1920	2	6	13	77	1976	11	49	66	1247
1924	3	11	20	136	1980	12	50	54	1125
1928	4	14	25	290	1984	14	62	94	1567
1932	3	14	18	127	1988	17	86	117	2186
1936	4	15	26	328	1992	19	98	136	2708
1948	5	19	33	385	1996	21	108	169	3626
1952	6	25	41	518	2000	25	300	199	4069

The Inclusion of Women: Different Periods, Different Readings

a. From 1896 to 1928

Hargreaves⁴ identifies three periods of women's participation in the modern Olympic Games: (1) from 1896 to 1928; (2) from 1928 to 1952 and (3) from 1952 to today.

The first period is characterized by a tradition of exclusion and some efforts to resist these practices. It was also the time when women were searching for jobs, getting access to education, fighting to have the right to vote and trying to get adjusted to constant changes of the new society that required new gender roles. This period includes the twenties, when, according to Théberge⁵, there was some struggle over the

control of women's international sport and the form and definition of women's participation. As progress pushed the industrialized countries ahead it also went for a change in women's international sport. Since the IOC refused to include women's athletics (American track and field) in the Olympic Games, the Frenchwoman Alice de Milliatt defied the status quo, founded the Fédération Sportive Féminine Internationale (FSFI) and organized the first Women's Olympics in 1922. They were so successful that the Games were held again in 1926, 1930 and 1934 as the Women's World Games. They became visible to the IOC especially because of the public interest women sports received. The Women's Games were so successful that they not only pressured the IOC to eventually incorporate them permanently to the Olympic Games after extensive negotiations and maneuvers¹³ but also influenced Women's Games in Brazil in 1933¹⁴ and in 1949¹⁵.

Women were beginning to win their battles for inclusion. This can be observed in Coubertin's words when he left the IOC presidency in 1925: "I remain hostile to the participation of women in the Games. They have been admitted to a growing number of events against my wishes"¹⁰.

It was still during the period 1896-1928 that two main debates about women's involvement in sport came up. They would influence the view over women's sport and women's participation in the Olympics for a long time. The first one, still based on tradition and then related to the poor and limited medical wisdom of the time, with no evidence that could prove it, promoted beliefs in women's natural frailty and condemned vigorous physical activity as dangerous to women's health and well being. As a result, along the editions of the Games, women's participation in athletics and other sports was done on a limited basis according to a model of what was considered the ideal of female frailty prescribed by male doctors. As winds of the past were still blowing, women were excluded

from the strength events in athletics and only gradually were women's team events introduced into the Games.

The second debate was about the control of women's sport, which was new to society and to the women themselves. According to tradition, the active positions of command should belong to men and not to women, who were supposed to obey and be passive. Struggles were waged over who would control women's national and international sport and what would be the form and definition of women's participation. To follow tradition, women continued to have no control of their own participation in national or international sport.

Summing up, it is possible to say that the events of the 1920s and then of the 1930s had two essential meanings which were both cultural and social: (1) definition and meaning of women's sports based on biological differences and (2) the control of the organization of women's sports as an Olympic male dominant function.

b. From 1928 to 1952

The two meanings above were carried on throughout the second phase. Hargreaves⁴ identified the period between 1928 and 1952 as one of consolidation and struggle. It was exactly during this period that women fought to be seen and to consolidate their position as sportswomen. This was a new concept not only to women but to society as a whole. Women were in a very complex situation that demanded the development of role models for women who practiced sports and that went to the Olympic Games. Their only role models had been male heroes. They were then in a crossroads which pointed to two different directions. They were either to follow previously established models or to construct new female role models from scratch. Due to the limited basis of access to

Olympic sports that had been set by the IOC in 1928, women seemed to have chosen the first alternative.

Even though women had taken another little step, they wanted to guarantee their role as active participants in sport and in society. This positioning was strengthened during the 40s as women had be mobilized to take up posts left by men who had to go to the battlefields in Europe. As a result of the World War II, there were no Olympic Games in 1940 or 1944. The massive direct and indirect participation and more inclusion of women in the economy of their countries at war greatly contributed for women's new positioning in their society and their awareness of the place they occupied.

During this time, the model of women's sport based on biological differences between the sexes which had been constructed in the thirties was also taken to school sport programs and ended up limiting the way women looked at their own athleticism. At the end of this period, female participation in the Olympic Games became a fact, but the gains women had made were conservative because the model of women's sport that had been adopted conformed to the ideal of feminine athleticism and its cultural significance was still to reinforce the myth of female frailty ⁵. It is then possible to observe society's maintenance of women's traditional functions.

c. After 1952

However, according to Hargreaves⁴, 1952 starts a period of challenge to male and masculine hegemony in Olympic sport especially because of two events. This fact did not mean that gender relations would be reconstructed to make up for past inequalities. It meant rather that women found other ways to fight exclusion, tradition, passivity, and the chores imposed by society to then try to reach their objectives of inclusion,

innovation, activity, and design of new roles in the fast changing world. Let us, then, analyze the recent past and the changes detected in the 2000 Olympiad.

(i) Two events

The first event was the entry of the Soviet Union and other countries of the east bloc as new participants in the expansion of the Games that took place in Helsinki, Finland, in this post World War II era. These countries were gender blind. They had culturally different traditions as well as objectives. They had included women their own way a long time ago. Since they placed a premium on athletic success with little attention to the gender of the winners, they had made a large material and social investment on the training of their athletes for the Games. As a result, the number of participating women athletes went from 385 in 1948 to 518 in 1952 (see Table 1) and the new women athletes became visible because they had had training for that. It was part of their education in schools and colleges¹⁶. The number of medals was the most important thing for them. Table 2 shows the number of medals the U.S.S.R. got from 1912 to 1960. Even when the countries that made up the former U.S.S.R. started competing individually in the Olympic Games, the number of medals was still more important than the gender of the athletes who earned them, as seen in Table 3.

Whenever an athlete regardless of gender was a gold winner, the national anthem of his or her country was played and the flag was raised, making that visible to the world⁶. It was already the Cold War. The number of medals meant how many times these countries were honored with victories. Once the eastern world had discovered a new way of becoming visible and of making political propaganda, the western countries were forced out of concern for their own Olympic standing to pay greater

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attention to the participation and performance of women and to invest on their training and preparation. Women benefited from the situation, became innovators, and started increasing their participation numbers.

Table 2
Medals won by the U.S.S.R. in Olympic Games¹⁶

Year	Location	Medals				Classification
		Gold	Silver	Bronze	TOTAL	
1912	Stockholm	0	2	3	5	16
1952	Helsinki	22	30	19	71	2
1956	Melbourne	37	29	32	98	1
1960	Rome	43	29	31	103	1

Obs. The U.S.S.R. did not participate in the Olympic Games of 1920, 1924, 1928, 1932, 1936 and 1948.

Table 3
Medals won by countries of the former U.S.S.R. in the Olympic Games, Sydney 2000¹⁶

Country	Number of medals				Classification
	Gold	Silver	Bronze	TOTAL	
Countries of the former U.S.S.R.	48	48	67	163	1
U.S.A.	39	25	33	97	2
Russia	32	28	28	88	3

The second event took place in the 1960s: the women's movement in North America and Europe as a consequence of scientific and technological development not only because of the need for more accurate training and specialized nutrition but also because of the invention of the birth-control pill, which helped women fight traditional approaches, control their own sexual life, and plan their families. The new roles played by women during and after the World War II added to the science advances and produced a re-thinking of women's position in society and a challenge to traditional ideas about gender roles. As a result of this new positioning, it was possible to observe an increase in the participation of the women in sports and soon enough concern with gender inequality in sport gained prominence.

(ii) The Sydney Games

There has been a steady increase in the number of female Olympians. It might seem that women have achieved positions of equality in relation to representation in terms of numbers. The 2000 Games women athletes (4,069) were 38.3% of the total number of athletes (10,651)¹. If the objective is to reach 52.0% as proposed by Lucas¹⁷, there is still a long way ahead.

It is also important to look at the different types of events that have been added to the Games in recent years. They show that there still is some sort of ambivalence about the meaning of women's sport. On the one hand, events such as women's distance events (marathon and 10000-meter race), multiple events that combine running, jumping, and throwing competitions and team sports (volleyball, basketball, field hockey) have been added in recent years, challenging the myth of female frailty, but still following the traditional model of the male hero. On the other hand, sports such as synchronized

swimming, rhythmic gymnastics and artistic gymnastics, which emphasize traditionally feminine desirable qualities and characteristics, maintaining the myth of female frailty have been included. There are no male Olympians in these disciplines as they reinforce the supposed traditional feminine qualities. As a result, the public gets an ambiguous message. At the same time that Olympic sports and events emphasize the performances of the female Olympian as a product of remarkable skill and ability, they also provide symbolic confirmation of the special nature of women's sport due to their emphasis on beauty, form, and appearance⁵.

This tendency is reflected in some countries. In Taiwan, for instance, women athletes as role models prove that feminine grace, intelligence, focus, power and perseverance blend perfectly together to achieve brawn, brain and beauty. In Hungary, at the same time women participated in competitions and in the "women's sport day", they received beautician advice and could test the latest beauty products¹⁶. In Korea, all they need is for men to have a powerful physique and well-developed muscle and, for women, a slender and glamorous figure¹⁶.

Although women have come a long way from the exclusion due to tradition and to partial inclusion because of innovation, they have come short of their objectives to reach equality in spite of their differences. They are still striving to be respected and to have equal footing by being biologically different. Women are still under-represented and have fewer opportunities as far as the Olympic Games are concerned. In the Sydney Olympics, although there were nine countries that sent teams with no women athletes and 42 countries that sent teams with just one woman, 13 small delegations had more female than male Olympians and 36 countries sent the same number of female and male athletes (Table 4), but no country sent only women. All of the 199 nations and the athletes of Oriental Timor had male athletes.

Table 4
Olympian females in the 27th Olympics in Sydney, 2000

	No female athletes	Same number of male and female athletes	One woman athlete	More female than male athletes
Africa	2	14	19	3
America	1	6	7	3
Asia	6	10	7	4
Europe	0	3	3	1
Oceania	0	3	6	2
Total	9	36	42	13

Source: The International Olympic Committee⁹

This still under-representation of women seen in the Sydney Games (6,582 males and 4,069 female Olympians) can also be observed in the fact that countries tend to invest on the preparation of the female Olympians only at the disciplines that will be up for competition during the Games, leaving out possibilities of new sports and new disciplines⁶. This can be reflected in the society and in the daily habits of the population of those countries. As the different nations and cultures increase the number of sports open to women, there will be more women engaged in a variety of sports and disciplines, and more disciplines will then become available to women worldwide.

Women in administrative positions

Women are also under-represented in the administration of Olympic affairs. The first women were appointed to the

IOC only in 1981. Currently the IOC includes five women and 89 men. Similar patterns hold on the NOCs^{11, 5}. Still due to traditional beliefs that women should have a very low profile, should play a role of passivity and submission, and should not share positions of power with men, women very seldom occupy leadership positions in their workplaces and in the political lives of their countries. As a result, there tends to be fewer women in administrative positions, especially when these positions are related to power.

However, it is important to point out that some countries have been trying to adopt different policies in relation to admitting women to positions of command. As an example, in 1998, the Taiwan's NOC was reorganized with an increased number of female members to meet the IOC regulation by the end of December of 2000. At least ten percent of positions in the NOC decision-making structures have been reserved for women in order to allow them to make a sufficient contribution to the evolution of sport and the Olympic movement. In addition, this NOC sends women delegates at every opportunity to take part in the IOC-endorsed international conferences and seminars for the development of sports for women with a view to enriching our experience in developing the role of women in sport fields¹⁶.

According to Schneider¹⁸ and following the parallel she drew between women in Plato's Republic and women in the Olympics, women have moved in to the position of warriors or athletes and are now trying to become guardians or rulers. As Schneider¹⁸ explains it, even being aware of the biological differences between men and women, Plato proposed that both men and women can and should follow the same range of occupations and perform the same functions. "What is then required as much for men as it is for women is an education that fosters aptitudes and encourages all people to strive for excellence. If women are to be guardians they must be educated

as guardians – in exactly the same way as men. This is the environment we currently lack. While women often have the natural aptitude to pursue excellence in sports and politics (men’s world), they are often denied access to education and models they need to see their dreams can become real. It is clear that for Plato, to not have women guardians or administrators, and to not have women warriors or athletes, is harmful to us as human beings and is therefore shameful”¹⁸.

With the technology that has been developed in these last decades, people around the world tend to have access to information through the availability of mass media. As athletes tend to be more visible than administrators, it may be hard for societies, especially women in many countries, to realize that it is possible for a woman to become a ruler in sports as well. This is one more argument to reinforce Plato’s theory of education, which emphasizes that for society to get the most from both men and women, it should offer the same education to enable them to perform the same functions. Therefore, new role models for women will then be constructed, adapted to the reality of the 21st century, enabling women to get to the crossroads and empowering them to choose the road not taken.

Women in Sport for All

The number of women who participate in the Olympic Games can also be explained by the number of women who practice some sport and the kind of sport they practice in the five continents¹⁶. The following approach exposes empirical contribution to the debate on account of an international comparative research developed by Lamartine DaCosta and I involving 36 countries.

The very recent book *Worldwide Experiences and Trends in Sport for All*¹⁶ is the final result of this cross-national study,

which displays data related to countries that privilege women in sport activities (Table 5) and offer programs that encourage sports practice through NOCs (Table 6).

Table 5

Number of countries in SFA that privilege women¹⁶

Continents and Total number of countries	Countries with sports programs for women	Countries with no sports for women	Number of countries that do not even mention women
Asia (8)	6	1	1
Africa (2)	1	-	1
Europe (17)	12	2	2
Latin America (7)	-	2	5
North America (2)	2	-	-
Total	21	5	9

The data above clearly shows that from the 36 countries that took part in the research project, more than half (21=58%) offer programs of sports for women, while 5 nations mention women and 9 countries do not offer programs for women (Table 5). Some countries have contributed with specific data such as Spain (Table 6) and Denmark (Table 7) .

Table 6

% of Sport Participation in Spain: 1968 – 1995¹⁶

Years		1968	1974	1980	1985	1990	1995
Total	%	12.3	17.7	25	34	35	39
Sex	Men	18.3	22.7	33	46	42	48
	Women	6.8	12.8	17	23	26	32

Table 7

Proportion of Danish population (age 16-74)
actively involved in sport or exercise (%)
in 1964, 1975, 1987, 1993 and 1998¹⁶

	1964	1975	1987	1993	1998
All	15	29	42	47	51
Men	21	31	43	47	51
Women	11	27	42	47	51
16-19	53	52	61	67	67
20-29	27	41	48	56	59
30-39	17	41	46	49	51
40-49	10	25	44	49	51
50-59	5	21	31	42	46
60-69	3	11	30	36	47
70-74	2	13	24	30	37

Other countries that support sports for women are (1) Hungary, with the first “women’s sport day” organized in 1997; (2) Singapore, with the annual National Sports Carnival for Women, the International Folk and Recreation Dance Night, and the first ever Women and Sport Conference in March 1999 to discuss issues pertaining to women and sports; (3) Israel, where there are very successful walking events exclusively for women; (4) Australia, where nearly 60% of women between 18 and 54 years of age now engage in some form of regular physical activity; and (5) France, which developed the French Federation of Physical Education and Voluntary Gymnastics (FFEPGV), mostly managed in national scope and locally developed by women, successfully reaching the number of 5 million participants, bringing the French Sport for All to the desired approach of the Council of Europe¹⁶.

Significantly enough, the continents that sent the most women to the 2000 Olympics in terms of proportions were Oceania (44.96%), Asia (40.26%) and Europe (36.96%).

The number of women involved in sports also depends directly on the incentive each country gives to the preparation of athletes to the Olympic Games. It is possible to observe the influence of NOCs in the SFA initiative. Table 8 displays information related to the nations that encourage participation in SFA via Olympic Games. 16 out of the 36 countries that participated in the project Worldwide Experiences and Trends in SFA ¹⁶ promote and encourage participation in the Olympic movement through SFA.

Table 8
 Number of countries that encourage
 Sport for All through Olympism¹⁶

Continents and Total number of countries	Countries with Olympic incentives	Countries with some work done by the NOCs	Countries with no Olympic activity
Asia (8)	4	1	4
Africa (2)	-	1	1
Europe (17)	8	4	5
Latin America (7)	2	2	3
North America (2)	2	-	-
Total	16	8	13

Countries such as Belgium, Finland, Mexico, Spain, Germany, Taiwan, France and Korea have had several initiatives to promote Olympism through SFA ¹⁶. The Belgian Olympic Committee (BOIC) also adopted the Sport for All philosophy. Based on Olympic ideas and values, it promoted SFA in a strange mixture of principles and aims we refer to as ‘Allympism’: the combination of Sport for All and Olympism, the two major but contrasting sport ideologies, performance and excellence on the one hand and participation and inclusion on the other, trying to capitalize on each other’s success, thereby creating the mixed concept of ‘Allympism’¹⁶.

Another example is Taiwan, whose Olympic Committee has been placing equal emphasis on Sport for All in its role as a National Olympic Committee (NOC) to promote people’s good health and physical fitness. The Chinese Taipei Olympic Committee (CTOC) by taking the advantage of its publication, Olympic Quarterly, arouses women’s interest in participating

in Sport for All activities and encourages the civilian organizations to organize more sport activities for women¹⁶.

In the case of France, it was only in 1972, under the influence of the programs that had been set up by the Scandinavian countries, that the French National Olympic and Sporting Committee (CNOSF) decided for the establishment of the first Sport for All program, initiated by Martin Grünenwald, a physical education teacher¹⁶.

In Korea, the 88 Seoul Olympics Organizing Committee originated the Seoul Olympic Sports Promotion Foundation, which has implemented many projects to develop and publicize Sport for All programs, sponsored the National Council of Sport for All, and developed programs to promote national fitness¹⁶.

When top sport is connected with SFA, it is usually for the purpose of recruiting future top sport talent, spectators or recreational participants. For example, the U.S. National Olympic Committee is totally focused on top sport and on Sport for All activities that attract young talent. Organizations associated with the U.S. Olympic Committee do have sport programs for more general populations¹⁶.

At the same time that the social limitations of women in their original countries and the roles they play in their societies, very much based on traditions and ancient beliefs of exclusion and complete separated and pre-defined tasks, block their access to sports and physical activities in general, this exclusion also contributes to the creation of some ideal of the female Olympian of the future. This virtual image has become clearer for women every four years as the media make female Olympians visible and encourage young girls and women to develop role model figures in sports and to fight for some sports ideal. Technology, and especially, television have made this possible for women around the world. The tradition of exclusion is becoming the innovation of inclusion in a variety of sports.

Summing up, the more encouragement women have from national and international programs related or not related to the practices of the IOC and the NOCs through availability of resources, political incentives, women-friendly policies and strong examples of leadership, the more girls and women will feel compelled to adhere to sports and to Olympic sports. As a result, the levels of participation will rise and probably reach the so much desired 52%.

The Future

While biological and physiological contexts can offer conditions to better interpret the differences between the sexes, adding more sports and events to women athletes' agendas, cultural and social contexts continue to show the differences and inequalities between the genders.

It is questionable that Britain, Germany, Australia, the United States, and Russia increase their numbers of women representatives without, at the same time, Central and South America, Africa and all Islamic nations also sending female athletes. As the world of sport reflects society, it may take some more time before Islamic societies, economically underdeveloped areas of the world, and a certain small number of countries in which the Catholic Church has traditionally compartmentalized boys and girls to play out very specific roles open up space for equality in sports and positions linked to sports. Ancient culture and customs must be respected; deep-rooted beliefs cannot be disregarded. Tradition in the sense of exclusion should be re-analyzed by the different leaderships to be dealt with differently. It is essential to consider that sport is a birthright as it belongs to all human beings, men and women, boys and girls. Biological differences have to be respected for human kind to achieve social equality, especially in sport. Physical activity and sports are part of human rights and should be included in all practices.

The elusive goal of Olympic leadership is for women from every country to participate in the Olympic Games as athletes, coaches and administrators and also as representative offices in the NOCs, in the sport federations, and in the IOC. Increasing the number of female administrators in the worldwide movement is an even challenging task as each nation moves at its own speed toward equal opportunities for both sexes according to each individual context. Somehow more talented women must find their way into local, national, and international administrative sporting positions and, exactly as men do, over time, move up the ladder.

According to Schneider ¹⁸, “any organization that claims human development as one of its principal goals must support the full representation of women at all levels of the organization. To deny women our proper place – alongside men as equals and partners is wrong and shameful”.

New policies of encouragement for sportswomen will have a very positive impact on the profile of the female Olympian and her role model in society. For the first time women in the sports areas will be able to make their choices at the crossroads. They will either choose and follow the male hero pathways or develop their own female constructs as a heroines and leaders regardless of their position in the world of sports as sportswomen, administrators, managers, NOCs officers, IOC members or even IOC president. They will be aware of that they also have the right to sport and physical activity and will feel empowered to take any of the roads.

Conclusion

Looking back to 1896, it is possible to observe that women have progressed a lot in their challenges and struggles. They fought very bravely to enter men's sphere and have succeeded

in many aspects. They have conquered their citizenship and their inclusion in the Olympic Games but have not yet reached equality in terms of numbers. Have they become heroes, heroines or mediators¹⁹? Have they achieved the position of equilibrium yet?

It would have been unthinkable a few years ago that women would compete in the marathon and the 10000-meter race or play basketball with the skill, dedication and power of women Olympians of the 2000s. At the same time, it would be very hard to imagine that women would sit on the IOC or head a National Olympic Committee although the extent of change in the administrative and organizational levels has not been so dramatic as among participants. There are still some barriers to overcome, the most crucial of which is to share the power with the male figures that represent the traditions of sport. Women have questioned traditional roles and become more aware of their place in the third millennium. They have come a long way to thinking of their biological differences as part of themselves that would allow them to compete in their own terms but having the same opportunities as men.

It is important to mention that the innovation brought about by the inclusion of women in the modern Olympic Games pressured science and technology for research and new discoveries that have shown that women can in fact do more than they had thought they could: not only in terms of those athletes who participate in the Olympics but also for the common women in terms of exercising and taking up any kind of physical activity to practice. The pressure women have made to have the right to participate in the Olympics as human beings has greatly contributed for the right women have now to participate in sports and physical activity.

More female role models would be needed to provide encouragement for girls in sport, and this means there will be the role models in all domains: in the family and school, high-

level coaching, Olympic committees, government officials concerned with sport, athletics and so on.

The female Olympian is a model. The future challenges become clearer because they will contrast against this model. It is necessary to consolidate equality of rights and differences in the practices and education for all seems to be the only way out. Women will then feel they have the same rights and will know which road to take. Will this stance represent a significant example of how to search a balanced conflict-resolution when dealing with oppositions in the Olympic Movement?

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CHAPTER 16

The Olympic Athlete: hero or mediator?

Otavio Tavares

The concept of equilibrium is one of necessary conditions of Olympism. According to Lamartine DaCosta, the Olympic Idea, in Coubertin's belief, represented the proposition of a ratio between excess - the sport *première raison d'être* - and measurement (wisdom) in search of an association of free will with control of actions, which was never clearly defined¹. As a result, Olympism itself has always been resistant to definitions.

The reactions to the IOC moral crisis in 1999 ended up by considering the Olympic athlete as a central player in a renewed power structure. This pretentious claim assumes that the Olympic athlete - he or she - is able to symbolize and preserve

the proclaimed values of Olympism. However, trying to overcome the dichotomy between excess and measurement, Coubertin's intellectual work was developed as an eclectic construction, which means that the challenge to translate Olympism into practice remains. If such a thesis is true, the relationship between the athletes and Olympism is not either evident or unmistakable for it is involved in a set of complex relations. This means that its empowerment as a way of preserving the Olympic values may be just a delusion. At any rate, due to the athlete's renewed role in the midst of the Olympic Movement, it seems to be more productive if the focus of the investigations gets a little farther from him or her as a *homo athleticus* and closer to him as a *homo symbolicus*.

The IOC Crisis and the Athletes' Empowerment

Since its creation, the Olympic Movement has been through several crises and challenges which have put its survival capacity at stake. Although the IOC has already been described as "a secret and clandestine organization, similar to the mafia [...] and its members as depraved and disgusting persons"², almost all the crises it has gone through took place at the level of governmental relations, social movements and international sport organizations. Such conflicts were related to the fact that the 'visibility' of the Games makes them an attractive target for political, social, and lately, economical causes and objectives.

The 1999 'IOC bribery scandal' had an unprecedented impact over the credibility of that institution. The main reason for that impact is based on the Olympic Games and the Olympic Movement being officially related, in a peculiar way, to an ideology of sport practice. Such ideology also proposes itself to reform both individuals and societies. Therefore, the self-attributed mission of sport development as a morally good

social practice does not give the IOC and its members any other alternative but appointing themselves as the “moral authority for world sport”³.

The IOC members’ distinctive character of being formally independent was the core of the whole problem. It seemed obvious that, as independent agents with an unlimited mandate to represent the Committee in the whole world, their conception had become incompatible with the increasing net of institutional, corporate and financial interests in which the Olympic activity was involved. If the principle which made the IOC members ambassadors of the Olympic Movement in their own countries helped it assure its independence and universality, one of its logical consequences was that the Committee and its members became exempt from responsibilities regarding any other institution or person. It was thus understood that the only way to get around the risks to the IOC credibility was through the introduction of democratic procedures which assured its accountability, transparency, representativeness and, at the same time, preserved the IOC independence.

In search of such goals, the IOC undertook a reform, which established a more aggressive policy regarding public relations as well as mechanisms for controlling and sanctioning its members. Besides, it would make use of different ways of its stakeholders’ democratic representation. The direct elections of *part of the members* from the IOC Athletes’ Commission, the promotion of such members to the category of representatives of their pairs in the different Committee’s commissions, and their right to become IOC members, represent important steps to increase the athletes’ participation in the directive instances of the Olympic Movement. However, the search for the fragile equilibrium between larger representations and the maintenance of independence, results in characterizing the IOC Athletes’ Commission as a *delegation* once the election of the IOC members is processed on an indi-

vidual basis. It became evident, therefore, that the Olympic athletes turned out to be, more than ever, also responsible for the Olympic legacy.

The process of athletes' empowerment is more than a power redistribution. The OATH Symposium Final Document ⁴ and the Report of the IOC 2000 Commission illustrate, like any other, that much of this process is directed through the belief in the athlete as the Olympic Idea depository, which would justify his central role in the renewal of the IOC. In this context, the athlete's figure goes through a process of reification once his image is processed as a non-representative datum of the problem. If the eclectic characteristic of Olympism is understood as an attempt for equilibrium between two opposite sides, the idea of a one-sided and clear relationship between the athletes and the Olympic values is something which must be questioned.

Although the Olympic athletes are the reason for the whole system to exist, there are very few empirical works in the area of Olympic studies whose main topic is related to his or her values, senses and attitudes toward Olympism. Once the athletes' renewed role in the midst of the Olympic Movement presents a net of complex relationships between the universal and the specific and/or between control and self-determinism, this study intends to identify how such relations articulate with each other by having the athletes as their main reference. We will thus examine the attitudes of Olympic athletes from Brazil and Germany (Sydney 2000) toward the proclaimed values of Olympism through a comparative analysis.

Some Notes on Olympic Cultural Comparisons

Following a previous study on the attitudes of Brazilian Olympic athletes in reference to the proclaimed values of

Olympism⁵, the present research has been conducted to investigate the attitudes of Olympic athletes from different countries toward Olympism. Despite being based on a comparison, this investigation does not present the characteristics of a typical cross-cultural study. Social Sciences are, by nature, comparative; however, the studies we have compared here present epistemological, theoretical and methodological specifications which are crucial for the present investigation⁶.

To begin with, on behalf of our analysis, the “Olympic athlete” symbolizes a boundary which has acquired a concrete meaning and dimension from the evidence that he and she are subject to a unique experience built up from their own directive values which are organized in different levels. This study, therefore, does not aim at understanding and explaining similarities and differences on how the Olympic ideology is interpreted in different cultures - we would hardly classify our respondents as typical representatives of such cultures. Our objective is to try to describe and explain how similar and different attitudes of Olympic athletes toward Olympism are related to different interaction levels and social values in a complex way. In this study, such levels are provided by the type of sport as a sub-culture, the high performance sport as a system, the Olympic ideology, and cultures in a broad sense.

Having referred to the problem identified by the research and the epistemological inferences mentioned previously, this investigation was held in a theoretical context which was restricted to: (a) the *corpus* of the values of Olympism seen as an ideology of the Olympic Movement and a meta-theory of sport practice; (b) Kalevi Heinilä's theory of totalization of top sport⁷; (c) the concept of types of sport as a sub-culture resulting from the specific arrangement of their technical, ethical and esthetical values as proposed by Hugo Lovisolò⁸; and (d) Sergio B. de Holanda's and Norbert Elias' work on socio-cultural interpretations of Brazil

and Germany, respectively⁹. If one aim of comparative researches is to verify social theories¹⁰ the proposition to be tested consists of the acceptance of Olympism as a directive value of sport practice and ideology of the Olympic Movement by the Olympic athletes. Those protagonists should also be mediated by intervening values of the sport sub-culture, the sport system and culture. Furthermore, this mediation would indicate ambiguity among maintenance and change, and opportunities for new possibilities.

Finally, we must have in mind that the problems related to variance and equivalence are always crucial in comparative studies, and “any set of categories will create biases in observations”¹¹. An observational flexibility thus becomes an important requirement for the creation of a credible equivalence, especially in attitudinal comparisons. According to Teune, even the instruments mostly used in international comparisons, such as questionnaires, are evidently limited when contextualization is at stake. Still in Teune’s opinion, “in any event, the strategies for assessing equivalent properties have become pragmatically flexible, adapting to context”¹². We, thus, tried to use a methodological approach which combines quantitative and qualitative techniques through the use of different instruments for data collection. Then, through successive approaches, the different levels of influence and relationship, theoretically set up for this case, are accounted for. The combined use of questionnaires, Likert scales, interviews and ethnographical observation techniques has proven adequate to this study.

Framing Athletes in the System of Competition and in the Olympic Ideology

Two joint forces place the athlete in the Olympic dimension: the high performance sport system and the Olympic

ideology. Despite being related, they are both distinct from each other. As a whole, the high performance sport system is a phenomenon which goes beyond the Olympic Games, reaching other dimensions of the contemporaneous sport. Conversely, the Olympic ideology is also a reference to the top sport. As the perspective of this study is the athletes' empowerment in the midst of the Olympic Movement, Olympism will be given more attention as it is an important ideological component for keeping the Movement itself alive.

In general terms, the high performance sport system may be characterized by the search of excellency within a structure dominated by intense competitiveness and absorbing involvement. It requires larger and larger shares of aptitude, dedication, effort, motivation, persistence and self-sacrifice in order to achieve an even better performance. As Heinilä proposed in his seminal work "The Totalization Process in International Sport", this increasing demand, working as a central determinant for the development of the high performance sport, generates three interrelated factors: the spiral of competition, the overvaluation of success and the totalization of competition. However, if we focus on the Olympic athlete, the association of individual potentialities, wishes and abilities with the scientific, economical and political resources intervening in the system will achieve a certain level of meaning in the individual plan. According to philosopher Gunter Gebauer, "high performance sports constitutes a system of innerly sharing in the achievements of athletes; conversely, it is also a process of sharing in the morals of athletics"¹³. From an interdisciplinary perspective, typical of the Olympic studies, Gebauer's definition seems to confirm that Heinilä statements are closer to the macro level than to the micro level.

On the other hand, because Olympism is an eclectic and a polysemous construction, it has never had an unmistakable identity. Several writers have already defined it as a philosophy

of life¹⁴, a social philosophy¹⁵, an educational philosophy¹⁶, a philosophical anthropology¹⁷, a pluralist philosophical attitude¹⁸, an ideology¹⁹, or even a pedagogical intuition²⁰. These various interpretations have one characteristic in common: they see Olympism through its possibilities of social application. Nevertheless, we propose that Olympism may be understood not only as a sport practice ideology, but also, and simultaneously, as a true articulator of the Olympic Movement. It seems necessary, therefore, that we withdraw ourselves a little from the Marxist idea of ideology as domination in favor of the concept of integration, as proposed by Paul Ricoeur²¹.

According to Paul Ricoeur, ideology may be understood as responsible for certain functions such as the construction of self-image and the cohesion of social groups. When ideology grants the individual or group an image, it becomes part of its 'project' once it justifies actions and raises bonds among individuals who are part of that group. In summary, in Ricoeur's opinion, ideology carries out such functions based on five characteristics. At first, it (a) eternizes an early founding act, lengthening it and making it possible for the group and individuals to explain their story through a positive model. In accordance with this interpretation, it is also (b) motivating and dynamic, as the belief in its founding power grants it the fair character which is claimed for its legitimacy. Ideology, therefore, (c) presents itself as an idealized, simplified and schematic self-representation, making use of rhetoric and clichés. It becomes, then, (d) intolerant and inactive once it cannot allow for contradictions from facts which might not fit in. It is, thus, resistant to social transformations, tending to preserve the existing structures. Finally, ideology (e) is operating: instead of thinking about it, it is the starting point from which we think.

As a matter of fact, being the distinctive element of the Olympic Movement, Olympism approaches the concept of ideology in which the dogmatic element shows its strongest sense.

In retrospect, the Movement benefits “from benign myths of origin rooted in reverential attitudes toward the personal qualities of his founding father and the salvational doctrine he created”²². In accordance with such interpretation, when presenting itself as a social cause, Olympism provides the necessary orientation and internal cohesion of the Olympic Movement, cheering up its members toward an objective. As a result, and within the internal sphere of Olympism, its set of ideas has been subject to a greater number of interpretations than of criticisms. Also, especially during the Avery Brundage years as the IOC chairman, Olympism was promoted to the category of doctrine and dogma, which led the majority of scholars who study it to place themselves in the surrounding area of the Movement²³.

Similarly, the fact that Coubertin and his followers had insisted on the dogma of separating politics and sports – the IOC type of organization and the Olympic ideology itself being included in this context – made political mediations invisible to the eyes outside the Movement and, sometimes, they were even considered a taboo. Therefore, it is valid to think that, at many times, Olympism has been evoked as a myth which would overcome the inherent contradictions of such an organization as the IOC, a cooperation system (as there is a set of objectives to achieve) and a competition system (as there is power, hierarchy, and a set of unequal interests, eventually) simultaneously. However, if the examination of the Olympic Idea has resulted in contradictory interpretations, the understanding of Olympism as an ideology anchored in the eclectic philosophy allows us to set up a construct as we will see next.

Olympism as a Construct

A great number of writers have been trying to overcome the obstacles to the understanding of Olympism through the

agglutination of ideas, which they consider crucial in Coubertin's production, by providing constructs from the mapping of 'values', 'fundamentals', or 'aspirations'. Such procedures, despite being deprived of understanding the existence of a possible theoretical reference which would work as a basis for the foundation of Olympism, end by reconstructing the eclectic course of its founder. According to DaCosta²⁴, "spending most of his lifetime analyzing in- depth the great sets that categorize the Olympism; or seeking legitimation of his proposals in history; or, last but not least, selecting combinations between extremes". The intended construct was set up by starting with "The Philosophic Foundations of Modern Olympism" presented by Pierre de Coubertin and interpreters such as Grupe, Lenk, Parry and Segrave²⁵. Through an examination of such references, we may notice that many of these elements, labeled in different ways, refer to equivalent ideas, showing that they could be grouped in a more concise and synthetic way as presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Summary of values, aspirations and objectives of Olympism according to bibliographical sources.

		Coubertin	Grupe	Lenk	Parry	Segrave
1	Religio athletae; Quasi-religious function	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
2	Excellency; elite; The individual adult male	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
3	Mutual respect; mutual understanding; truce; peace	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
4	Harmonious physical and intellectual development; culture; education; beauty; rhythm	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
5	Fair play; chivalrousness; nobility	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
6	Sport Development	No	No	Yes	No	No
7	Independence of the Olympic Movement	No	No	No	No	Yes

From the initial outline above, elements 1, 2, 6 and 7 were excluded. Although Coubertin had never explained the meaning of his *religio athletae* precisely, this expression should not be misinterpreted as an inappropriate approach to the idea of religious life. Even though we may say that he had consciously tried to build up a 'religious' dimension for the Games, they should not be analyzed beyond their secular meaning. Besides, they are not at all related to any magical elements or extraordinary beings once this "religious sentiment [was] transformed and expanded by the internationalism and democracy"²⁶. As a result, Olympic ceremonies and symbols should be understood as quasi-religious function elements, meant to create a feeling of involvement and commitment which makes the Games a unique kind of experience to all of their participants, but not a value in itself.

We also excluded the 'excellency and elite' element because questioning the idea of excellency to an Olympic athlete does not seem logical once it is one of the most fundamental and everlasting views of the modern high performance sport. Therefore, after examining the literature used for this study, we set up a construct of Olympism consisting of an outline of three general ideas which apply to the assembly of instruments for data collection: Olympic Internationalism²⁷; Harmonious Physical and Intellectual Development²⁸; Fair Play²⁹.

Sample and Method

644 athletes from Brazil (n = 202) and Germany (n = 442) took part in Sydney Olympic Games. For methodological reasons we considered only the athletes who participated in sports which were common to both groups. The total number, then, consists of 548 athletes (Brazil = 184; Germany = 364).

From this universe 42 Brazilian athletes and 125 German athletes took part in this study.

Table 2
Shows the sample based on sex, sport,
and best performance in Sydney³⁰

	Sex				Sport				Performance					
	Male		Female		Individual		Team		1 st / 3 rd		4 th / 8 th		9 th →	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Brazil	21	50	21	50	20	47,6	22	52,4	8	19	13	31	21	50
Germany*	61	48,8	61	48,8	74	59	41	33	41	36,3	39	34,5	33	29,2

*In Germany, 3 respondents did not inform about sex, 10 did not inform about type of sport, and 12 did not inform about their best performance in the Games.

Due to the variance and equivalence problems mentioned previously, the methodological approach was developed in several steps. A questionnaire was mailed to the athletes containing 3 five point Likert scales ranging from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree” so that the athletes’ attitudes toward the construct of Olympism could be evaluated ³¹. In order to avoid a tendency to stereotyping, positive and negative statements related to the Olympic values were distributed at random and presented in each scale. On the same questionnaire, some open questions tried to gather opinions about the Olympic Games and the Olympic Movement. A third set of data was surveyed through 20 in-depth interviews (11 in Germany and 9 in Brazil) meant to catch nuances and build up a more detailed image of the athletes’ opinion about the topics of this research. The open questions on the questionnaire, as well as the interviews, were submitted to content analysis techniques. These data were completed with ethnographical observations which were developed before and during the

Games, especially about the athletes' presence and participation in the cultural and social events held outside the Olympic Village. Finally, during the data collection in Germany, daily aspects of the local life were also carefully observed in order to increase the interpretation perspectives of the study.

Data and Discussion

The idea that the Games should create, as widely as possible, a mutual respect and equality environment through the access and sociability among all races, cultures and countries is accepted by both Brazilians and Germans despite the significant difference between them (BRA: 3,64; GER: 4,07; $p < 0,000$). If, in general terms, the values of the Olympic Internationalism do not seem hard to accept, when put into practice, they reveal certain dualities which are always hard to articulate, therefore bringing forth some differences.

The data show that the idea of sociability with no restrictions in the Olympic Village is highly appreciated (GER: 98.3%; BRA: 95.2%). Although several respondents recognize that, for practical purposes, language may be a limiting factor and the Olympic Village - a place not too much appreciated sometimes because of its noise and movement - the Olympic experience is, for the great majority, *"fantastic because you are able to mingle with other peoples, other athletes from other types of sport. I think such an exchange is extremely important, and this is what makes the Olympics something magic"* (BRA). In fact, almost the totality of respondents from both countries considers the meeting of peoples, races and cultures a positive point which helps make the Games a unique event. On the other hand, the "selection x participation" dilemma is under more sharp appraisals. In the opinion of 57.5% Brazilians and 32.2% Germans, the Games are still a place where only the

best ones go even though this might result in the non-participation of some countries. This suggests that the concept of excellency is an intervening value in the Olympic athletes' attitudes.

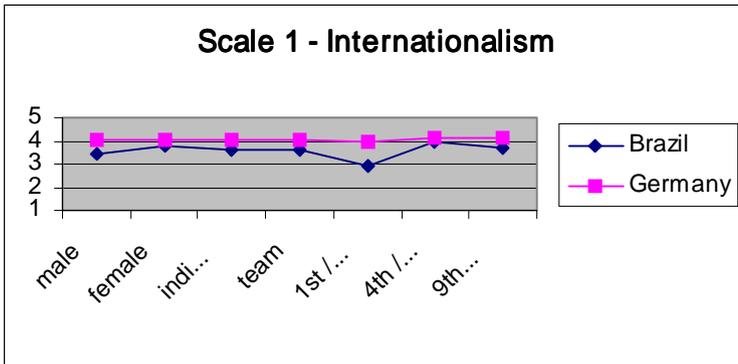
Since there is no internationalism without the idea of nation, another important effect may be found in the different relationships between the athletes and their national image. From German respondents we could notice a feeling of discomfort relative to both their national past and its limiting effect over demonstrations of national pride which could no longer exist (*"We are proud of Germany but we are not really allowed to show it. We started two World Wars and we have learned from it since the beginning"* GER)³². Many German athletes feel they should not celebrate their victory as a German victory even wishing to do so. Such celebration would be seen, sometimes by the Germans themselves, as an undesired manifestation of national pride. Comparatively, Brazilians are free to feel they represent their country, and, as a matter of fact, are much more encouraged than their German pairs to feel this way³³. Those features support the fact that 52.3% Brazilians believe the sport may reflect a superiority of a society/culture while only 17.8% Germans agree with it. Although both Brazilians and Germans state that they compete for themselves, the link between competition and national representation is still much more fragile among the German athletes. For them, the idea of nation is just painfully disconnected from their past of nationalism and war-like attitude (*"Heritage is a heavy burden. I have a hard time thinking of me as German. I see myself either as European or an athlete"* GER), which makes them more willing to appreciate the Olympic Internationalism as it was evidenced here³⁴.

If the relationship with the national image makes the two groups different, the distinction between nationalism and

patriotism established by Coubertin, on the other hand, is hardly understood by any of them. The data showed that 'patriotism' and 'nationalism' are frequently used in an almost indistinct way; most of the times, aiming at a positive behavior toward the country, or even some differences toward a loving attitude for their motherland (*"To be a nationalist is a country thing. You are Brazilian, you represent your country. The thing is that not everybody is actually patriot"* BRA). This is particularly present in the Brazilians' speech since they really feel they are *"defending their nation and going after their victory through sport"* while among the German athletes, this kind of identification is extremely restricted because of their own private characteristics. At any rate, it is common to find problems which present more precise definitions as well as the lack of knowledge regarding Coubertin's ideas with respect to this issue. As cognition is extremely important for the development of attitudes toward an object or situation, we may state that the lack of knowledge regarding the distinction between nationalism and patriotism proposed by Coubertin has also had an important effect on the results.

Through their multiple contrasts (Figure 1), there have been no differences by sex in the German sample while the result achieved by women is higher among Brazilians (3.82 female; 3.46 male), which may be explained by the women's educational level in this sub-group which is slightly higher. In reference to the results presented by sport, there is also a low variance inside each group and a relevant difference between the two groups (min. 3.63 individual BRA, max. 4.07 individual GER, $p < 0,000$), which shows that the type of sport which is practiced is not important for the development of attitudes toward this component of Olympism.

Figure 1
Likert scale results on internationalism for
Brazilian and German athletes



However, if we examine the athletes' performance in the Games, the medallists are those who present the lowest results (GER: 3.95; BRA: 2.95). Among the Brazilians, the difference is significant (asymptotic $p = 0,010$), which suggests that the competition level of an athlete in the Olympic Games, as well as cognition and excellency values, may lead to less positive attitudes toward such proclaimed value of Olympism. This general result may be explained as a manifestation whose meaning approaches what Heinilä calls the *ethos of effectiveness*. Under pressure to win, the humanistic dimension of the Games may be particularly affected by the norms of effectiveness which allow for, if not actually demand, a greater concentration on the results³⁵. If this score is presented in a different way between Brazilians and Germans, it may be related not to the latter's smaller wish to win, but to the socio-cultural effects from the German past onto its citizens. The Brazilian athletes do not have anything compared to that.

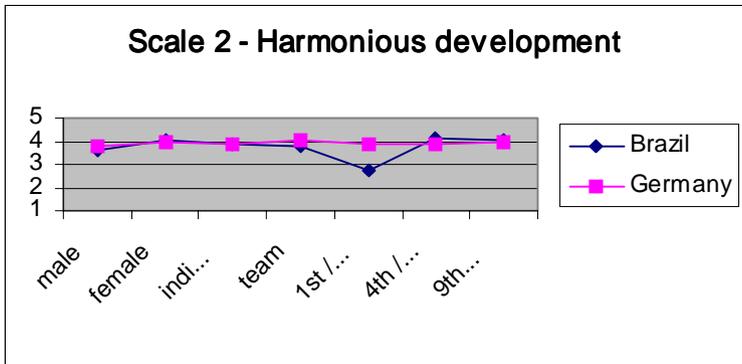
The data relative to the Olympic athletes' attitudes toward the idea that culture and education are crucial elements either to

the Olympic Movement or the athlete himself prove that there is a pragmatic inconsistency between values and practical reasoning.

In general, the ideas implied in this value of Olympism are widely accepted for this sample (BRA: 3,82; GER: 3,89), which agrees with the tendency to realize that education and culture are more and more accepted values in universal terms. It is important to notice that this result may also relate to the fact that a significant percentage of subjects in the sample has either an intermediary level of education (GER: 55;3% Abitur; BRA: 45.3% high school/incomplete undergraduate studies) or a high level of education (GER: 17.9% Abgeschl. Hochschulstudium; BRA: 21.4% undergraduate studies), which definitely causes some effects on the results of this kind of question.

Figure 2

Likert scale results on harmonious physical and intellectual development for Brazilian and German athletes



If we exclusively take the 'education versus sport' duality into account, 65.8% Brazilians do not agree upon the idea that their studies should be interrupted so that they may dedicate themselves more to sports. For the Germans, however, the

percentage is 77.8%, which, at first sight, does not seem to confirm Heinilä's statement that "success in top sport demands from the athletes increasing stakes and more *total devotion* to a sports career". These data, face-to-face with the results of the scale, which were stratified by performance, clearly show a polarization between values and practical reasoning provided by both balanced high esteem of the educational value and the absorbing needs of the top sport. In both groups, the medal winners have the lowest results for this scale (GER: 3.84; BRA: 2.77), with a significant difference among Brazilians (asymptotic $p= 0,006$), which shows that excellency and competitiveness are, once again, important intervening factors for these athletes. The fact that only 25% Brazilian medallists have an intermediate or high educational level supports the conclusions we have come to.

The differences we found also reflect the qualitative differences which exist in both social and sport systems of the two countries studied here. In Brazil there is a lack of institutional support programs to athletes who study (or work), which makes both activities incompatible most of the times ("*The Brazilian school does not worry much about a conciliation with sport. In fact, there is a competition between them. We have conflicts between practice schedules and class schedules, and we do not feel that the school is willing to solve this problem*" BRA). As the sport is also seen as a means for moving up socially³⁶ by a considerable number of people in this country, it is obvious that a large number of athletes decide to quit their studies and believe this is the right decision to make. In Germany, the more balanced social structure and higher educational levels consider the sport career a 'social elevator' more uncertain and less attractive³⁷.

At any rate, although in Germany (as opposed to Brazil) many schools offer the athletes special schedules for practice and there are support programs for them, the athletes have the opinion that the problem between studies and the sport career being compatible remains an important issue. According

mainly to university students, many times it is “*too hard*” to manage both activities. That is the reason why the athletes who are still studying informed they had to stop their school activities during the Olympic year so that they would totally dedicate themselves to sport. Also among those who already work, we found, in both groups, the same difficulties and the prevailing attitude of interrupting any activity other than sport in order to dedicate themselves exclusively to their practice³⁸.

The athletes’ attitudes toward the cultural dimension of the Games reinforce the presence of a duality between values and practice which is similar in both groups. The specific numerical data show that a high percentage of athletes agrees upon the statement that “the artistic and cultural activities are extremely important for the Olympic Games to be held” (GER: 82.1%; BRA: 70%), which also helps explain the general results of the scale itself. Nevertheless, even though the cultural activities are important, they are always considered secondary if compared to the competition itself. They are secondary either in the individual plan, which is perfectly logical once the main objective of all athletes in the Games is their performance in the competition (“*we did not go anywhere because they were places to go at night, and we had to get up early the following morning to practice; so, we did not go*” BRA), or in the plan of the Olympic program itself (“*the sport is the core, but there must be some cultural activities*” GER). Cultural activities, considered theoretically important, are seen as something not so important, just a complement to the program, being directed mainly to the audience, not the athletes³⁹.

On the other hand, it also seems that, in the athletes’ opinion, one of the main purposes of the cultural events in Sydney was fun and relax.

“... these activities which are parallel to the competitions are extremely important because

they make the athletes think about something else other than the competitions. Those cause stress and a great anxiety. So, it is important that the athletes have activities outside their area" (BRA).

Even when defined this way, activities such as shopping, sightseeing or attending other kinds of competition come in the first place in the quotations extracted from interviews and questionnaires. In fact, as the Olympic competitions in Sydney were in progress (particularly from the second week on), the number of athletes on the streets became larger and larger. However, it was much easier to find them strolling in Darling Harbour, The Rocks, Bondi Beach or at flea market than at Leonardo da Vinci's exhibitions, Australian aboriginal art, ancient Olympic Games, or Sydney Opera House. It is, thus, symptomatic that the cultural activities had been completely ignored on a list of positive points of the Games while their partying characteristic is appreciated. In other words, German and Brazilian Olympic athletes do not believe that, during the Games, there is any kind of motivation directly aimed at improving their intellect through art, as Coubertin intended to ("*The athletes, in their majority, are not worried about it, but only about the competitions*" GER). Such attitudes suggest that the Fundamental Principle of Olympism, that of "blending sport with culture and education"⁴⁰ is not well known among the respondents.

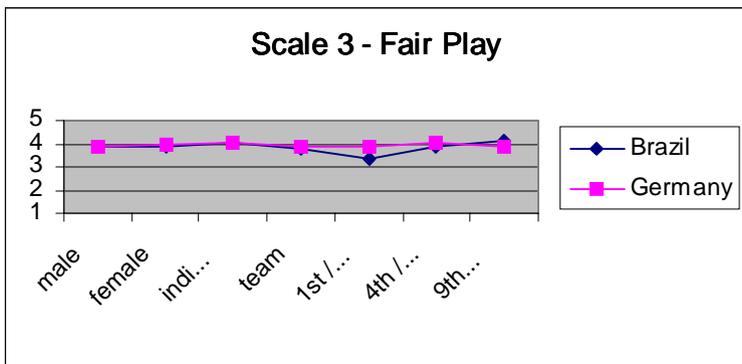
In more precise terms, the Olympic Idea itself is not well known among the athletes, particularly among the Brazilians, who have very little contact with Olympism ("*If I am to try to analyze the word, it is a movement in favor of the Olympics. It is an analysis without any background knowledge... Did I guess it right?*" BRA). Among the German athletes, even though 58.7% declared having had some kind of information about the Olympic Idea and the Olympic Movement, they do not seem

to have enough knowledge about them (“*We do not know what Olympism means*”. GER)⁴¹. In other words, understanding Olympism is rather shallow and idealized (“*Gather people. Make them equal*”. GER; “*It’s the super-appreciation of what the Olympiads are, the feeling of playing fair. I don’t know.*” BRA).

In summary, a pragmatic inconsistency between values and practice comes up when this value of Olympism is dealt with, not being influenced by the contrasts by sex and type of sport. However, while the excellency value and the different characteristics of both social and sport systems shape the ‘sport x education’ distinction, the excellency and knowledge of the Olympic Idea are factors which intervene in the attitudes toward the cultural dimension of the Olympic Movement.

As for the fair play item, as shown on the figure below, this sample attitude is highly positive toward the general idea (BRA: 3,88; GER: 3,94), sometimes presenting a strong idealization (“*For me, fair play does not take place in practice only; it must be present in the spirit, in the soul*” BRA; “*It is a hard and very good thing to achieve.*” GER).

Figure 3
 Likert scale results on fair play for Brazilian
 and German athletes



The results show that female German athletes have a slightly more positive attitude toward fair play (female: 4.0; male: 3.89), which is similar to the results obtained in other studies where different items, methods and target groups were analyzed⁴². However, through the interviews, it was not possible to identify a specific pattern which would make the respondents' attitudes different toward sex.

The respondents would disagree more with the statements which indicated a negative attitude toward fair play (e.g., "my adversary is my enemy") than would agree with those which presented a positive attitude (i.g., "my adversary is my opponent"), which suggests that a reactive kind of attitude prevails over a proactive position regarding this element of Olympism. The distinction between 'positive' and 'negative' issues made the contrast by sex more striking among the German athletes (female: 4.06%; male: 3.90%; $p=0,044$); by performance among the Brazilians (asymptotic $p=0,001$) and by sport among the Germans (individual: 4.01; team: 3.85; $p=0,012$), thus confirming the hypothesis mentioned above.

The concept of formal and informal dimensions of fair play may be the key to explain the existence of more reactive than proactive attitudes in both groups. As several writers have already mentioned⁴³, the acceptance of rules consists of a previous agreement which is essential to the nature of the game itself. The formal dimension of fair play, based on norms and procedures, presents evident and delimited references of conduct in sport. When the rules themselves determine different kinds of sanctions for different kinds of violation, they provide the necessary reference for decision-making. Therefore, it does not seem surprising that the idea of respecting both rules and adversaries, even in defeats, has been accepted by 100% respondents. On the other hand, when the informal dimension of fair play presents itself as "a way of thinking, and not merely a behavior"⁴⁴, it becomes an extremely wide

and generic concept which may have a subjective meaning. It, thus, seems harder to have an attitude toward this informal dimension of fair play. The interviews support such interpretation. In the athletes' opinion, fair play was, above anything else, "obey the rules" and "no doping".

As previously observed, the athletes of individual sports from both countries had higher results than those of team sports (BRA – Individual: 4.01; Team: 3.38 / GER – Individual: 4.03; Team: 3.75). An explanation for such results may be found in the assumption that in the individual sports, except for fighting sports, the feelings of antagonism related to the adversaries are partially determined by the level of physical contact between them. Even though the levels of violence among the participants are determined by rules in the team types of sport, where there is also physical contact, the dispute presents a larger margin for opposite feelings related to the adversaries. Another important aspect is that most individual sports are characterized by a comparison of performance through the accomplishment of fairly patterned and pre-determined tasks, which accounts for a more controlled and predictable sport action. Most of the referees' deeds consist of the objective application of penalties and bonuses determined by the rules. In the team sports, particularly, but not exclusively, in those ball games, a more dynamic and less patterned action presents a certain dose of freedom and complexity which, at many times, demands from the referee an interpretation of the players' action so that the rules may be applied. In summary, it seems obvious that if there are more possibilities for the referee to interpret the competitors' actions, his decisions will also have more chances to be polemic and unsatisfactory (*"There [in Sailing] we have the dubious part. Why? Because this limit is subjective and interpreted by referees. And what we notice nowadays is that the referee applies such limit in many different ways, depending on the athlete"* BRA).

Regarding performance, the results show that the athletes who won medals in Sydney present a less positive attitude than those who did not get any in both groups (BRA: 1st / 3rd: 3.32; 4th / 8th: 3.88; 9th and on: 4.09, asymptotic $p=0,002$; GER: 1st/ 3rd: 3.85; 4th / 8th: 4.05; 9th and on: 3.91, asymptotic $p= 0,062$). However, the gathered data do not allow us to state that both spiral of competition and overvaluation of success mean a new effectiveness ethics in the way it was proposed by Heinilä. In fact, the results may be interpreted as a demonstration of how the quest for one's chance helps the respondents of this study define the game⁴⁵. In this sense, as opposed to the effectiveness of the "common bad" trend, the practitioner's "internal perspective", the sport social morals, excellency and competition are part of a complex relationship which is, at many times, instrumental (*"if I react and try to irritate my adversary, I am going to get stressed to the point of losing control , and this would not be what I am here for"* BRA). Almost always, there is a search for a fair measurement of fair play both as a value and practice (*"It is there where you fight against yourself. You fight against your moral values. It is the angel and the little devil inside you. It is hard to deal with it"* BRA. *"Keeping the competition only within the limits of the competition"* GER).

This attitude in search of an equilibrium between the commands of fair play and both logic and demands of the top sport is more clearly noticed in the statements which attempt to test the athletes' attitudes toward propositions of an altruistic kind of behavior⁴⁷. The discordance to ideas such as "a victory conquered due to the referee's mistakes is a victory like any other" or "a victory with no merits" (GER: 49.1% and 40.1% / BRA: 57.5% and 47.5%) suggests that, in the athletes' perspective, the sport technical values (i.g., defense) and esthetical values (i.g., a more aggressive, cool or "artistic" style) are not disregarded in favor of the ethical value but at same time they do not abolish it either⁴⁸.

In the fair play area, doping deserves a special attention from us. Brazilians and Germans have fairly high levels of rejection to the use of doping (92.3% and 98.3%, respectively). Regarding the German athletes, the results still reflect the problems caused by the discovery of doping development programs in former East Germany (“*Since 1991 one has not heard much about doping in Germany*” GER), while for the Brazilians, the results represent a great change if compared to the study conducted with the athletes who participated in the Olympic Games in Atlanta (1996), which showed that only 63.3% respondents rejected the use of doping⁴⁹. This growth is probably related to an increase in the anti-doping control policies in both national and international scopes. The data of the scale are consistent with doping being frequently mentioned as one of the negative points of the Games and something which mostly threatens their future.

Table 3
Factors which mostly threaten the future of the Olympic Games (in percentage of given answers)

Factors	Brazil	Germany
Doping	33,33%	37,87%
Overcommercialization	12,35%	27,21%
Terrorism	32,10%	15,07%

The data of the questionnaires (Table 3) also support the connection which is frequently made between the commercialization of the Games, the overvaluation of victories, and consequently, the existence of doping (“*Today, ‘the important thing is to compete’ principle, as the Baron of Coubertin used to say, no longer exists; doping is always there, and both media and money command the show*” BRA. “*It is not possible to*

compete and win in top sport without using drugs. There is too much money involved” GER).

The interviews show that, besides condemning doping, the respondents of this study have an attitude which could be defined as a process of self-exclusion. Such process reveals itself in the belief that doping is a general practice but “not in my sport” and/or “not by me” which is very common in issues regarding more sensitive and intimate topics. (“*I am the live evidence of that* [it is possible to win without the use of doping] BRA”; “*I am lucky that in our sport doping is not very important*” GER; “*In some types of sport it is very difficult to win without the use of drugs. In rowing I can only talk by myself*” GER).

This apparently contradictory picture between a general belief in the use of doping (“*I only know a clean athlete in the whole sport, and that’s me*” GER) and an equally high reproof rate (“*doping destroys the sport*” GER) shown by the Likert scale is outlined in a clearer way when it is related to the Games Theory. The use of such theory by Breivik⁵⁰, aiming at the analysis of what he called “Doping Game”⁵¹ showed that, theoretically speaking, there is a tendency toward the use of doping as a rational strategy even when the athletes’ values and goals are not objectively directed to it. Although this study has not included Breivik’s assumptions, we recognize that the theory of the games may present a convincing explanation for the apparently evident contradiction.

Conclusions

Based on the analysis and discussion of the results of this study, we may come to the conclusion that there is a general positive attitude toward the values of Olympism proclaimed among the Olympic athletes. Nevertheless, such consistency is not absolute as it is submitted to mediations carried out by

the subjects among different values in order to establish a fair measurement between the Olympic Idea and practical reasoning. In more precise terms, the basic elements which intervene in the relationship between the Olympic athletes and the values of Olympism are excellence, competitiveness and cognition; despite being also important, the sport sub-cultures and sport systems are considered secondary. Although some influences provided by cultural differences have been identified, their explanatory power over the results at this level of analysis is little.

Therefore, the whole process of articulating and conciliating is developed through the generation of tensions and uncertainties in a *continuum* basis between the macro level (values/systems/controls) and the micro level (values/individuals/self-determinism) which went through all the elements surveyed in this study either in a higher or a lower level. This suggests that, just like Olympism, which has always been resistant to definitions, the relationship between the Olympic athletes and the proclaimed values of Olympism is not unmistakable for it is assumed by the movements in favor of the renewal of IOC and the preservation of the Olympic Idea. The Olympic athlete, in his role as a social actor, reproduces the conflict between control of actions and free will searching for mediations, which was foreseen already by Coubertin.

If the knowledge of the values of Olympism among the athletes is only asleep, thus suggesting the importance of a specific educational action for them, the relevance given to the excellence and competitiveness values shows that the practitioner's internal perspective points at a new meaning of the basis of Olympism. The athletes' empowerment in the IOC could thus allow for more changes than stability.

Ultimately, since Coubertin's times, the idea of the 'Olympic athlete' has always been a prescription resulting from

the Olympic Idea rather than a description of how the Olympic values are understood by the practitioners. Their renewed role in the midst of the Olympic Movement invites us to leave the object aside and get to know the subject better.

Notes

1. For a discussion on Olympism as an eclectic elaboration based on the notion of equilibrium see Lamartine P. DaCosta, "O Olimpismo e o Equilíbrio do Homem". In: Tavares O. & DaCosta, L.P. (eds.) Estudos Olímpicos. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Gama Filho, 1999. p. 50-69.
2. John Hoberman *d'après* 'IOC criminal action against Vyv Simson and Andrew Jennings', in: John Hoberman, "Toward a Theory of Olympic Internationalism". Journal of Sport History, vol. 22, n. 1, 1995. p. 1-37. The quotation is concerned to p. 5.
3. IOC, Report by the IOC 2000 Commission to the 110th IOC Session. Lausanne, 11th and 12th December 1999 [online]. www.olympic.org . The textual citation is from p. 5.
4. As one of the main external forces during the reforms of the IOC, the Olympic Advocates Together Honorably (OATH) was also an important defender of both the preservation of the Olympic Values and the athletes' greater involvement in the Olympic Movement administration. Cf. OATH, Proposals for Reform of the IOC. OATH Symposium, New York, June 1999.
5. Otávio Tavares, *Mens Fervida in Corpore Lacertoso?* As atitudes dos atletas olímpicos brasileiros diante do Olimpismo. (Master Dissertation in Physical Education). Rio de Janeiro: University Gama Filho, 1998, 138p. (unpublished).
6. Else Oyen, "The imperfection of comparisons". In: Oyen, E. (ed.) Comparative Methodology: Theory and Practice in International

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- Social Research. Londres: SAGE Publications, 1992 (Sage studies in international sociology; v. 40), p. 1-18.
7. Kalevi Heinilä, "The Totalization Process in International Sport". In: Sportwissenschaft. 1982/2, p. 235-253.
 8. Hugo Lovisoló, Educação Física: A Arte da Mediação. Rio de Janeiro: Sprint, 1995.
 9. Sergio B. de Holanda, Raízes do Brasil. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1995; Norbert Elias, Os Alemães. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar Editor, 1997.
 10. Else Oyen, op. cit.
 11. Henry Teune, "Comparing Countries: Lessons Learned". In: Oyen, E. (ed.) Comparative Methodology: Theory and Practice in International Social Research. Londres: SAGE Publications, 1992 (Sage studies in international sociology; v. 40), p. 38-62. The textual citation is from p. 48.
 12. *ibid.*, p. 54.
 13. Gunter Gebauer, "Citius-Altius-Fortius and the Problem of Sports Ethics: a Philosopher's Viewpoint". In: Landry, F., Landry, M. e Yerlès, M. (eds.) Sport... The Third Milenium. Quebec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1991, p. 467-473.
 14. IOC, Olympic Charter. Fundamental Principle no. 2. In force as from 14th July 2001, including amendments approved by the 112th IOC Session.
 15. Hans Lenk, "Toward a Social Philosophy of the Olympics: Values, Aims and Reality of the Modern Olympic Movement". In: Graham, P.J. & Ueberhorst, H. (eds.) The Modern Olympics. West Point: Leisure Press, 1976. p. 109-169.
 16. Norbert Müller, "Coubertin's Olympism". In: Norbert Müller (Ed. Dir.) Pierre de Coubertin. Olympism: Selected Writings. Lausanne: IOC, 2000, p.33-48.

17. Jim Parry, Ethical Aspects of the Olympic Idea. 3rd International Session for Educationists and Staff of Higher Institutes of Physical Education, Ancient Olympia, International Olympic Academy, May 1997.
18. Lamartine DaCosta, op. cit.
19. Sigmund Loland, "Coubertin's ideology of Olympism from the Perspective of the History of Ideas". *Olympika: The International Journal of Olympic Studies*. Vol. IV, 1995, p. 49-78.
20. José M. Cagigal, "The Pedagogic Evaluation of the Olympic Games: A Survey". *FIEP Bulletin*, 45(4), p. 48-56, 1975.
21. Paul Ricoeur, *Interpretação e Ideologias*. São Paulo: Francisco Alves, 1977.
22. John Hoberman, op. cit., p. 3.
23. For a discussion on the role of intellectuals in the Olympic Movement see: Lamartine DaCosta "Taking ourselves to task: Olympic scholars in face of moral crisis in the Olympic Movement". In: Cashman, R. (ed.) *Keys to Success*. Sydney: UNSW Press. (in print).
24. Lamartine DaCosta, 1999, p. 61.
25. Pierre de Coubertin, "Philosophic Foundation of Modern Olympism" [Les assises philosophiques de l'Olympisme moderne], in: *Le Sport Suisse, Vol. 31, 1935*. In: Müller, N. (ed. dir.) 2000, p. 580-583; Ommo Grupe, "The Sport Culture and the Sportization of Culture: Identity, Legitimacy, Sense and Nonsense of Modern Sports as a Cultural Phenomenon". In: Landry, F., Landry, M. e Yerlès, M. (eds.), op. cit., p. 135-145; Hans Lenk, "Toward a Social Philosophy of the Olympics: Values, Aims and Reality of the Modern Olympic Movement". In: Graham, P.J. & Ueberhorst, H. (eds.) *The Modern Olympics*. West Point: Leisure Press, 1976, p. 109-169; Jim Parry, 1997; Jeffrey O. Segrave, "Toward a Definition of Olympism". In: Segrave, J.O. & Chu, D.B. (eds.), *The Olympic Games in Transition*. Champaign: Human Kinetics,

- 1988, p. 149-161. For a lengthy review of Olympism for these authors and its synthesis as a construct see: Otávio Tavares, "Referenciais Teóricos para o Conceito de Olimpismo". In: Tavares O. & DaCosta, L.P. (eds.) 1999, p. 15-49.
26. Pierre de Coubertin, "Philosophic Foundation of Modern Olympism". In: Müller, N. (Ed. Dir.) 2000, p. 580-583.
27. Understood as the idea of knowledge and relationship between the youngsters from different creeds, races and cultures in order to promote the development of personal relations of knowledge and friendship among the participants during the Olympic Games in an environment which respects the differences and the celebration of diversity.
28. Understood as the principle through which the Olympic Games must promote not only sport competitions, but also artistic manifestations in an environment of perfect integration between physical culture and artistic culture inside and outside the Olympic Village. The Olympic athlete must also be a citizen who searches for the optimal combination of physical abilities and intellectual development.
29. If the double dimension of fair play (formal and informal) is taken into account, the sport must be practiced through the respect to the rules, referees and adversaries, and the refusal to unjustified advantages and illegitimate means. In other words, the Olympic athlete now has the moral obligation to show that victory may only be achieved through honesty and justice, to accept defeats, and to respect adversaries and referees.
30. For analysis purposes, two categories were considered for data collection: "individual sports" and "team sports". A special emphasis was given to the "individual effort x team effort" duality as it could have a possible effect on the interpretation of the gathered data.

31. The scales were validated by a panel of judges. In order to assure the semantic equivalence of both versions, the original one in Portuguese was translated into German by a German-speaking scholar in Brazil. In Germany, this translation was translated back into Portuguese by a Portuguese-speaking scholar. The two Portuguese versions were then compared, and the semantic adjustment in the German version was finally made. The data analysis were carried out using the SPSS for Windows at the Federal University of Espirito Santo (Brazil). Two tests were used to compare average scores: the Mann-Whitney test, used between two groups, and the Kruskal-Wallis test, used between more than two groups. The different groups were identified through multiple comparison test, being considered a significance level of 5%. The cases which were analyzed consisted of only those in which the respondent answered all the questions included in the corresponding scale.
32. The disturbing Nazi legacy within the German society sometimes reveals itself in small details. For example, with a sticker, a street bookseller in Mainz covered up a little Nazi badge which decorated the official book of the Berlin Olympic Games – the book was being sold in his stand. On the other hand, the feeling that their past does not belong to them arises (“*If I won, I would like to show the German flag. That [Nazism] happened a long time ago. Another generation. It is over.*”), which makes that legacy seem unfair. However, it is respected in German terms based on the sense of duty and discipline toward the constituted authority which Norbert Elias (op. cit.) emphasizes as being part of the German *habitus*. In this aspect, the Americans’ attitude toward manifestations of national pride and particularly their flag, consists of a reference and a counterpoint which were always quoted.
33. As opposed to the German athletes, who did not even have their country flag on their uniform, each Brazilian athlete received a national flag to be used in case of medals ceremony. In Brazil, as shown by Sergio B. de Hollanda (op. cit.), the separation between

state and society resulting from the dominance of patrimonialism over the state functions makes it easier to establish personal and direct relations between the citizens and the nation. In this scenario, the sport is a highly personalized field for national representation as well as a real source of patriotism. Although the relationship between sport and nation consists of something which is common to almost all the peoples in the world, the “Brazil has won” expression prevailing over the “I have won” expression among Brazilian athletes suggests the existence of an element which makes the difference.

34. According to Norbert Elias (op. cit., p. 362), “We must show that we are a new and human Germany. In order to accomplish it, it is necessary to put an end to several kinds of hostility, and to fight against some of the old attitudes which were expressed among us through the violence of national-socialism; they all must be eradicated even from inside the families, kindergartens and schools. We must consciously develop new and decent kinds of attitudes of mutual respect to all human beings, no matter their age, social position or political party.”
35. Kalevi Heinilä’s concept of ethos of effectiveness (theses 17, 18 and 19) is used in this text as a tool to enhance both excellence and competitiveness values to top athletes since his mechanistic and pessimistic concepts, if considered retrospectively, have had a limited empirical validation besides denying the *vis-à-vis* individuality toward the system.
36. See: Mara Cristan, *Esporte e Sociedade*. Vitória, ES: SPDC/UFES, 1995, p. 33-52 *passim*.
37. See: Dieter Hackfort, Eike Emrich, Vassilios Papathanassiou, *Nachsportliche Karriereverläufe*. Schorndorf: Hofmann, 1997.
38. Except for those German athletes who are army officers and, therefore, have their own supportive structure to sport life, which allows 70% of service time to an exclusively sport practice. This

- makes the German army “one of the greatest top level sport promoters of the Federal Republic of Germany.” NOK für Deutschland, Sydney 2000. Die deutsche Olympiamannschaft / The German Olympic Team. Deutscher Sportbund: Frankfurt am Main, 2000, p. 404.
39. A research on similar topic with 1996 German Olympic athletes (n=55) found a lower figure (33,5%) to the same question. Cf. Manfred Messing, “The Cultural Olympiads of Barcelona and Atlanta from German Tourists’ Point of View. In: Müller, N. (ed. dir.) Coubertin and Olympism. Questions for the Future. Report of the Congress 17th to 20th September 1997 at the University of Le Havre. Lausanne: CIPC, 1998, p. 276-280.
 40. IOC, Olympic Charter. Fundamental Principle no. 2. In force as from 14th July 2001, including amendments approved by the 112th IOC Session.
 41. Similar figures were found in a study with physical education undergraduates from Germany and Austria suggesting a widespread ignorance on Olympic Ideals. Cf. Holger Preuss, “Olympic Ideals as Seen by German and Austrian P. E. Students”. In: Müller, N. (ed. dir.) Coubertin and Olympism. Questions for the Future. Report of the Congress 17th to 20th September 1997 at the University of Le Havre. Lausanne: CIPC, 1998, p. 281-286.
 42. For example, see: Marta Gomes, “Solidariedade e Honestidade: Os fundamentos do Fair play entre adolescentes escolares”. In: Tavares O. & DaCosta, L.P. (eds.), 1999. p. 207-222. And Roland Naul, “The Olympic Ideal of Fair play: Moral dissonance between vision and practice?” In: ICSSPE Bulletin, No. 30, September 2000, p. 42-43.
 43. Cf. Mike J. McNamee e Jim S. Parry, (eds.) Ethics & Sport. London / New York: E & FN Spon, 1998.
 44. Código de Ética Esportiva / Conselho da Europa, 1992, p. 6.

45. For Gunther Gebauer (op. cit.), the quest for one's chance is the main characteristic of what he called "internal perspective", the individualistic morals of achieving distinction through action.
46. Kalevi Heinilä, op. cit., p. 248.
47. The situation of referees' errors as an unjustified advantage was assumed by this study as being one of the few test situations of altruistic behavior, if not the only one, which is likely to be applied to all Olympic sports.
48. Here we are dealing with Hugo Lovisolo's concepts of technical, ethical and aesthetical values as references to identify and characterize different sports as specific sub-cultures.
49. Otávio Tavares, 1998.
50. Gunnar Breivik, "Doping Games. A Game Theoretical Exploration of Doping". In: *Int. Rev. for Soc. of Sport* 27/3 (1992).
51. According to Jan Ove Tangen e Gunnar Breivik, "a 'doping game' is a game where the involved athletes have to decide in a strategic interaction with others whether they will use doping means or not. [...] and assume that athletes in such situation consciously decide what to do, being aware of alternatives and possibilities of various outcomes". *SpW* 31. Jg., 2001, Nr. 2, p. 188-198.

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