

# Sociología del Deporte

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# Sociología del Deporte

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## Presentación de la revista

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*Sociología del Deporte (SD)* surge con el propósito de crear un espacio de reflexión y debate en torno al fenómeno deportivo desde la perspectiva de las ciencias sociales. Pretende conectar desde el rigor científico las principales teorías y corrientes de la sociología —pero también las propias de disciplinas afines (antropología, historia, psicología social, ciencias del deporte y filosofía política y moral)— con el debate intelectual de nuestro tiempo en torno al fenómeno deportivo. Promueve el estudio del fenómeno deportivo como expresión de la realidad social y anima a analizar los hechos y cambios sociales a través del deporte. Por lo tanto, la revista está abierta al conjunto de investigadores e investigadoras de las ciencias sociales, con independencia de su grado de especialización.

*Sociología del Deporte (SD)* inicia su publicación en 2020 con periodicidad semestral, en formato a papel y electrónico. Comparte los principios éticos de otras publicaciones que emplean el sistema Acceso Abierto (*Open Access*). Publica trabajos científicos originales e inéditos de carácter empírico o teórico y notas sobre investigaciones sociológicas o áreas afines. También publica secciones de debates, estados de la cuestión, secciones monográficas y contenidos de especial interés para la comunidad sociológica. *Sociología del Deporte (SD)* aspira a alcanzar la mayor calidad posible en los trabajos que publica, por lo que utiliza un sistema arbitrado de revisión externa por expertos (*Peer Review*). Desea convertirse en una publicación de referencia internacional, con vocación de integrar los debates existentes en torno al fenómeno deportivo en España, Europa, Latinoamérica, y el resto del mundo. Por esta razón, en la revista se publican contribuciones en castellano e inglés.

“Las opiniones y hechos consignados en cada artículo son de exclusiva responsabilidad de sus autores, así como la credibilidad y autenticidad de los trabajos”

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## Seguir pensando el deporte en la crisis pandémica

*Continue thinking about sport in the pandemic crisis*

Joaquín Piedra  
David Moscoso,  
Raúl Sánchez  
y Anna Vilanova



*Sociología del Deporte* continúa poco a poco, pero con buen pie, su andadura en el mundo de las revistas científicas. Este segundo número busca dar contenido al proyecto iniciado en este convulso año 2020, mirando al futuro con optimismo por alguno de los datos obtenidos en estos primeros meses de vida. La revista, a través de su página web, se ha convertido en lugar de consulta de numerosos académicos e investigadores en el campo de la sociología del deporte. En los últimos doce meses, ha tenido más de 35.000 visitas desde 141 países distintos y los artículos publicados en el primer número han superado las 6.000 descargas. Además, se ha apostado desde la dirección editorial por aprovechar el potencial de las nuevas formas de comunicación que representan las redes sociales (Twitter, Facebook, Youtube e Instagram) o los video-abstracts que están teniendo una buena acogida entre los lectores.

A pesar de las dificultades previsibles en la puesta en marcha de un proyecto científico de esta envergadura, la publicación sigue los pasos previstos al inicio por el Consejo Editorial. En la actualidad, *Sociología del Deporte* ya está indexada en Dialnet y en MIAR, y espera poder hacerlo en breve en otras bases de datos como ERIH, CARHUS Plus+ y Latindex. La proyección futura de la revista sigue pasando a medio plazo en conseguir la evaluación positiva de calidad de la FECYT y una mayor indexación en repositorios y bases de datos internacionales. No quisiéramos dejar de reconocer y agradecer en este trabajo el compromiso del equipo humano de la Biblioteca-CRAI y el Servicio de Publicaciones Digitales de la Universidad Pablo de Olavide.

En este primer año, *Sociología de Deporte* ha contado con un total de 29 autores y autoras, quince de ellos nacionales y catorce internacionales (Francia, Canadá,

Portugal, Alemania, Reino Unido y Brasil), lo que redundó en una mayor difusión de los contenidos. En la búsqueda de una mayor visibilidad y equidad de género en la ciencia, la revista cuenta en este primer año con un 24% de autoras, estando por encima de la media nacional en el campo de las Ciencias de Deporte (Ortega et al. 2015), pero por debajo de la media de otras revistas (Reyes et al. 2019) y áreas afines como la Psicología del Deporte (Olmedilla et al. 2017). Por ello, nuestro futuro pasa por llegar a una mayor paridad entre las contribuciones masculina y femenina.

Al igual que en la inmensa mayoría de revistas científicas, este proceso de publicación se hace posible gracias al esfuerzo desinteresado de los revisores y revisoras que filtran y hacen una selección de la calidad de los trabajos que se publican. En este sentido, para este primer año han participado en el proceso ciego de revisión por pares 15 personas, tanto de universidades y centros de investigación españolas como internacionales. Fruto de este trabajo, el índice de aceptación de los artículos remitidos para su valoración a la revista en estos dos primeros números ha sido del 76%.

En el segundo número de la revista que ve la luz a finales del año 2020 se publican cuatro artículos de investigación, dos contribuciones en la Sección Especial y dos reseñas de publicaciones recientes en el campo de la sociología del deporte en España. El primero de los trabajos científicos que se presentan en este número está firmado por el profesor George Jennings, profesor de la Cardiff Metropolitan University. En él, el autor analiza un tema de gran actualidad mundial desde la perspectiva de los deportes de las artes marciales. Concretamente, estudia los mecanismos de comunicación de dos escuelas británicas de artes marciales du-

rante el periodo de confinamiento. Los resultados del estudio demuestran el desarrollo de distintas formas online creativas de enseñar las artes marciales.

El segundo trabajo está firmado por los profesores de la Goethe University Frankfurt/Main de Alemania, Jan Haut, Michael Staack y Lukas Schwank. Se trata en este caso de una colaboración con los editores de la revista alemana *Sport und Gesellschaft*, haciendo una revisión del panorama científico alemán en el campo de la sociología de deporte. Los autores concluyen realizando una comparativa entre la situación de esta especialidad en Alemania y en España, que podrá marcar el camino futuro de la disciplina.

El tercer artículo científico original es obra de los académicos portugueses —aunque algunos de ellos se encuentran instalados en universidades británicas— Mario Borges, Antonio Rosado, Rita de Oliveira y Francisco Freita. En su contribución se estudia el recorrido migratorio que muchos entrenadores portugueses de fútbol tuvieron que hacer a raíz de la crisis económica de 2008. Los datos del trabajo muestran las causas de estas migraciones marcando dos principales caminos, bien hacia lugares de mayor prestigio futbolístico, o bien a destinos de recompensa económica.

Por último, el cuarto artículo original lo presentan los profesores Nieves Aquino y Juan Gavala, cuya actividad realizan en las principales instituciones académicas de Sevilla, la Universidad Pablo de Olavide y la Universidad de Sevilla. Se trata de un trabajo de corte cuantitativo que analiza la intersección entre actividad física y bienestar psicológico entre personas mayores. Año tras año, la población de personas mayores va cobrando más interés para la ciencia. Así, este trabajo incide una vez más en la importancia de la práctica de actividad física para mejorar la calidad de vida de las personas más mayores.

En la Sección Especial de este segundo número se presentan dos interesantes trabajos para el estudio de la sociología del deporte. El primero se corresponde con el artículo de Jean-Marie Brohm y Fabien Ollier, de la Université de Montpellier III en Francia, en el que abordan el análisis de lo que puede ser entendido por *deporte capitalista globalizado*. Desde el enfoque de las ideas de la Teoría Crítica del Deporte elaboran un marco de reflexión y opinión académica sobre las con-

tribuciones positivas y, también, los efectos negativos, del deporte capitalista. En sus conclusiones, los autores plantean seis tipos diferentes de perfiles por los que pasa la llamada Teoría Crítica del Deporte.

El segundo trabajo que se incluye en la sección es el publicado por María Martín, profesora del INEF de Madrid en la Universidad Politécnica de Madrid. En este ensayo, fruto del asesoramiento político, la autora expone alguna de las limitaciones o barreras que continúan constriñendo a las mujeres en España ante el acceso y la práctica de la actividad física y deportiva, y que durante la situación de pandemia y emergencia sanitaria que vivimos, lejos de desaparecer, han seguido adquiriendo peso. Como guinda a este interesante trabajo, la autora proporciona entre sus conclusiones una serie de recomendaciones y propuestas dirigidas a la acción pública en pos de una mayor y mejor actividad física de calidad de las mujeres en España.

La última sección de la revista (Sección de Reseñas) recoge dos reseñas de publicaciones recientes —editadas ambas en 2020— y de interés para la sociología del deporte en España. Por un lado, la reseña de Ángel Mario Jordi (UPO) sobre la obra de Luis Cantarero (*¡Cállate papá! Padres y violencias en el fútbol industrial*, Pregunta Ediciones) y, por otro lado, la reseña de Cati Lecumberri (INEFC de Barcelona) sobre el libro coordinado por Nuria Puig y Andreu Campos *Diálogos sobre el deporte (1975-2020)*, editado por INDE.

Confiamos que este nuevo número de la *Sociología del Deporte* vuelva a generar el mismo interés de los lectores como ya hizo el primer número. Esperamos ir creando progresivamente una audiencia asidua, crítica con el deporte actual, que permita avanzar en la comprensión de la práctica deportiva desde un punto de vista social. Igualmente, deseamos atraer a investigadores y académicos nacionales e internacionales que quieran compartir sus estudios y descubrimientos con el público a través de esta publicación. En definitiva, seguimos deseando convertir esta revista en un lugar de encuentro y debate para la sociología del deporte.

No quisiéramos concluir este editorial, sin dejar de agradecer a la Consejería de Educación y Deportes de la Junta de Andalucía, su apoyo incondicional y colaboración financiera, haciendo posible una publicación científica de calidad, rigor, pública, abierta y gratuita.

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## **Artículos de Investigación**

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## **Martial Arts under the COVID-19 Lockdown: The Pragmatics of Creative Pedagogy**

### *Artes marciales bajo el bloqueo de COVID-19: la pragmática de la pedagogía creativa*

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#### **Palabras clave**

- Artes Marciales
- Pedagogía
- COVID-19
- Comunidades
- Netnografía

#### **Key words**

- Martial arts
- Pedagogy
- COVID-19
- Communities
- Netnography

#### **Resumen**

Las organizaciones de artes marciales combinan cada vez más actividades en la vida real y actividades en línea para cultivar cualidades, habilidades y virtudes específicas. Los estudiantes e instructores usan blogs, foros de chat, videos y podcasts para complementar su cultivo propio y compartido, algo que se ha extendido con el cierre del COVID-19 en Gran Bretaña. Las escuelas de artes marciales han cerrado temporal o incluso definitivamente debido a las medidas gubernamentales para controlar las interacciones físicas de las personas a través de medidas de distanciamiento social. Este artículo se basa en estudios de caso de dos escuelas de artes marciales británicas (Taijiquan y Esgrima Histórica) para examinar cómo se han adaptado al encierro. Mediante estos estudios de caso, se narran los desarrollos de cómo los maestros y sus comunidades locales han dado soluciones creativas durante este momento de crisis internacional, desde sesiones de capacitación en vivo dirigidas por instructores y conferencias hasta foros de chat dirigidos por estudiantes y sesiones de "noches de cine" para una sociabilidad continua y construcción de identidad. Para ello, este artículo hace uso de las siguientes teorías sobre las artes marciales: Cultivo compartido (Jennings, 2010) y Creación marcial (Jennings, 2019) para explicar cómo los artistas marciales continúan desarrollándose a través de esfuerzos creativos en línea y a través de sus cuerpos en movimiento dentro de los límites de sus hogares. Finalmente, sostengo que este cultivo creativo de artes marciales durante la pandemia de COVID-19 podría extenderse a una cultura física más amplia.

#### **Abstract**

*Martial arts organisations increasingly blend online and offline activity in order to cultivate specific qualities, skills and virtues. Students and instructors use blogs, chat fora, videos and podcasts to supplement their self- and shared cultivation, and this expanded with the COVID-19 lockdown in Britain. Martial arts schools have been closed and even disbanded while governments control people's physical interactions through social distancing measures. This article draws on case studies of two British martial arts schools*

*(Taijiquan and historical fencing) in order to examine how they have adapted to the lockdown. It offers these case studies to narrate the developments of how teachers and their localised communities have been creative during this moment of international crisis – from instructor-led online, live training sessions and lectures to student-led chat fora and movie nights for continued sociability and identity construction. In so doing, this article makes use of martial arts theories: Shared Cultivation (Jennings, 2010) and Martial Creation (Jennings, 2019) to explain how martial artists continue to develop through creative online endeavours and through their moving bodies within the confines of their homes. Finally, I argue that this creative martial arts cultivation during the COVID-19 pandemic might be extended to wider physical culture.*

### Martial Arts, the Lockdown and Pragmatism

Importantly, we should examine sport actions related to COVID-19, as there are important lessons to be learned. Certainly, when the next pandemic comes (which it will), we are better prepared in sport and society.

(Parnell, Widdop, Bond and Wilson 2020, 6).

The above quote, from what is an already well-cited position article by Parnell et al. (2020), is a pertinent request for research projects on the recent and ongoing impact of Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) on the broad notion of 'sport' operating within globalised, networked societies. Shortly after, *Sociología del Deporte* released its first issue devoted to sociological reflection and debate on this problematic scenario for sport and related practices (Moscoso, Sánchez, Piedra and Villanova 2020). For example, Moscoso-Sánchez (2020) highlighted the paralysis of sport in Spain, noting the closure of small and medium businesses devoted to sport, the risk to sporting careers yet the increased use of home exercise equipment. Likewise, Piedra (2020) showed the vital role of social networks such as YouTube and Instagram for adapting to new circumstances. He cited global celebrity trainers' largely good practices of stimulating physical activity and accruing more followers during the pandemic.

Elsewhere, research has also considered the concepts of physical activity and leisure. For instance, sociologists have started to examine the experiences of practitioner-researchers of physical culture in how the lockdown has shaped gendered and aged bodies. Spanish scholar González-Calvo (2020) shares his autoethnographical accounts of the lockdown routines with his family, including physical exercise and hygiene in an effort to share good practices to-

gether. The home confinement enabled him to reflect the mediated, societal images of the athletic male body and the negative connotations of being a "middle-aged man" with a slowly changing, softening body. In Australia, Fullager and Paradis (2020), meanwhile, have explored the lockdown from a feminist standpoint, highlighting the potential for the historically gendered and repressive site of the home to be one of rich potential for leisure and work-life balance during these trying times. Drawing on a figurational sociological perspective on the social reactions to pandemics, Malcolm and Velija (2020) demonstrated how a focus on individual fitness and bodily control was being assisted by online fitness gurus. They outlined the constraints on group activities through the following regulations in the British context:

The UK Prime Minister combined the announcement of the country's lockdown (22 March) with the launch of the slogan, 'Stay Home: Protect the NHS: Save Lives'. While lockdown entailed restrictions on daily movement and freedoms that were unprecedented in peace time, exercising outside - once a day 'on your own or with members of your household' - was cited as a valid but exceptional reason for leaving one's home. The only other reasons cited were to buy essential items (food or medication), care for others, and attend work (although employers were encouraged to facilitate home working where possible). Exercise was given this exceptional status due to beliefs about physical and mental health benefits, but other popular places to exercise, such as gyms, leisure centres, swimming pools, and sport clubs, were forced to close. The decision to allow exercise outside of the house reflects the elevation of physical activity in contemporary western societies, particularly the success of campaigns to position exercise as a form of medicine.

(Malcolm and Velija 2020, 30).

Operating within this collection of activities of “sport”, “exercise” and “physical activity” come the martial arts, which possess their less regulated and transient forms of networks ranging from informal weekend training partners to intercultural Kung Fu families. Martial arts operate within a plethora of pedagogies ranging from crowded halls of Taekwondo students to underground ‘indoor’ students of more esoteric styles. Pedagogies are normally face-to-face, although online and distance courses are now becoming more popular through accessible forms of Taijiquan (Brown, Jennings and Sparkes 2014) and the use of YouTube to share specialist skills workshops from many masters to many students in arts such as Brazilian Jiu Jitsu (Spencer 2014). These activities are normally far less regulated and governed than the mass gatherings in the sport of football such as the multi-city mega-event of Euro 2020 that British researchers Parnell et al. (2020) concentrate on. British martial arts organisations had to adapt very quickly under these months of continued lockdown and physical distance, apart from those martial artists such as couples who live together and who were thereby able to train in the usual painful and intimate manner to develop the specific martial habitus in question (cf. Brown and Jennings 2013). The close contact required of the martial arts, in which sweaty bodies often collide into and merge with one another, means that they require careful monitoring during and after the lockdown. Early writings on this topic from Jiu Jitsu researcher Andreucci (2020) in Brazil suggest ways in which martial arts instructors and gym owners might be able to monitor body temperature and engage in regular self-testing for the Coronavirus. He advocates private lessons to slowly return to martial arts teaching and to maintain some level of economic stability. Meanwhile, turning to the case of Germany, Körner and Staller (in press) indicate how the turn to online platforms for teaching self-defence and police control techniques might be the way to utilise the lack of physical contact between teachers and students.

So far, these international writings on COVID-19 and sport remain quite understandably short and suggestive, being commentaries written within a short period of time rather than articles based on a great deal of original empirical data. They are normally informed by theory of some sort, however, as they pertain to fields such as sport studies and men’s and women’s studies. Instead of fixed definitions on things such as ‘sport’ and ‘martial art’, Bowman (2017) has advocated the development and use of theory in the newly established field of martial arts studies. This might include global theories of humanity, local theories and specific theories on the martial arts them-

selves. Pragmatism is one approach to theory that can contribute to knowledge on how people can deal with moments of crisis in creative new ways. Shilling’s (2008) work on bringing the philosophical tradition of pragmatism demonstrates ways in which previous habits can come into use during specific moments of crisis experienced in the body in which people must develop creative ways to overcome them. Later, drawing on the philosophy of Dewey, Shilling (2019) stressed the importance of body pedagogics as the multitude of ways in which people can learn to adapt to their environmental conditions. Applying this tradition of pragmatism, when combined with Mills’ (1959) vision for the sociological imagination (personal troubles and public issues), I recently developed the Theory of Martial Creation (Jennings 2019) to show how and why a pioneering martial artist might create a new martial art. This drew from three case studies of regionally, culturally and historically situated martial arts such as Bruce Lee’s 1960s vision for *Jeet Kune Do* in 1960s California, contemporary Mexican *Xilam* and *Bartitsu* in Edwardian-Victorian London. I argued that crisis was the key stimulant for the inception and continued creation of these martial arts, as the personal troubles of the founders met with the social issues of their life and times to stimulate them to invent a new fighting system to deal with such issues of identity, self-protection, ethnic and national pride and personal expression.

This crisis is both social and personal, and the creativity that follows the inception of a martial art is often characterised in distinct phases as can be seen with other long-term processes such as informalisation from the late nineteenth century (Wouters 2007). The rapid change in manners and emotional expression in specific Western societies has continued in sports and physical cultures such as jogging in the USA and the immense growth of MMA as a sport and spectacle appealing to the release of emotions and quest for excitement (Sánchez García 2019a, 2019b). Following Woulter’s (2007) figurational analysis, one can note that *Bartitsu* developed during the Victorian-Edwardian era of the 1890s which saw increasingly relaxed differences between the social classes in which the upper middle class “gentlemen” felt the need to defend themselves from the working class muggers or “ruffians” of the day. *Jeet Kune Do* stemmed from its prototype in Bruce Lee’s own Jun Fan Gung Fu as stimulated by new phases of social interaction and self-expression due to the counter-culture of the 1960s. *Xilam* continues to develop as a more formalised and registered business with its own created rituals and etiquette aiming to directly develop the personalities of its practitioners and through



this, indirectly influence the structure of Mexican society.

The slowly evolving Theory of Martial Creation certainly has room for development in terms of its examination of phases of crisis and creativity. It followed my PhD thesis, in which I proposed a framework for Shared Cultivation (Jennings 2010). Expanding on ideas from the Japanese philosopher Yuasa on Asian approaches to the body and self-cultivation (Yuasa 1987, 1993) through sociological concepts, this theory envisaged the martial arts not just a solitary or solo activities for exemplary individual flourishing, but for the development of a diverse range of interconnected practitioners and even the transmission and growth of the actual martial arts in question along interpersonal institutional and systematic levels. In short, a martial artist does not develop alone, but through their training partners and teachers who in turn benefit from the enhanced skills and insights of their students in both the formal and informal dimension of pedagogy, which ranges from private lessons to informal weekend bouts of sparring and specific bodily exchanges seen in the Chinese martial arts. As in Brown and Jennings (2013), I identified three ideal-typical ways of engaging in the martial arts as fighters, martial artists and thinkers, which might change over time as the practitioners develop along their shared journey of practice and discovery.

With this prior theorising in mind, the aim of this article is to document the ongoing, shared pragmatics of two specific online martial arts pedagogies during the COVID-19 lockdown and restrictions. The lockdown restrictions themselves are specific to societies, nation-states and even regions, and these limitations for social life have emerged in distinct phases. At the time of this article being in press, the author is entering a second period of local lockdown known as a "firebreak", which is distinct to Wales. This followed the national lockdown from which the four-month netnographic data was gathered. As this is a new, ever-changing and increasingly challenging scenario, the nature of the article is exploratory, descriptive and open ended, allowing the reader insights into creative approaches from martial arts instructors, their students and members of their households in order to continue developing their martial artistry as well as physically, mentally and emotionally cope with the isolation and monotony of the lockdown. The study is based on two ethnographic projects in Wales in the United Kingdom, but I hope some of the online activities, which range from film nights to circuit training, might interest leaders and advocates of communities interested in keeping physically active, connected and joyful during these difficult and uncertain times.

### Flipping the research project online

Much talk in academia involves planning for a 'flipped classroom' as teaching goes online while our lives are significantly altered in terms of social distancing and the management of space. The same goes for me and the martial arts. As with González-Calvo's (2020) account of his life as a Spanish husband and father during the lockdown, my worldview and experience is driven from my own positioning, location and embodiment. Like almost all martial arts scholars, I am also a practitioner – perhaps a pracademic of sorts. But I am a white, middle-class, English, male academic in his mid-thirties who has been practising various forms of martial arts since 1998. In recent years, I have initiated a dual ethnographic study of one internal martial arts school and a historical European martial arts (HEMA) academy in Wales which seeks to examine their linguistic pedagogies and the interconnection between textual and embodied forms of knowledge. This study involved my apprenticeship from October 2018 in both establishments as a novice student learning the arts alongside a range of diverse people with different skills, abilities and interests. The research was theoretically inspired by the recent ideas of Di Paolo, Cuffari and De Jaegher (2018) around the notion of humans as linguistic bodies: how language is the bridge between experience, action, interaction and knowing the world.

This apprenticeship entailed twice-weekly classes for both Taijiquan and Neigong and HEMA. This was the first stage of what seemed to be a clearly planned five-year project involving interviews, focus groups and video analysis. However, as Plows (2018) reminds us, ethnographies are invariably "messy" affairs that reflect the chaos and unpredictable nature of life. Midway through the fieldwork stage of my research project came the pandemic, which halted my regular training in class and my emerging set of face-to-face interviews with the instructors and their core followers. This enabled me to focus on the more digital aspects of the martial arts organisations, including their Facebook groups, private message fora and conference calls for general discussions, theoretical lectures and social gatherings. Taking heed of Back (2007), I was able to 'listen' to the group in a different way than our customary bodily exchanges, and present their stories that might otherwise be unheard of. Also following Billig's (2016) calls to social scientists in terms of the stylistics and focus of academic writing, I therefore focus on the actions of people and their relationships with one another rather than more abstract theoretical concepts and noun compounds (such as my notion of 'shared cultivation') that I had

originally planned in my proposal. This paper is therefore representative of a pragmatic approach to the what's, how's and why's of martial arts instruction and sociability under the lockdown.

The thematic analysis reveals the currently ongoing case studies of two distinct and unrelated martial arts schools: 1) A Chinese 'internal arts' school specialising in Taijiquan (Tai Chi Chuan) and Neigong (health, healing and spiritual training) and 2) a historical European martial arts (HEMA) academy focusing on the medieval Italian tradition. They form the primary local case studies in Wales as they are part of my ongoing dual ethnography on the linguistic pedagogies of these associations. The research projects have been approved by the Cardiff Metropolitan University's social science ethics panel (Sta-1148), while the unexpected ethical dilemmas brought by the pandemic include feelings of isolation, mental health and body shaming, which were purposefully unrecorded in order to respect the privacy of the group discussions and the non-invasive nature of the original research proposals. However, inspirational ideas on body parts from specific fitness and meditation sessions that I explore shortly have been included as inspired by Bates' (2019) analysis of the meaning of such anatomical structures during long periods of illness. All names are pseudonyms that reflect the nature of the groups and the regions in which they operate.

The lockdown led to a slower pace of writing than I am accustomed to, but the eventually write up corresponded to a more mindful approach considering my embodiment in an attempt to find my own authentic voice alongside those that I am representing (Herring 2007). Instead of conventional ethnographic approaches to thick description through the medium of impressionist, confessional or realist tales (Sparkes 2002), I have used short quotes from the speech to correspond with description of social actions across a four-month period. The final representation is therefore a broad picture of how martial artists have creatively responded to the COVID-19 pandemic through their intertwined pedagogies and sociability – an inseparable political and educative relationship that Pedrini, Brown and Aimini (2019) found with *boxe popolare* (left-wing grass roots boxing) in Italy. This article presents two case studies of the aforementioned martial arts schools within their own subsections, and is deliberately lengthy and descriptive, for the range of activities and initiatives taken by the teachers and their students and supporters is commendable. Stimulated by Shilling's (2008, 2019) writings on pragmatism and the body, and my specific theorisation on the martial arts, this chronological representation show how the habits enabled people to become creative

during specific moments of crisis. Populated with the characters of students, teachers and their partners, this analysis uses Billig's (2016) emphasis on writing people and action (rather than abstract concepts and excessive noun formations) into the centre of social scientific inquiry. This is done in order to show what people can do when their bodies cannot entwine in combat through the medium of technology.

### Discussion: One pandemic, multiple responses

In this analysis, I take a chronological view to chart how the two groups struggled, adapted and thrived under the conditions of the COVID-19 lockdown in the UK. Overall, I adopt the perspective of pragmatism to demonstrate how martial arts instructors, their students and firm supporters have been creative in the moment of a truly international crisis, which has enabled to dissemination of knowledge, the continuation of sociability and the striving for humour and wellness. I examine the case studies while applying specific ideas on martial creation and shared cultivation outlined earlier in this article.

#### *Live and recorded Taijiquan classes through Zoom*

The School of Internal Arts is a school that brings together Taijiquan (commonly known as Tai Chi Chuan) along with other "internal" arts for the cultivation of health, spirituality and energies, such as Qigong, Dao Yin and Neigong – the overarching process of transformation. As part of an international organisation run by a renowned British teacher and author now based in Portugal, my two regular Taijiquan and Neigong classes are held in a local primary school and refugee community centre, which are obviously places for families to converge. These vulnerable venues were closed early on during the scares of the pandemic in the UK, which led our amiable and gentle instructor, David, to plan online classes. He wrote us all a message on our Facebook membership page to advertise the upcoming online classes hosted through the conference platform Zoom, explaining that "I know plenty of yoga teachers who use Zoom for their classes." As the pandemic could be devastating for his newly founded "Daoist Arts" enterprise (now his sole source of income), which included more accessible, clinically-focussed classes in the hard-hit local hospitals, David asked we students to consider leaving a kind donation of around his suggested sum of only £5 per 90-minute Taijiquan class. This particular financial aspect of the study has been possible thanks to funding

from the Hebei Social Sciences grant, from the Hebei Province, China.

As usual, students entered the class earlier than the official starting time. The Zoom platform offered views of some impressive recently installed bookshelves from the well-read, softly-spoken senior student Lloyd, while David used his conservatory for the basis of his class, opening the door for some air and even wearing sunglasses on a bright morning. Peering at the screen from a close position, David offers each student a warm greeting, calling them by their name. During the class, he stands back to offer a whole-body view, although he has been requested to adjust the camera in order for us students to view the angles of his feet. He also avoids giving critical feedback on individuals – instead opting to comment on general principles and to remind students to uphold them. The warm-up and ‘letting go’ / ‘loosening’ exercises normally precede a standing posture, which is followed by a sequence (normally four to five movements) of the short form. We could not do the pushing hands and sensitivity training of the normal class, nor the Neigong spiritual training, as David wished to supervise this for safety. In sum, the online classes are all about “putting your mind into your movement,” as David stated as we moved our scapula in slow circles during the preparatory exercises. However, being at home had some benefits of making the most of furniture to gently hold onto for footwork control exercises (slow stepping), and David sometimes even using some props to assist his teaching. For a few weeks, he used a small bottle of tea tree oil on his crown point to stress the straight alignment of the head and spine. In turn, I found a plastic clothes peg that kept on falling off when I started to forget about it!

David started to record specific segments of the classes through the function available on Zoom. He labelled these according to the exercises in question, such as “Yin-yang hands,” “Cloud hands’ or “Eight gates”, sometimes mixing Chinese with English terms and Daoist cosmological thought as is common in the parlance of contemporary British Taijiquan pedagogy (Jennings, Dodd and Brown 2020). On Sunday night, David would share the Zoom links for the new week’s classes – one on the typical Tuesday evening (6-7:30 p.m.) and the other on the Saturday morning when some workshops operated (10-11:30 a.m.). After careful editing over the weekend, David would send us the four recorded videos from two sections from the classes from Tuesday evening and Saturday morning. He asked us to kindly keep these videos to ourselves, as the material is only for our personal use due to our contribution to his class. His senior and mentor in the organisation, Matthew, was also creating his

own set of videos for those devoted students who had travelled to his specialist courses in remote areas of Britain. The members of the international organisation also made use of the founder Malcolm’s detailed podcast and newly vamped website, which for them, was a source of great knowledge and insight. David sometimes referred to these recordings in his classes, and he often made reference to classical sayings in the Taijiquan literature and Classics of Chinese medicine such as the *Yi Jin Jing* (the “Muscle-Tendon Changing Classic”). Although he uses the latest technology for streaming classes and conversations, David is adamant that the original Chinese sources (“the classics”) are the highest authority on bodily knowledge, wellbeing and human development.

On one occasion, David had pre-prepared his whiteboard with the eight main principles of Taijiquan. In sequence, we worked on the first four of those in our class for that day: Raising the crown point, sinking the shoulders (scapula), spreading the back (the *ming men* point) and relaxing the chest (the *tian tui* point). After that, we worked on the sequence of the form with no specific focus. “It’s sharpened everything up.” David noted. His students are mainly men and women in their thirties to sixties, and the classes focus on self-cultivation and wellbeing through exhaustive, strict training. David offered a reflection on his approach: “When you’re young, you’re supple and open-minded. And as you get older, people of the same age tend to be inflexible and close-minded. The phrase ‘ageing gracefully’ is a wonderful one.”

This open mindedness to new ideas is seen in the typical ‘hanging about’ after class. Beyond the classes, the majority of students stay online for a friendly discussion – first about their direct experiences, and then around deeper themes connecting to the body, health and human development. Senior students even share some of their own forms of wisdom, as Polish devotee Piotr reflected on the dangers of an inactive lifestyle for quality of life older age: “If you don’t work hard in training, life will become hard work for you.” The students, like me as the more official ethnographer, started to take direct quotes in their own personal notebooks. Senior student Lloyd added another phrase the following week: “You can’t build a skyscraper without good foundations.” Other, more junior, students had praising feedback for David’s online classes. The normally quiet and reserved Rhodri, who had been struck by COVID-19 at the beginning of the lockdown, exclaimed: “David, I think I have learned more in the last three months with you than I had in the last year...It’s just you and the videos, because you can look back at things. Normally, you are without a reference point. It’s brilliant! Thanks.” Another

student, Huw, quipped: “When are you going to do a podcast?”, hinting at the growth in martial arts podcasts, including that of David’s own renowned teacher, Malcolm, whose insightful videos enabled people like Lloyd to “know not only *what* you are doing, but *why* you are doing it.” Sandra, the dedicated Qigong veteran, then added: “You don’t know that you’ve got a good teacher until you’ve got a bad one.”

The calm presence, flexibility and bodily control of our teacher in his 50s is certainly very inspiring for me as a relatively younger man in his 30s, and seeing the benefits of regular practise, I continued to train some element of the class nearly every day. David rarely tells us how to live our lives, but he did once ask us to complete a ‘homework’ task: “Listen to your body. Where’s the tension? When I’m making a cup of tea... is my shoulder rising? I’m aware of my body. I’m listening. Try it for an hour – it’s hard.” Instead of pushing us to an extreme lifestyle, David advocated a good balance: “You’ve got to look after yourself; you’ve got to keep well... good food, good rest, good practice. Don’t overdo it.”

Pleased with the feedback and the progress with the regular attendees of his class, David pledged to continue the online Saturday classes after the “new normal” returns in Wales. We would still have our two face-to-face sessions in the usual venues, but we would also have a third, online class with the helpful video recordings. The school was growing in our town, with new students indicating interest in joining the online sessions, and one lady from the United States joining us on Zoom despite a five-hour time difference. She even attended several Saturday morning session at 10 a.m. GTM (her 5 a.m.)! Beaming Sandra gave her an “A+ for dedication!” David now had between 25 and 30 students “on the books”, but was concerned about large numbers in an online class: “I wouldn’t want something like 30 people.” He said in hesitation – as concerned with the quality of tuition as always. He closed the class with a personal reflection on our lineage: “It feels like I’m stepping back in time...it’s so deep. It’s not changed for a Western appetite. It’s like stepping back in time. I feel as if I am practising something that the Yang family practised 200 years ago.” This focus on reviving historical knowledge and imagining oneself in bygone years is also seen in historical European martial arts (HEMA).

#### *Films, fun and fitness in HEMA*

From 20<sup>th</sup> March 2020, all gyms and leisure centres had to close, and this included martial arts schools that often use these facilities. Social distancing from

people outside one’s household also prevented the common informal training between sparring partners and classmates that habitually meet up between their formal classes. As such, the only people who could officially work together in a physical manner were the ‘martial arts couples’ who lived together, such as my HEMA instructor Billy and his wife, Issie. Their beloved Blade Academy was quite possibly one of the last schools to close its doors in the UK – saluting goodbye in a photographed line up some two hours before the midnight lockdown regulations were enforced. Our Marshal, Billy Marshall, is named after his affectionate rendering of his medieval hero, the Norman-English knight William Marshal, who is often claimed to be “the power behind five kings.” Issie’s pseudonym is the modern form of Marshal’s astute and noble wife, Isabella (for an excellent biography of the man, his marriage and their accomplishments, see Ashbridge, 2015). Like the historical figures, Billy and Issie make a powerhouse couple, with Billy having the size, strength and skill of a formidable warrior and Issie the business knowhow and vision to drive the Academy to success. The Blade Academy teaches medieval longsword by following the teachings of the Italian fencing master Fiore di Liberi (c.1409) among some medieval German influences, which are deciphered from Billy’s readings of their surviving manuscripts. As Jaquet and Deluz (2018) have revealed in their experimental work, HEMA is essentially the reconstruction of lost embodied knowledge, unlike Asian martial arts like Taijiquan, which often claim an uninterrupted, although continually modified, lineage of such bodily knowhow. It operates as its own sub-culture where its typically childless adult practitioners in their 30s can form alternative lifestyles and subcultures (Jaquet, Tuillon and Eleftherios 2020) – which, from my ethnography to date, appear to be around historical knowledge, fun, fantasy and action, and spending an immense amount of disposable income on specialist equipment. One student and the group’s webmaster, Len, has ten swords hanging in his home office (the command centre from which he initiated our Zoom meetings), which increased from six blades at the start of the lockdown.

The Blade Academy was founded in September 2018 in a cosmopolitan city in Wales. Located in a busy, multicultural urban area, it attracts many students from different backgrounds, although the majority come from white working-class Welsh families and tend to be men in their 20s and 30s. With our style being an “Italian” one (from Italy at the time of the Holy Roman Empire), we have had three regular Italian students, two Polish men as well as some English people such as me. In early 2020, Billy and Issie

opened their second Chapter (the name for a branch school) in another historic town, which enabled them to reach new students and reinforce the learning of the more experienced members. Alongside the conventional classes, the Academy runs sparring days every month or so, seasonal gradings as well as outdoor skirmishes near historic sites. There are also more theoretical classes and social events, including boardgame sessions. One of the first events developed online was a Dune and Dragons night on Sunday evenings, which was hosted by our aforementioned website manager and classmate, the tech specialist, Len.

Initially, after sharing the image of the devoted students saluting to their left breast just before the lockdown, Billy sent an understandably melancholy message through the Academy's Facebook group to explain how the Blade Academy and their friends in the School of Medieval Fencing had formed "the COVID-19 alliance" over the last week weeks, which had enabled students from both institutions to train in one other's school. He had also posted an image of the dozen students who had attended the final session in the local leisure centre – all lined up in their black uniforms. However, they could no longer meet up to cross swords. Some days later, students set up a Messenger chat forum called "Posta di Corona", jokingly named after one of the key defensive postures taken in Fiore's manuscript and fencing style, which means "the Crown Guard." This was not a forum about the actual technique (which is a relatively simple block to cover one's centre), but an open, virtual space for students to come up with ideas, raise questions and suggest specialist equipment that other students and newcomers could order during the lockdown. A week later, students suggested the idea of a movie night in which we could all watch a film together on Netflix (to stream the film) and Zoom (for a live discussion). "Bad films" were deliberately selected, as Billy explained in relation to one of his favourite actors, Liam Neeson: "We're not going to watch Oscar Schindler [of *Schindler's List* fame] – otherwise we wouldn't be able to laugh about it." For that reason, poor action films were selected for us to unmute our respective microphones to joke about the plot, the poor choreography and logic of the movie. However, Billy was always keen to discuss the virile masculinity of tall and muscular actors that often featured in the films. The films selected were normally American, with some having swords in them, to the delight, disgust (and sometimes amusement) of many of the students expressing comments over Zoom such as: "Now that's what I call a sword!" "There's swords in this film, Templar John [a Knights Templar re-enactor and HEMA

practitioner]!" and "That's the fifth sword he's [the actor] lost in this film!"

Some weeks later, Billy felt comfortable to teach a HEMA class through Zoom. Friday nights were the best for all of us, so we agreed on a time to facilitate new students who were working shifts as key workers. With the summer weather improving, we were able to train in our gardens, patios and even car parks in the case of Billy and Issie, who had the open space to experiment with different camera angles. We muted the microphone after the ten-minute welcoming chat while other members joined the Zoom chatroom. My neighbours seemed fascinated by my sword fighting techniques, with two youngsters spying on my training session from their trampoline. It must have changed their minds about the seemingly reserved resident of this quiet, suburban zone of the city!

One of the Academy's core members is Adam, a budding stuntman in his 20s with experience in gymnastics, parkour and Ninjutsu. Following the lockdown, he wished to accompany his fellow fitness enthusiast Angelo to horse riding classes, which are advocated for stunt workers in the film industry. Billy invited Adam to lead specialist fitness classes for the Academy. The fittest of us all by far, Adam wrote to the Facebook group to offer us a fitness training session directly after the regular HEMA class on Fridays. He admitted to feeling a drop in his personal fitness levels, so he offered to coordinate a high intensity interval training (HIIT) workout for us. This form of training is increasingly popular in the fitness industry and among YouTube viewers, and has even been used by the British celebrity trainer and lifestyle guru, Joe Wicks, in place of traditional physical education lessons in the United Kingdom (Malcolm and Veijia, 2020). From his "Body Coach" YouTube platform, Wicks has developed a series of specialist sessions tailored for children. In our case in the Blade Academy, our inspirational instructor and body coach was the athletic Adam. Using his phone and iPad in the patio of his partner's house in a sleepy commuter town, Adam led us through a series of whole-body physical exercises, including variations of the classic press-up and sit-up. He had an exercise mat to work from, as well as a slight wall for decline push-ups and core exercises. In his lounge, 40-something Tom Edwards of the new Chapter of the Academy, worked out with his wife, who had started to train with us online, and even their children joined in at one point. "It's a whole family workout in the Edwards household!" Joked Adam.

Students did pick up injuries, not from the actual training with the Academy, but from a variety of external sources, such as Adam moving a heavy flow-

erpot with poor technique, and our webmaster Len stubbing his toe. Some weeks into the HIIT workouts, we had moved to specialist training sessions for the abdomen. When Adam was busy with family matters, Billy took us through a gruelling session that formed part of his own gruelling abs workout. He had even gone through it that very morning, and was keen to do more for his washboard stomach. Once Adam returned, we had a workout for the legs only, which required the use of home apparatus such as stairs or books (for the calf raises) and a seat or sofa (for the hip raises). We went for three rounds, but with only four students being able to train that evening due to injuries, we were paired up in a virtual manner. When Angelo had finished his set, he called me to stop my alternative exercise of sit ups. My left thigh had started to cramp up, but I still managed to complete some of the core exercises. Adam had to leave us to ring a friend who was in hospital, so Billy took over the cool down with our familiar stretches from our normal classes. This was our “new normal” – virtual training, partner interactions and humour coupled with the customary movements and opening and closing rituals of a typical class in the Academy. With the four students training, Billy quipped: “Eventually, all of us will feign injuries until it’s only George training on his own. We will get to watch him suffer.” I returned the joke, saying that it would be sweet revenge for my misbehaviour during our beloved unit combat. “That’ll learn him!” Shaun called, finishing off the shared joke. In fact, several weeks after this joke, it was only me, Billy and Issie who were fit enough to do the workout. Billy cancelled the class!

During the months of June, Billy had asked my partner, Barbara, if she would be willing to lead the group through some meditation exercises as she had done in a conference on Martial Arts and Healthy Communities that I had organised at my university. Barbara is a qualified mindfulness facilitator and is currently researching meditative practices in her native Mexico. After practising the basic ‘body scan’ with me as her student, she felt comfortable to direct some exercises for the group on a Tuesday night – a time that was agreed upon through the private Facebook group. We had a direct Messenger video call with Billy to learn more about his motivations for initiating this new training session, and there we learned that there were two rationales for meditating: 1) To enhance the students’ overall mental wellbeing during the workout and 2) to cultivate a sense of calm for martial arts purposes, as the HEMA manuscripts such as those of Fiore had nothing to say on mental preparation. Barbara felt more comfortable to begin with the former objective, as she does not have a martial arts back-

ground. Billy was therefore working around some of the limitations of the existing literature on HEMA, which tended to be almost entirely technical. Instead, Billy cited martial arts icon Miyamoto Musashi, who had written a treatise on the technical, tactical and mental aspects of warfare and duelling in *The Book of Five Rings* (Musashi 2002). He proudly explained that he had such texts for almost half of his 32 years of life. So despite our being a HEMA group, there was still a reverence for some aspects of Eastern martial arts and Asian meditative traditions. Billy summarised the potential transformative benefits of these practices for the group: “Thanks to Adam, we’re going to come out of this fit. Hopefully with the meditation, we can come out this feeling well and happy with the world.”

Nevertheless, Billy stressed the nature of historical *European* martial arts in our second tactics night, emphasizing the work “European” as such. With an injury to his hip from running on concrete, we suggested that Billy develop a theoretical class while he recovered. Before COVID-19 was part of public discourse, we had already experienced an excellent tactics night to discuss field battles. Now it was our turn to learn about siege warfare. Billy had prepared an impressive PowerPoint presentation that drew entirely on photographs and their own images and diagrams to take us through the fundamentals of fortifications and how to defend and overcome them. It started with a stunning image of a medieval Italian town with many towers. As Billy and Issie had lived in Italy for four years, Billy could draw on their extensive knowledge of the Romans and other groups; they could link this to Britain and in particular, their native Wales, including sites such as Caerleon – an old Roman fort, and Edwards I’s ring of castles in North Wales – something Alfie once labelled “palaces of repression.” One of our Italian students, Angelo, often entered the discussion with some support for their historical points and Latin etymology. Together, the teachers and students developed a highly informative, creative and sometimes funny lecture that enabled us to feel connected to European fortifications and military history. Billy even created his own 2D charts of how a barbarian hoard (symbolised by an image of Mel Gibson in *Braveheart*) could tunnel below a castle, which could be countered by an “undermine.” We even learned the military original of this verb in the English language.

As social historian Johnes (2019) has pointed out, Wales is arguably England’s first colony, and it derives its name and identity from this often uneasy relationship. In modern times, Wales has enjoyed more autonomy from its old coloniser, England, and this extends to the Welsh Government’s localised controls over the Coronavirus regulations. Indeed, the Welsh

Government, alongside its Scottish colleagues, has criticized the UK Government's decisions to open up international travel the summer. Moreover, while pubs in England are reopened, Wales still had restrictions for travel to a 5-mile radius. Billy has been understandably disappointed that he cannot reopen the two Chapters of the Academy, but this has not stopped him from planning to set up a hygienic environment that follows all expectations of a post-pandemic martial arts class. Issie announced a bulk order of black face masks bearing the Academy's logo, which came at a good price of two masks for £6. These were ready weeks in advance of the grand reopening in the two leisure centres.

### Conclusions: Coming in and out of the lockdown

This article has sought to share recent and ongoing developments in online pedagogy during the COVID-19 by using two case studies of British martial arts schools. These case studies of Taijiquan and HEMA have offered examples of the diverse responses from instructors, students and the wider community supporting the schools in order to sustain their collective cultivation of health and skill and sense of deep community and belonging. It is hoped that this article is not just timely but also practical in the sense that it can be used by other researchers, martial arts instructors and leaders of other forms of physical culture during the ongoing global crisis that we find ourselves within. Taking a pragmatic approach, I have attempted to delve into the emerging reactions to the crisis across the four months of data collection while considering themes of habit, crisis and creativity inspired by Shilling (2008, 2019) and shared cultivation (Jennings 2010). It connects with work on meaning in sport to show how meaningful martial arts are for its practitioners, who go to various creative means to continue their discussions, practice, teaching and sense of comradeship on a weekly basis.

The thematic analysis was not revealed in this particular article, as I instead opted for a storytelling approach. Numerous themes overlapped the two schools, such as the use of light humour and "banter" between the teachers and their students as well as the use of student feedback in order to plan for the future events, such as what will now be a longstanding online class on Saturdays for the Taijiquan association. The shared aspect of martial arts discourse is noteworthy, as it shows how these systems, at least in these particular British contexts, are not totally hierarchical, patriarchal or restrictive as many outsid-

ers might believe. Nor are they particularly individual or solitary endeavours as the popular imagination might suggest. Each student brings with them a specific way of looking at the world, and knowledge of important things such as information technology (IT). This can be seen in the hard work done by Len, the webmaster of the Blade Academy, who has access to the technology and possesses the IT know-how that his marshal, Billy, does not. The varied use of technology for different reasons (Netflix for film nights or Messenger for general discussions) might be useful for other practitioner-researchers in the martial arts when dealing with future outbreaks of infectious disease or forms of natural disaster impeding the direct bodily connection that martial arts rely on. They may choose to share their good practices of video platforms such as YouTube and Vimeo or perhaps create a podcast about martial arts under restrictive circumstances – something that is happening in martial arts studies as an academic enterprise ([https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLYwv\\_DP-EcGaB2h\\_dPop3ozM8r2Mz-jSWX](https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLYwv_DP-EcGaB2h_dPop3ozM8r2Mz-jSWX)) as well as physical activity research networks (<https://www.podbean.com/podcast-detail/pb-f7ugm-58cd01/Physical%20Activity%20Researcher>).

This article has contributed to knowledge on online martial arts pedagogies as well as ethnographies of the social aspects of martial arts under COVID-19. Although it directly contributes to another project in martial arts studies, its findings on creative pedagogy, communal effort and specialist contributions from within institutions could be transferred to other sporting and physical cultural contexts. Yoga classes online, football penalty kick practice and stationary bicycle training are all examples of the physical dimensions of training that might continue thanks to digital technology. Meanwhile, the sociability can continue with film and documentary nights and blended events drawing on short videos and breakout rooms, as the Blade Academy are currently planning for their strategy nights. I encourage researchers to continue to heed the words of Parnell et al. (2020) and the first issue of *Sociología del Deporte* in order to continue to come up with solutions to foster solidarity, encourage a healthy lifestyle and support one another in times of isolation and loneliness – especially as many countries around the world may enter a second lockdown with the second wave being imminent if not already upon us.

Due to the rapid data collection, analysis and write-up to delve into this pressing theme, there are inevitable limitations of this article, which is a snapshot of two cases in a specific time (only four months of what was might be the first lockdown) and place (the UK). This article also makes use of some early

publications on COVID-19, while there will be a greater depth of literature to draw upon in the coming months. Beyond the confines of the pandemic, future research might delve into the relationships between the body, text and knowledge, and ideas from classic texts (such as HEMA fight books and Chinese medical treatise) was particularly important in HEMA and Taijiquan. A noteworthy sociological theme is the use of historical role models and masculinity in the martial arts – drawing on romantic ideals of warrior archetypes for the knights and sages of the contemporary age. Moreover, as indicated in the data, a decolonial perspective on local and global martial arts would help understand how history is being reimagined through the research and practice of martial arts aficionados from a critical perspective. This would also add to the questioning of Western rationale science as the key form of knowledge in society, as in medical theory, which is increasingly being disputed by the Taijiquan group. All of these themes might enable the continued building of theory in the burgeoning academic (yet highly practical) field of martial arts studies. I hope this article has made a small contribution to help us understand the creative and pragmatic nature of martial arts pedagogy at a time where the relationships between sport, health and society are more prescient than ever.

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# The Sociology of Sport in Germany: Development and Recent Trends

## *La Sociología del Deporte en Alemania: Avances y Tendencias de Investigación*

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### Key words

- Sociology of Sport
- Germany
- History of Sport Science
- Sociological Theory
- Research Trend

### Palabras clave

- *Sociología del deporte*
- *Alemania*
- *Historia de las Ciencias del Deporte*
- *Teoría Sociológica*
- *Tendencias de Investigación*

### Abstract

As a reply to a contribution informing about the situation in Spanish sociology of sport (Sánchez-García, Moscoso-Sánchez and Piedra 2020), we give an overview on the development and recent trends of the sociology of sport in Germany. We start with a historical account of its institutionalization, and then follow up with an overview of established research topics and theoretical perspectives. For that, we draw on established German textbooks and introductions to the sociology of sport. Afterwards, regarding more recent trends, we focus on the development of the journal "Sport und Gesellschaft – Sport and Society". Finally, we describe how the sociology of sport within German sociology relates to the sociology of sport within sport sciences. We conclude our contribution by comparing developments in Spain and Germany, in order to identify similar international challenges for the sociology of sports and its journals.

### Resumen

Como respuesta al artículo sobre la situación de la sociología del deporte española (Sánchez-García, Moscoso-Sánchez y Piedra 2020), damos una visión general del desarrollo y tendencias recientes de la sociología del deporte en Alemania. Comenzamos con un relato histórico de su institucionalización para continuar con una descripción general de los temas de investigación establecidos y las perspectivas teóricas. Para ello, nos basamos en libros de texto alemanes consagrados y en introducciones a la sociología del deporte. Posteriormente, en relación con las tendencias más recientes, nos centramos en el desarrollo de la revista "Sport und Gesellschaft - Sport and Society". Finalmente, describimos cómo la sociología del deporte dentro de la sociología alemana se relaciona con la sociología del deporte dentro de las ciencias del deporte. Concluimos nuestra contribución comparando los desarrollos en España y Alemania, con el fin de identificar desafíos internacionales similares para la sociología del deporte y sus revistas.

## 1.- Development: Historical Origins and Institutionalization

The development of sociology of sports in Germany has already been described in several introductory textbooks (Heinemann 2007, 39-45; Emrich, Gassmann and Klein 2020), most extensively by Bette (2010). While these overviews separate the development into several stages, it seems important to emphasize that there are continuous strands, too, which have been forming the field of research over several – if not all – periods.

While some of the Anglo-American precursors of sociology, e.g. Spencer or Veblen, had explicitly discussed sports, early German sociologists such as Georg Simmel, Max Weber or Karl Mannheim touched on the topic only marginally. Thus, the discourse on sport and games in early 20th century consisted of contemplations by few sportsmen, philosophers, or journalists, and remained largely unsystematic (Bette 2010, 39-46). First attempts of specialization were undertaken by Heinz Risse (1921), and successively by few other works in the 1930s, focusing socio-historical (e.g. Kloeren 1935) as well as more contemporary developments (Bette 2010, 46-49). By that time, more and more German people were getting access to sports, as club members as well as spectators, and English 'Sport' was about to replace 'Turnen' as dominant physical culture (Eisenberg 1999). Against this background, the authors of the early writings developed an ambiguous perspective on sport and its place in modern society. On the one hand, sports were considered as a potential cure to 'intellectualism' and other supposedly 'degenerating' tendencies of modern society in general, and of German 'culture' in particular (see also Bette (2010, 24-27) on Risse). On the other hand, authors warned that sport would be endangered by a current crisis, caused by presumed aberrations such as professionalization and bureaucratization.

When sociology was, after the Nazi era, (re-)established at universities in (West) Germany, the former discussion was taken up again – but now with more systematic theoretical frameworks, which sociologists tried to elaborate further by applying them to sports (Heinemann 2007, 39-44). The crucial question at stake still was: which function does sport have in modern (or, depending on the theoretical perspective: industrialist, capitalist, civilized, etc.) society? (Emrich, Gassmann and Klein 2020, 9-10). Helmuth Plessner (1956) explained the increasing fascination for sport mostly with two aspects: In industrial society, with its dominance of machinery (in a technical *and* social sense), sport would let the human body come to its

own right, and it would allow for recognition of the – otherwise anonymous – individual and its performances (see also Schürmann 2020). However, other scholars considered such compensations as deceptive. Already in 1941, Adorno had argued: "Modern sport, one might say, attempts to restore to the body a part of the functions it has been deprived of through the machine. This attempt, however, is in order to train men the more inexorably to serve the machine. Sport virtually transforms the body itself into a kind of machine." (Adorno 1941, 395) And when the advocates of sport wanted to rehabilitate it – after it had been a useful and easy-to-handle tool for the Nazi regime – as a joyful, ludic activity for its own sake, this was countered by disciples of the Frankfurt School, which had then become prominent in post-war Germany. The 'Sportkritik' argued that leisure and sport would only serve the demands of work (Habermas 1958), that sport itself would increasingly become work-like (Rigauer 1969), and that it would generally reproduce capitalist ideology (Vinnai 1972). The proponents of sport insisted that it was nonetheless attracting many people, because it would realize key principles of industrial society – rewards for performance in a fair competition with equal opportunities – (Lenk 1972), maybe even better than industrial society itself (von Krockow 1972).

While this controversy dominated the academic as well as political debates on sports throughout the 1970s, and for quite some time afterwards (see Meier, Haut and Ruin 2016), also other theoretical perspectives and topics had been introduced from the 1960s on. Especially Günter Lüschen helped connecting Germany with the international sociology of sport (Bette and Rütten 2015). Contributions by scholars such as John Loy, Alan Ingham, or Gregory P. Stone were successively made accessible to the academic community in Germany (Lüschen 1966; Hammerich and Heinemann 1975; Lüschen and Weis 1976, the latter also published in Spanish), and helped to establish sport as a serious sociological subject. In particular the works of Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning (Elias and Dunning 2008; Haut et al. 2018) received considerable attention and brought socio-historical aspects of sports to the forefront, what is also reflected in other approaches by Eichberg (1973) or Hopf (1979).

However, the institutional establishment of German sociology of sports took not place within sociology, but within sports science. In the light of the 'sporting arms race' with the GDR, and the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich to come, the FRG was interested in generating scientific knowledge as well as career opportunities for elite athletes (Bette 2010, 59-63). From 1970 on, chairs and departments for sport science

were established, research funding was provided via the 'Federal Institute of Sport Science' (BISp), the journal 'Sportwissenschaft' (today the 'German Journal of Exercise and Sports Research') was founded, and the German Sports University in Cologne was granted the right to award higher academic degrees (PhD and Habilitation) in the new discipline. Sport students' curricula then also included sociological seminars. Successively the first professors for the sociology of sport were appointed – all of them still trained sociologists and philosophers, not sports scientists: Bero Rigauer in Oldenburg (1975), Gunter Gebauer at the FU Berlin (1978), Volker Rittner at the German Sports University in Cologne (1979) (Bette 2010, 52-53). The first textbooks introducing the discipline were published (Grieswelle 1978; Heinemann 1980; Rigauer 1982), and a section for sports sociology was funded within the German Association of Sport Science (dvs) in 1983.

According to Bette (2010, 53-55), German sociology of sport has then, since the late 1980s, entered a stage of growth and diversification, with more topics, theoretical perspectives and methodological approaches. Heinemann (2007, 42-45) points to signs of differentiation already in the 1970s, i.e. from the very beginnings of institutionalization of the discipline. Both agree, however, about the major strands of this increasingly diversified research: Scholars closer to general sociology kept discussing sports' function in society, or suggested to consider sport from the perspective of a sociology of the body (Rittner 1974; Klein 1984; Bette 1989; via Gugutzer 2004; up to Gugutzer 2017). Scholars closer to sport sciences focused on organized sport in a narrower sense, addressing more 'practical' problems of German sport associations and clubs (Schlagenhauf 1977; Winkler 1988; via Emrich, Pitsch and Papathanassiou 2001; up to Thieme 2017a). This more 'applied' research often promises third-party funding by the sport organizations involved, but it also often comes with strong competition between sociology and other sub-disciplines of sports sciences. For instance, violence (Pilz 1982), social problems (Klein 1989), or social inequalities (Hartmann-Tews 1996; Haut 2020) are not only topics for the sociology of sport, but also for sport pedagogy. Recreational sport and physical activity are addressed by sport psychology or public health studies, too, and analyses of elite sport are often carried out from economic or sport management perspectives nowadays (Emrich, Gassmann and Klein 2020, 15). Such an intersection of social scientific disciplines is also apparent in the journal *Sport und Gesellschaft* – Sport and Society: certainly, its launch in 2004 – together with the founding of the *European Journal for Sport and*

*Society* – can be considered as a further step to greater autonomy and establishment of the sociology of sport (Bette 2010, 55; Heinemann 2007, 44). However, it must be mentioned that *Sport und Gesellschaft* is not only a journal for sociology of sport, but for social sciences in a wider sense, explicitly naming "history", "philosophy", and "economy" in its subtitle.

Thus, it is not easy to estimate the current standing of German sociology of sport, especially in relation to other social-scientific perspectives. In 2010, Bette counted 12 full professors for sociology of sport (all of them in sports sciences institutes, none in a sociology department). In 2014, Dessauer et al. (2014) identified only 6 professors for sociology of sport – but another 26 who were denominated 'social sciences of sport', 'sport and society', 'sociology and economy of sport' or similar. Also for 2014, Emrich and Thieme (2017) compared the numbers of publications from different sub-disciplines of German sport sciences, and found a clear dominance for sports medicine (1817 publications) and exercise research (1379), followed by pedagogy (597), psychology (499), sociology (494), history (428), politics (293), economy (201), and sport management (192). Thus, sociology seems of minor relevance. But if we don't draw strict boundaries to history, politics or economy, the social sciences of sport in a broader sense seem rather strong, and the sociology of sport still is one of its leading perspectives.

## 2.- Established research topics, questions and theory perspectives

As a result of these historic developments, today, specific ways of sport-sociological thinking are so well established within German sports sciences that they are essentially canonized. Most prominently, this means there are research topics, questions, and theory perspectives that recur frequently and also enjoy a heightened level of unquestioned legitimacy within the sport-sociological field. To describe these, we summarize the discussions in German textbooks and introductions to the sociology of sport (Heinemann 2007; Weis and Gugutzer 2008; Bette 2010; Thiel, Seiberth and Mayer 2013; Güllich and Krüger 2020).

### 2.1.- Research topics and questions

All commentators of the German textbooks and introductions to the sociology of sport agree that German sociology of sport is concerned with sport's meaning in (or its function for) society in general,

and how it is changing (or not) in line with (or different from) other developments. Although debates have never been as harsh again as in the 1970s (see above), changing sport culture and its socio-theoretical interpretation have continuously been relevant topics (e.g. Cachay and Thiel 2000; Gebauer et al. 2004; Schürmann et al. 2016). Apparently, the same can be said of sport organisations: research on clubs and associations, on their finances and members, voluntary work and professionalization etc. were central right from the beginnings of the institutionalization of German sociology of sport and have been carried on and developed further ever since (e.g. Schlagenhauf 1977; Winkler 1988; Emrich, Pitsch and Papathanassiou 2001; Braun 2011; Breuer and Feiler 2019). The body has traditionally been a topic somewhat closer to sociologists than to sports scientists, but it is also considered as a central and continuously addressed issue (Rittner 1974; M.Klein 1984; Bette 1989; Gugutzer 2004; 2017) in all introductions to sociology of sport. Furthermore there has always been an interest in the factors enabling or hindering sport participation and physical activity, on the one hand with a focus on processes of socialization to and within sports (e.g. Becker 1982; Brinkhoff 1998; Burrmann 2020), on the other hand with a focus on how social inequalities affect the access to sport activities (e.g. Voigt 1978; Hartmann-Tews 1996; Nagel 2003; Haut 2011). Finally, deviant behavior and social problems (e.g. Pilz 1982; Klein 1989; Bette and Schimank 1995) in sports are considered as permanently relevant fields of research.

Which other topics are considered most relevant depends, of course, on each scholar's own perspective. Research on deviant behavior, for instance, can be further distinguished into literature on violence, doping, or corruption (Frenger and Pitsch 2020). Colleagues who are rather interested in current developments of sport and their sociological interpretation, differentiate the respective field of research according to societal processes, e.g. globalization, the influence of media or technique (digitalization), trends towards risky or extreme sports, etc (see respective chapters in Weis and Gugutzer 2008; Alkemeyer, Brümmer and Janetzko 2020). Those who are more concerned with organizations also specify their field further, e.g. focus elite sport or voluntary sport clubs, and then also tend to focus specific actors within these organizations, e.g. athletes, coaches, or referees (Emrich, Gassmann and Klein 2020). Research on social inequalities, finally, seems to give gender (Sobiech and Günther 2017) and migration (Mutz 2012) greatest attention, while age or disability are not (yet) recognized as much, and interest in class seems to have declined (Nobis

and Albert 2018). Despite the broad variety, there are also some topics which seem present in recent international discussions (Giulianotti 2015), but which are not yet recognized as crucial in the German standard literature, e.g. sport mega events, environment, nationalism, or sport for development.

## 2.2.- Theory Perspectives

Apart from criticizing a general lack of theoretical reflection in sociology of sports, Rigauer (2008) distinguishes three paradigmatic perspectives, in line with rather common classifications: one focusing actors first, structures second (e.g. rational choice); one focusing (communicative) structures first, actors second (e.g. systems theory); and an intermediate one, trying to address the structuration of agency or agency within structures (e.g. figurational and practice theory). Bette (2010, 135-140), on the other hand, argues that the three general levels of research that Niklas Luhmann prominently described as relevant in sociology are also the three levels sport sociological research should address: interaction, organization, and society.

More specifically, Heinemann (2007, 26-38) names as central approaches: individualistic theories, inspired either by economic paradigms (rational choice), or symbolic interactionism; systems theory (Luhmann), and figurational theory (Elias). Bette (2010, 140-142) emphasizes the dominance of systems theory in German sport studies, and confirms the relevance of the Eliasian approach, too. Further he mentions approaches inspired by Bourdieu or cultural studies to the list of important paradigms. Thiel, Seiberth, and Mayer (2013, 16-24) refer to systems theory, action theory, figurational theory, and "cultural/practice theory" including not only Bourdieu, but also Foucault. Furthermore Emrich, Gassmann, and Klein (2020, 7) name functionalist and structuration theory as relevant perspectives.

Of the "major theories and approaches" presented in Giulianotti's international textbook (2015), Luhmann's systems theory (still) seems dominant in German sociology of sports, other functionalist perspectives do not matter. Also actor-centred approaches (both rational-economic and interpretive-sociological) are considered more important. Elias and Bourdieu are frequently mentioned, while (physical) cultural studies or poststructuralist perspectives are rather exceptional. Since the 1970s, marxist or neo-marxist approaches seem to have vanished, postcolonial theory is rather unknown. Also other 'critical' perspectives that Weiß and Norden

(2013, 19-23) refer to, such as feminist or conflict theories, are not considered as relevant in the German introductions to the sociology of sport.

As described above already, sociology of sports cannot always be clearly demarcated from other social sciences, as it intersects with other disciplines, such as philosophy, history, law, psychology, economics, pedagogy, political science, geography, anthropology, and others. This is true for Germany as much as for other countries (Emrich, Gassmann and Klein 2020, 9; compare Marschik et al. 2009; Giulianotti 2015)

### 3.- Recent trends in the light of the journal "Sport und Gesellschaft"

To give an account of more recent trends in German sociology of sport, but also to provide a comparative case for "Sociología del Deporte", we firstly focus on developments of "Sport und Gesellschaft – Sport and Society". The journal was established in 2004 and has been publishing three issues per year since then. It is the official journal of the "Sektion Sportsoziologie" within the German Association of Sports Sciences and the only German journal for "sociology, philosophy, economy, and history of sports", as stated in the subtitle. Apart from main research articles, which undergo a double-blind peer review, the journal also includes book reviews, conference reports, and other forms of contributions, such as comments on developments in the profession or in politics of sport. Most contributions are in German language, but English submissions are welcome as well. (<https://www.degruyter.com/view/journals/sug/sug-overview.xml>; rev. 25/09/2020)

In the first few years after the launch, the journal published a few more contributions, but since then a typical issue has three main articles, a book review, and one or two reports or comments. Especially the number of book reviews was higher until 2010, and has clearly decreased since then, while other forms of contribution kept rather stable.

Regarding the disciplines involved, the journal had a sociological focus from the very beginning. Throughout the years, and still today, more than half of the main articles apply a sociological perspective. Clearly, the second important discipline (in terms of numbers) in "Sport und Gesellschaft" is the economy of sport, adding up for about twenty per cent of the articles published. There were even more economic papers published in the 2000s, in the last years it have been only two per year – probably due to the launch of "Sciamus", the German journal on sport and man-

agement, in 2010. Also political science and history of sport had been somewhat more prominent in the early years of "Sport und Gesellschaft", during the last years about one article per year can be ascribed to each of these disciplines. Finally, few contributions – maybe one paper in two years – have come from sports philosophy, pedagogy or psychology.

The topics and fields of research covered in "Sport und Gesellschaft" still fit, by and large, in the categories that were identified in the German textbooks and introductions to the sociology of sport (see above): Continuously, a majority of the articles are concerned with aspects of organization. Within this field, problems of voluntary sport clubs, such as recruiting members and volunteers, are being addressed constantly (e.g. Thieme 2017b), from both sociological and economic perspectives. The regulation and financing of elite sports was a more prominent topic in the early years of the journal (e.g. Meier 2004), but its relevance has somewhat declined more recently – probably because such topics are nowadays also discussed in journals with a more specific focus on sport management. Changing sports culture and its interconnectedness with general processes of social change (e.g. globalization, individualization, digitalization etc.) has drawn ongoing attention in the journal, too. Accordingly, there has also been a continuous interest in social theories, but in a specific manner: Papers in "Sport und Gesellschaft" frequently test mid-range theories for sport as an exemplary case (e.g. Flatau, Pitsch and Emrich 2012). But a genuine focus on social theory, like in the 1970s discussion on sport and capitalism, are rather seldom (e.g. Böckelmann, Johnen and Schürmann 2013). Another interesting observation in this respect is that scholars closer to sociology (than sports sciences) have devoted less attention to the body, which has not vanished as a topic but was more frequently addressed in the first years of "Sport und Gesellschaft", but – in line with general sociology – rather turned to practices and interaction (e.g. Alkemeyer and Michaeler 2013; Müller 2014). Finally, as a last major field of research, many scholars continuously published on sport participation and physical activity. These contributions often focus social inequalities regarding the participation of specific groups. Most frequently addressed are children and youth (e.g. Zander 2016) – often in connection with problems of socialization –, as well as migrants and their "integration" (e.g. Adler Zwahlen, Nagel and Schlesinger 2019). Ageing and gender issues (e.g. Sobiech and Hartung 2019), are prominent topics, too, while class seems to have lost scholarly interest (except Nobis and Albert 2018), and disability or sexual orientations haven't gained as much until recently

(Boehlke and Müller 2020). Of the other “traditional” topics in German sociology of sport, spectators and fans are not most, but continuously researched (e.g. Fürtjes 2013), while papers on violence and doping are rather scarce. Only if subsumed, together with sexual abuse or unfairness, broadly as deviant behavior, the field of research is still relevant. Articles on sport and (social) media appear not too often, but regularly (e.g. Ludwig and Oelrichs 2020). Some trendy topics of the international research agenda, such as sport mega events and national identity (e.g. Emrich et al 2015) have been addressed recently, but others such as environmental issues or sport for development have not entered “Sport und Gesellschaft” yet.

Regarding the theory perspectives, it is hard to identify major trends in the journal, as topics and approaches have multiplied and diversified. Certainly, Luhmann’s systems theory still is one of the most prominent perspectives. Also, papers drawing on organisational theories do appear frequently, but not frequently enough to differentiate further between the specific approaches (neo-institutionalism etc.). Bourdieu is still frequently referred to – especially when scholars research and discuss social inequalities in sport participation –, while Elias’s figurational theory is mentioned seldom. Discourse theory and approaches of gender studies seem to have gained somewhat greater relevance. Finally, there is an obvious trend towards theories of practices and interactions. This, as we will show in the following chapter, is also one of the key overlaps with the research on sport that happens in German sociology.

#### 4.- Sport in German Sociology

Above, we described how the institutional establishment of German sociology of sports did not take place within sociology but within sports sciences, and how this prominently reflects in that full professors for sociology of sport are established at sports sciences institutes and not in sociology departments. However, this is not to say that German sociology does not conduct research on sports: instead, it addresses sport as a research topic only whenever the expected research results promise insight into other areas of sociological research. Usually, that is the case when the research results allow advancing and developing sociological theory, be it, e.g., regarding the theory of world society (Stichweh 2013; Werron 2010), or regarding how sports affect gender constructions (Müller 2016).

In this chapter, we will delineate the research of sport in German sociology. To do this, we will first de-

scribe the difference in the use of theory between the research of sport in German sociology and the sociological research of sport in German sports science. Then we will show which are the thematic priorities in the sociological research of sport in German sociology. And finally, we will describe new methodological developments and how these influence the sociology of sport.

#### 4.1.- The two sport-sociological theory cultures: The sociological research of sport in German sociology and in German sports science

Inasmuch as German sociology addresses sport as a research topic only whenever the expected research results promise advancing and developing general sociological theory, it can be said that sociological research on sport in German sociology and in German sports science have fundamentally different ways of thinking (Fleck 1979 [1935]) with regard to the question of what role sociological theory should play in research. This difference can be described more precisely in analogy to the differentiation of cultural sociology and sociology of culture (Alexander 2003): Accordingly, German sports science tends to conduct research that can be characterized as the sociology of sport: The emphasis is on research in which sociological methods are used to describe specific sports phenomena. The results are especially relevant within sports and for other sports sciences. In German sociology, on the other hand, the research paradigmatic orientation of sport sociology is more prominent. It aims to obtain sociological findings in the field of sport that are also analytically relevant in general sociology and, above all, contribute to theory development.

These specifically different relations to theory and theory formation have repeatedly been discussed and evaluated regarding their respective epistemic strengths and weaknesses (see for an earlier discussion Rigauer 2003 or more recently Staack and Haut 2019). Most recently, Staack and Schwank (2021) conducted a literature review on sport-sociological work that aims to contribute to sociological theory development in general. They comparatively relate their assessment of the status quo in the year 2020 to the assessments other sociologists have published in reviews of sports sociological research over the past 15 years (Gugutzer 2005; Gugutzer 2009; Fahrner 2010; Reicher 2014). This comparison shows that there is a new development: Overall, the development of sociological theory is still rarely the central goal of sports sociological research. However, some recent sport-sociological publications from the field

of German sociology are characterized by complex intertwining of theory and empiricism and in doing so generate and develop sociological theory. Primarily, they develop middle-range theories, while work on social theory and on theory of society still hardly ever takes place.

#### 4.2.- Thematic focuses

If one looks at the thematic focuses of sports sociological research in German sociology today and relates them to previous developments, this shows that nowadays thematic focuses are often continuations of previous developments. One central continuity is that the majority of research today still focuses on analyses of competitive/professional sports (and less on analyses of amateur sports). These analyses of competitive/professional sports are sociologically very insightful, especially when being undertaken from a historically comparative perspective, as in competitive/professional sports, various socio-cultural phenomena are condensed in a special way (as, e.g. constructions of age, gender, attractiveness, performance evaluation, bodies, habitus, etc.). They thereby, for example, allow sociologists examining how, contrary to its popular description as hyperinclusive, sport evokes in its very own way the formation of differentiations and thus discriminations among people (e.g. Müller and Steuerwald 2017). Or, for another example, the analyses allow examining how competitive/professional sport is a specific socio-cultural arena in which constructions of what 'health' is are constantly being renegotiated (e.g. Scholl 2018).

Another continuity is that gender sociological questions are increasingly thematically central. Over the past 25 years, gender sociology has become increasingly institutionalized, as outlined in recent anthologies (e.g., Frohn et al. 2019). In the course of this progressive institutional establishment, the gender-sociological sociology of sport has diversified considerably. This can be seen both in the research questions posed and in the research paradigms followed: The research questions address, for example, various contexts of gender, sexuality and power or gendered bodies and the gendering of bodies (e.g. Sobiech and Günter 2017) but also the effects of institutional-organizational gender divisions in sport (e.g. Heckemeyer 2018) as well as gender discrimination resulting from the structural and cultural normative bisexuality of sport (*ibid.*, or, focusing on how to deal with transgressions of this binarity, Krämer 2020). The paradigmatic diversification, in turn, can be seen, among other things, in the fact that the gender-sociological

sociology of sport takes up new topics and, in addition, deals with them in new ways, especially questions of intersectionality and diversity in sport. This is manifested in particular in the fact that the analysis of practices of "human differentiation" (Hirschauer 2017) has become more central. Although there has been a long tradition of research in sports science on issues such as 'race' and 'disability', there is still a long way to go, as the research was always primarily aimed at integration and inclusion issues, and was therefore strongly pedagogically and politically motivated. The paradigmatic diversification now leads to these topics being addressed and negotiated in a genuinely sociological manner.

#### 4.3.- Methods and methodologies

The existing introductions and textbooks on German sociology of sport mentioned above do not pay special attention to the research methods applied, but assume that the approaches established in general sociology are used in sociology of sports, too (Thiel, Seiberth and Mayer 2013, 25-29). As we will show now, this assumption is insofar not completely correct as recently, there are methodological developments in German sociology, especially regarding qualitative methodology, that change how today sports as a research topic is addressed in German sociology. These developments all have in common that they specifically focus on the body as a key element in constituting social reality.

First, there are specific developments in sociological performance and movement analyses. This kind of sociological research often focuses on dance analyses, but not exclusively. It studies how performativities of movement practices not only permeate and influence sports and dance, but also everyday routines (Klein and Göbel 2017)

Second, a variety of ethnographic approaches has established itself. These ethnographic approaches predominantly take up micro-sociological perspectives and from here tackle issues of sociological theory, mostly with a focus on interactionist sociological theory. Addressed research questions are, for example, how bodily knowledge is taught and acquired (Schindler 2011), how practices of knowing about and knowing with the body change over time (Schmidt 2015) or how bodily authenticity and gender authenticity are practically (co-)constructed (Staack 2019a; 2019b; 2019c). The most popular of these new ethnographic approaches is probably the praxeographic approach, which is a form of ethnography that focuses specifically on analyses of practices, often focus-



ing on coordinative practices or practices of subjectivation (Brümmer 2018; Alkemeyer 2013).

Thirdly, there are methodical developments that somehow transcend ethnographic interaction analysis. One of them is the neo-phenomenological sociology, which has a unique focus on the lived body. The developers of this theory often use the sport as an empirical example (Gugutzer 2015). The empirically most elaborated methodical development somehow transcending ethnographic interaction analysis is possibly the sociological analysis of sports that bases on ethnomethodology, videography and conversational analysis (e.g., Meyer and von Wedelstaedt 2017). And last but not least, the Luhmannian systems theory is fruitfully connected to qualitative sports sociology as well, and with this theoretically elaborated approach transcends ethnographic interaction analysis (Heck 2019).

## 5.- Conclusion

Comparing the development of German and Spanish sociology of sport (according to Sanchez et al. 2020), similarities seem more apparent than differences: In both countries, philosophers and early sociologists started thinking about sports at the beginning of 20th century, but an institutionalization and systematization of sociology of sports had to wait until about 1970. Also in both countries, these processes were intertwined with a growing importance of sport/physical education at schools, and thus a growing need for teacher training in sport science as an academic subject. And in both cases, this development came together with campaigns promoting sport activities for wider parts of the population ("Sport for All") in the 1970s. However, to our impression it seems that German sports policy – and thus also research in the sociology of sports – focused on the role of organized clubs as providers of sport, while in Spain a bit more attention seems to have been devoted to informal sports as well. For instance, Spanish colleagues report about a general Survey on Sports Habits which has been carried out repeatedly since 1980; in Germany, a detailed nationwide survey on the activities of the population was never conducted – while research on problems of organized clubs and associations has been funded extensively throughout the years (most recently Breuer and Feiler 2019). This may also be intertwined with another, temporal difference: the support of research on elite sports in connection with hosting the Olympic Games. As described earlier, the competition with the GDR led to increasing political and financial support of sport sci-

ence, starting in the advent of Munich 1972. Although sociology of sport was not the discipline with the largest funding, it certainly benefited considerably from the upgrading of sport science. This boost of sports science and sociology of sport through public interest in the Olympics can be found in Spain as well, but it came about with the 1992 Games in Barcelona. That may fit with the notion of our Spanish colleagues that the consolidation and differentiation of the discipline took place in the last 20 years or so, while similar processes in German sociology of sport appeared one or two decades earlier.

Regarding the topics and theoretical perspectives, it seems difficult to classify and compare the growing and increasingly diversified field of research in both countries. However, again similarities are easier to identify than differences: The changes of sport and its meaning in society, physical activity and social inequalities, social problems and deviant behavior, have been equally addressed in Germany and Spain. Increasing interest in gender studies, but also in ethnography and new (informal) sport cultures and identities can also be found in both countries. In terms of theoretical approaches, we are not sure if the recent turn to practice theory in German sociology of sports (see above) is equally reflected in Spain, but "Foucauldian influences and gender approaches within the context of feminism" (Sanchez et al. 2020) have gained attention in Germany, too. Apparently the prominence of Luhmann's system theory still is a German particularity, while figurational sociology seems to be more established in Spanish sociology of sport.

One difference seems striking to us: While our Spanish colleagues (ibid.) described the relation between sociology and sports science, and also the work of both sections in the respective professional associations, as a rather fruitful interaction and exchange of empirical problems and theoretical concepts, in Germany there seems to be a broader gap between sociologists interested in theory development and sport scientists interested in more "applied" research on recent problems of sports (see above, section 4). This is also emphasized by the editors of one of the most recent German volume on cultural sociology of sport (Alkemeyer, Brümmer and Janetzko, in press). They assume that German sociology of sport has underwent a prioritization of research perspectives which are designed for supporting the organized sport system in fulfilling its social/political functions – and runs the risk of neglecting concrete manifestations of sport practices and their implications for sociological (and cultural) theory. However, our stock-taking of German sociology of sport reveals, firstly, that the tension between theoretical interests

of sociologists and the more “applied” empirical focus of sport scientists is not new, but has been shaping the discipline from the beginning of its institutionalization (see also Rigauer 2003; Bette 2010; Staack and Schwank 2021). And secondly, we didn’t find evidence that the fraction interested in developing sociological theory has lost ground lately, but has been visible with numerous prominent publications throughout the last years. But nonetheless, we agree that the polarization between sport “practitioners” avoiding theoretical reflection and theorists marginalizing empirical and “applied” questions of sports does exist (compare already Bourdieu 1988), and it seems indeed strong in current German sociology of sports. Maybe this is a rather specific problem that does not necessarily apply for the development of the discipline in Spain. But if it does, there is certainly a need for an academic journal linking the poles of the field to each other, by picking up new theoretical developments as well as new empirical findings, and by enabling fruitful discussions between the multiple perspectives that are nowadays shaping sociology of sport. In that sense the establishment of “Sociologia del Deporte” is an appropriate answer to the challenges of the field, and we send our colleagues all the best wishes for the future development of the journal.

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# Portuguese football coaches' migration: Patterns and networks in 2009-2013

## *La migración de los entrenadores de fútbol portugueses: patrones y redes 2009-2013*

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### Key words

- Football
- Coaches
- Networks
- Migration
- Globalization

### Abstract

Sport migration is an important topic of global migration. It can capture migration patterns and the reliance on networks, which are specific to sports. This study seeks to identify the patterns and networks of Portuguese football coaches' migration between 2009 and 2013. This period is important because these were years of financial crisis with high rates of unemployment. We collected data about destination countries of migrant coaches. For coaches working abroad in 2013, we also collected data about their career path and networks including the assistant coaches and players with whom they had previously worked. The results showed that the destination of Portuguese football coaches involves both peripheral and central areas of football prestige. The pattern of migration suggests an overlap of economic, historical and cultural factors. On the other hand, the network relations of Portuguese football coaches were prominent in a zone of high prestige close to the native country, and in a zone with high financial incentives but lower football prestige. Taken together, these results highlight the career specificities of coaches who migrate to different countries including the role of networks on a football coaching career abroad.

### Palabras clave

- Fútbol
- Entrenadores
- Redes
- Migración
- Globalización

### Resumen

*La migración deportiva es un tema importante dentro de la migración global. Puede ayudar a detectar patrones de migración y la dependencia de redes que son específicas de los deportes. Este estudio busca identificar los patrones y redes de migración de los entrenadores de fútbol portugueses entre 2009 y 2013. Este período es importante porque fueron años de crisis*

*financiera con altas tasas de desempleo. Recopilamos datos sobre los países de destino de los entrenadores migrantes. Para los entrenadores que trabajaron en el extranjero en 2013, también recopilamos datos sobre su trayectoria profesional y sus redes, incluidos los entrenadores asistentes y los jugadores con los que habían trabajado anteriormente. Los resultados mostraron que el destino de los entrenadores de fútbol portugueses involucra áreas periféricas y centrales de prestigio futbolístico. El patrón de migración sugiere una superposición de factores económicos, históricos y culturales. Por otro lado, las relaciones en red de los entrenadores de fútbol portugueses fueron destacadas en una zona de alto prestigio cercana al país de origen, y en una zona con altos incentivos económicos pero menor prestigio futbolístico. En conjunto, estos resultados destacan las especificidades profesionales de los entrenadores que migran a diferentes países, incluido el papel de las redes en el desarrollo de una carrera profesional como entrenador de fútbol en el extranjero.*

Sport migration is an important topic of global migration which can capture migration patterns and reliance on networks which are specific to sports. Research has examined sports migrations through different disciplines such as sociology, history, economy and geography (see Maguire, 1994). However, most studies focus only on players' migration and not on the patterns of coaches' migration. Some of the few studies about coaches have focused on the particularities of the English and Irish cases (see Carter, 2004; Taylor, 2010). Historically, English football coaches' migrated during the 1910s and 1930s to Europe and South America. Taylor (2010) analysed historical manuscripts and found that coaches relied on networks to gain information for their migrations to France, Netherlands and Spain. More recently, Carter (2004) showed that cultural patterns and language were relevant to coaches migrating to Ireland from Australian, New Zealand, South Africa and South Asia countries (see for example the cricket coaches' migration from India and Pakistan in Carter, 2004). Also, the economic consequences of players' migration (but not coaches' migration) have been identified. According to Andreff (2011) host countries such as Portugal gain skilled football players from Brazil. This reduces the quality and development of Brazil's football with consequences to its economy. The author even suggests a tax (Coubertintax) on players' migration to reduce these negative effects. Looking at the particular case of Portuguese football players, Besson, Poli and Ravenel (2013) found that migration to foreign countries increased in 2011 due to the economic instability of the country (financial crisis). The rate of unemployment in Portugal in 2009 reached its highest level of the previous 30 years (9.5%; Lima, 2010) and by 2013

it was the second highest in Europe (16.5%; Eurostat, 2014). No studies have examined the migration of Portuguese coaches after the start of the financial crisis in 2009. However, this period provides an excellent opportunity to investigate the migration patterns and networks of coaches under the pressure of economic and financial insecurity. Specifically, what countries hosted Portuguese coaches and what was the role of coaches' professional networks.

### **Purpose and research questions**

In 2010 Taylor states that although "research on the migration of football players is gathering pace, we still know relatively little about the movement of football coaches, managers and trainers" (p. 139). It is important, however, to examine coaches' migration flows for three main reasons. First, it provides a framework of geographic locations and movements which will enhance our understanding of the dimensions influencing coaches' migration destinations. Based on previous studies we expect that coaches migrate primarily to the best leagues in Europe but also to countries with historical or colonial links (Borges et al., 2015). Second, it provides information about how coaches manage their careers in a situation of financial crisis. We expect that the economic instability in the country will have led to an increased volume of Portuguese coaches' migration (cf, Besson, Poli & Ravenel, 2013). Third, it provides insight about the role of networks in Portuguese coaches' migration. A previous study suggested that Portuguese coaches may rely on informal networks to migrate (Borges et al., 2015) and therefore we expect to see large net-

works supporting migrant coaches. Therefore in this study we seek to identify the patterns and networks of Portuguese football coaches' migration under the pressure of the financial crisis.

### The patterns of players' migration

The patterns of sports migration of players have been examined according to geographical points based on donor and host countries. Geographic analyses have been made since the early 90s to understand players' migration (see the overview on sport geography by Bale & Dejonghe, 2008). The pioneer studies of Bale (1989) and Bale and Maguire (1994) examined the patterns in rugby, cricket, ice hockey, baseball and football. The authors found that migration was mainly from Africa and Latin America to Europe and North America. Players' migration from South America and Africa to Europe was reinforced in studies about the flow of football players (Magee & Sugden, 2002). Based on the world systems theory by Wallerstein (1974), Magee and Sugden (2002) proposed a division of the global football market in zones of economic prestige. At the core was Europe with the most prestige, then South America was semi-peripheral, Africa was peripheral, and without any prestige were Oceania, Asia and North and Central America. The authors argued that these zones of prestige justified the players' migration according to two main directions.

The first direction was players moving from the periphery to the core in order to work in the most prestigious leagues. For instance in 2008 Latin American and African players were found massively working in the top 30 European leagues (Poli & Besson, 2011). The authors found that players from African French ex-colonies were more numerous in France and players from Latin American Portuguese and Spanish ex-colonies were more numerous in these two countries. Colonial links were also found in other studies, for example, Lafranchi and Taylor (2001) found that in France the immigration of Algerians, Moroccans and Senegalese players was massive during the 1930s. Some of these African immigrant players were naturalized French and made the national team. In Portugal, similar colonial relations were found during the 1950s and 1960s with Mozambican players, notably Matateu and Eusebio, who played in Portuguese clubs and also made the national team. Besides players moving from the periphery to the core, there was a second direction of migration from the core to the periphery. Players migrated from the core to disseminate football in peripheral zones where football

was underdeveloped (Magee & Sugden, 2002). For instance, Lafranchi and Taylor (2001) studied football players' migration in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and showed the importance of English players in the diffusion of football in Europe and the consequent dissemination of football in the world by the European football players.

### The patterns of coaches' migration

Coaches' migration has been related to the diffusion of football as a second wave of its globalization (Taylor, 2010). Taylor analyzed the pioneer migration of football coaches' during the 1910s and 1950s and found that English coaches moved abroad to countries where the cultural aspects such as language were similar. For instance, English coaches migrated to the United States of America, South Africa and Australia which are countries that share the same language and other cultural aspects disseminated by the English empire. Also, between Wars, English coaches were more present in The Netherlands, Germany, Switzerland, France and Spain. After the Second World War the largest number of coaches was found in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, USA, South Africa and Australia. These patterns of migration were important in the dissemination of football across Europe and the World. Interestingly, Smith (2014) points out that the pattern of contemporary migration are strongly reliant on the career contingencies of coaches, namely the fact that nowadays coaches work with a team for a relatively short duration (2.5 years in 1994 to 1.64 years in 2012). The author analyzed the career of high-level coaches and described three patterns of migration. First, coaches such as German Rehnhagel or English Revie who established their careers in their native countries and subsequently migrated. Second, coaches such as English Hodgson who mainly worked abroad during their careers and later returned to their countries. Third, coaches such as Swedish Eriksson who mainly worked abroad (Smith, 2014).

A crucial aspect in the migration patterns of coaches and players is the recruitment process. Recent literature proposes that recruitment is primarily done through informal links often based on networks. Networks are the personal and professional relations that link coaches and players from the same native country in a foreign country. Research has found that head coaches prefer to hire assistant coaches and players from within their networks. For instance the migration of Canadian players to British ice hockey leagues was found to be based on the personal relations of Canadian coaches with other coaches and athletes (Elliott & Maguire, 2011). Borges et al. (2015)



also found that the recruitment of football and handball assistant coaches working in Africa and Europe was made by head coaches from the same country. In fact, coaches consider that recruitment through these informal relations are more effective than through formal networks (Agergaard & Botelho, 2011; Borges et al., 2015).

### The Portuguese case of sport migration

The pattern of players' migration has been described by the historical relations between the Portuguese empire and the African ex-colonies (Armstrong & Giulianotti, 2004). For instance the authors describe how Portuguese missionary players introduced football to Mozambique, and how the Portuguese political situation during the 1950's and the 1980's contributed to the migration of skilled African players to the Portuguese football league. These migrations produced negative effects on the development of the Mozambican football which, devoid of their talented players, performed poorly in international competitions (Darby, 2007). Before the dictatorship fell in 1974, migration was curbed and Portuguese football players were not permitted to move abroad. This meant that there was no possibility for Portuguese players to move abroad. More recently, however, a socio-economic study classified Portugal as a hybrid country when it comes to the migration of football players because it is simultaneously a donor and a host country located in the semi-periphery of football prestige (Nolasco, 2010). After analyzing the football season of 2008-2009, he found that Portugal hosted South American players, mainly Brazilian (see also Poli 2008; Poli & Besson, 2011) and donated footballers to Europe, mainly Cyprus and Spain (Nolasco, 2010). Further, Besson, Poli and Ravenel (2013) found that Portuguese football migration increased in 2011 not least because of its improved football prestige. They state that the Portuguese football players had gained prestige in the world football market because there are Portuguese players in the best football leagues such as Ronaldo and Nani in La Liga and the Premier League.

### Methods

#### Data collection

To find out which Portuguese football coaches were working abroad on each calendar year, we collected secondary data from a number of sources between 2009 and 2013. Between 2009 and 2013 each coach was identified only once in a calendar year but

may have changed countries throughout the year. We included head coaches who worked abroad in clubs competing in the first division of that foreign country as well as head coaches working in a foreign national team. For the coaches identified as working abroad in 2013 we gathered more detailed data about their entire career paths and networks since they first moved abroad. This type of collection method mirrors previous studies investigating players' migration (see Bale & Maguire, 1994; Lanfranchi & Taylor, 2001). We collected data by cross-referencing multiple sources, which included the official websites related to football such as FIFA, UEFA, AFC, CAF, CONCACAF, CONMEBOL, and other non-official websites related to football like [www.zerozero.pt](http://www.zerozero.pt), [www.football365.com](http://www.football365.com), and [www.transfermarkt.pt](http://www.transfermarkt.pt). These sites are the larger databases for football athletes in the world and previous studies have used some of these sites in order to collect data to analyse players' migration (see Lago-Peñas et al., 2019). For the [www.zerozero.pt](http://www.zerozero.pt) we used the "search" option by inserting the word "treinadores" (Portuguese for "coaches"). Next we looked for Portuguese coaches working in each confederation by looking in UEFA and Portugal. Then we filtered the information in relation to the coaches working abroad by identifying the country of the team (e.g., Angola) and finally we identified how many were working abroad between 2009 and 2013. We then used a combination of these sites to check if the number of coaches working abroad in each year matched across different sites. For example for the [www.transfermarkt.pt](http://www.transfermarkt.pt) we looked in "competições" (Portuguese for "competitions" or "matches") then "treinadores no estrangeiro" (Portuguese for "coaches abroad") and compared with the data collected in [www.zerozero.pt](http://www.zerozero.pt). In order to identify the networks we looked at all former foreign clubs or national teams the coach worked at (as an athlete, assistant coach or head coach) and we identified the other Portuguese coaches and athletes working in the same club or national team at the same time. This method allowed us to obtain data that was not otherwise accessible and reduced the time and costs associated with accessing primary data.

#### Procedures

In order to track the changes through time and the pathways and networks established by the Portuguese football coaches during this time window, we used a geographical information system (GIS). This allowed us to visualise the different patterns, and to perform spatial analyses which clarified the main moves, migratory sites or the intensity of flows.

#### Data analysis

The secondary data was organized within the

QGIS project file. After assigning the data and the correspondent attributes, we were able to perform representations and later to make use of geo-processing tools. With this work, we strained to offer more levels of analysis, in a more dynamic way, moving from the more static information offered inside tables or charts. In other words, we are also pinpointing that all the different variables were assigned with information about time and space. These were important features in terms of informing our research.

## Results

### **Patterns of coaches' migration in 2009-2013**

#### *Continental distribution*

On average 35 ( $SD = 6.4$ ) head coaches were found working in five of six continents and in 44 dif-

ferent countries across the 2009-2013 period. From 2009 to 2013 we found the total number of coaches working abroad were, respectively: 25, 34, 41, 40, 36. The spatial distribution of Portuguese football coaches working abroad increased from 2009 with 25 coaches to 2011 with 41 coaches. We found a higher proportion of coaches in three continents: Asia ( $M = 11.8$ ,  $SD = 4.1$ ), Africa ( $M = 10.4$ ,  $SD = 1.7$ ); and Europe ( $M = 9.8$ ,  $SD = 2.9$ ). Differences were found when comparing the continent with the highest proportion of Portuguese football coaches during the time interval (see Figure 1). In 2009, Africa had the highest proportion of Portuguese football coaches. In 2010 and 2011, Asia had the highest proportion of Portuguese football coaches. In 2012, the highest proportion of Portuguese football coaches' migration was found in Europe. In 2013, Africa had again the highest proportion of Portuguese football coaches.

**Table 1. Number of Portuguese football coaches present in 5 host continents**

Confederation	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	M	SD
UEFA	7	7	11	14	10	9.8	2.9
CAF	9	9	10	11	13	10.4	1.7
AFC	8	15	17	11	8	11.8	4.1
CONMEBOL	1	1	2	2	2	1.6	0.5
CONCACAF	1	2	1	2	3	1.8	0.8
M	25	34	41	40	36	35.2	6.4
SD	5.2	6.8	8.2	8	7.2		

**Table 2. Number of Portuguese football coaches present in different countries**

Confederation	Federation	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	M	SD
UEFA	Italy	1	0	0	0	0	0.2	0.4
UEFA	Romania	1	1	2	1	0	1.0	0.7
UEFA	England	1	1	1	1	2	1.2	0.4
UEFA	Turkey	1	0	1	1	0	0.6	0.5
UEFA	Lithuania	1	1	0	0	0	0.4	0.5
UEFA	France	1	0	0	0	0	0.2	0.4
UEFA	Switzerland	1	1	1	1	0	0.8	0.4
UEFA	Greece	1	1	2	3	1	1.6	0.9
UEFA	Spain	0	2	1	2	0	1.0	1.0
UEFA	Scotland	0	0	1	0	0	0.2	0.4
UEFA	Russia	0	0	1	0	0	0.2	0.4

UEFA	Hungary	0	0	1	2	1	0.8	0.8
UEFA	Cyprus	0	0	0	2	2	0.8	1.1
UEFA	Serbia	0	0	0	1	1	0.4	0.5
UEFA	Israel	0	0	0	0	1	0.2	0.4
UEFA	Norway	0	0	0	0	1	0.2	0.4
UEFA	Luxemburg	0	0	0	0	1	0.2	0.4
CAF	Egypt	0	0	1	0	0	0.2	0.4
CAF	Mozambique	0	0	1	4	4	1.8	2.0
CAF	Burkina Faso	1	1	1	0	0	0.6	0.5
CAF	Tunisia	1	0	0	0	0	0.2	0.4
CAF	Cape Verde	1	1	0	0	0	0.4	0.5
CAF	Angola	4	7	7	4	7	5.8	1.6
CAF	Tanzania	1	0	0	0	0	0.2	0.4
CAF	Morocco	1	0	0	0	0	0.2	0.4
CAF	Guinea Bissau	0	0	0	2	1	0.6	0.9
CAF	Gabon	0	0	0	1	1	0.4	0.5
AFC	Saudi Arabia	4	4	3	2	1	2.8	1.3
AFC	Syria	1	0	0	0	0	0.2	0.4
AFC	UAE	1	2	1	0	1	1.0	0.7
AFC	Bahrain	1	1	0	0	0	0.4	0.5
AFC	Vietnam	1	2	2	0	0	1.0	1.0
AFC	Kuwait	0	1	2	1	1	1.0	0.7
AFC	Iran	0	3	3	5	2	2.6	1.8
AFC	South Korea	0	1	0	0	0	0.2	0.4
AFC	Oman	0	1	2	0	0	0.6	0.9
AFC	China	0	0	3	2	1	1.2	1.3
AFC	Macau	0	0	1	1	1	0.6	0.5
AFC	Malaysia	0	0	0	0	1	0.2	0.4
CONMEBOL	Brazil	1	1	2	2	2	1.6	0.5
CONCACAF	USA	1	1	1	1	1	1.0	0.0
CONCACAF	Guatemala	0	1	0	0	0	0.2	0.4
CONCACAF	Mexico	0	0	0	1	1	0.4	0.5
CONCACAF	Costa Rica	0	0	0	0	1	0.2	0.4
	<b>M</b>	25	34	41	40	36	35.2	6.4
	<b>SD</b>	5.2	6.8	8.2	8	7.2		

Figure 1. Number of Portuguese football coaches present in 5 host continents. Within each graph each bar represents a year of data collection from 2009 in white to 2013 in black. Note that migration was primarily to Europe, Africa and Asia (see table 1 for exact numbers).

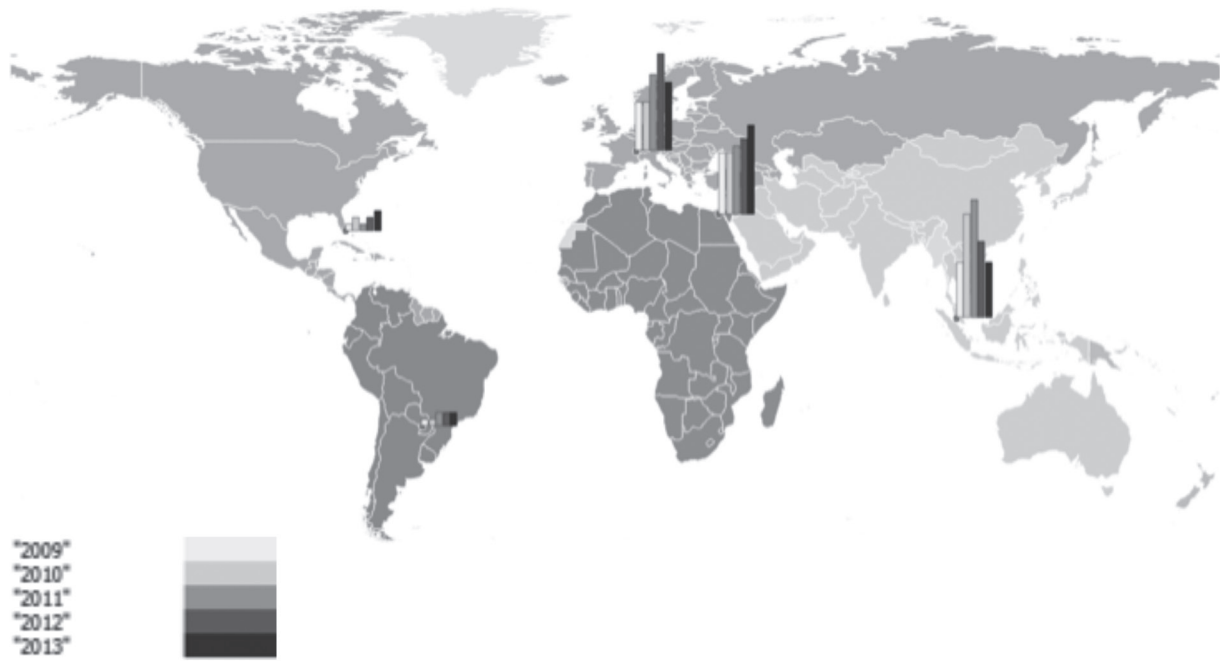
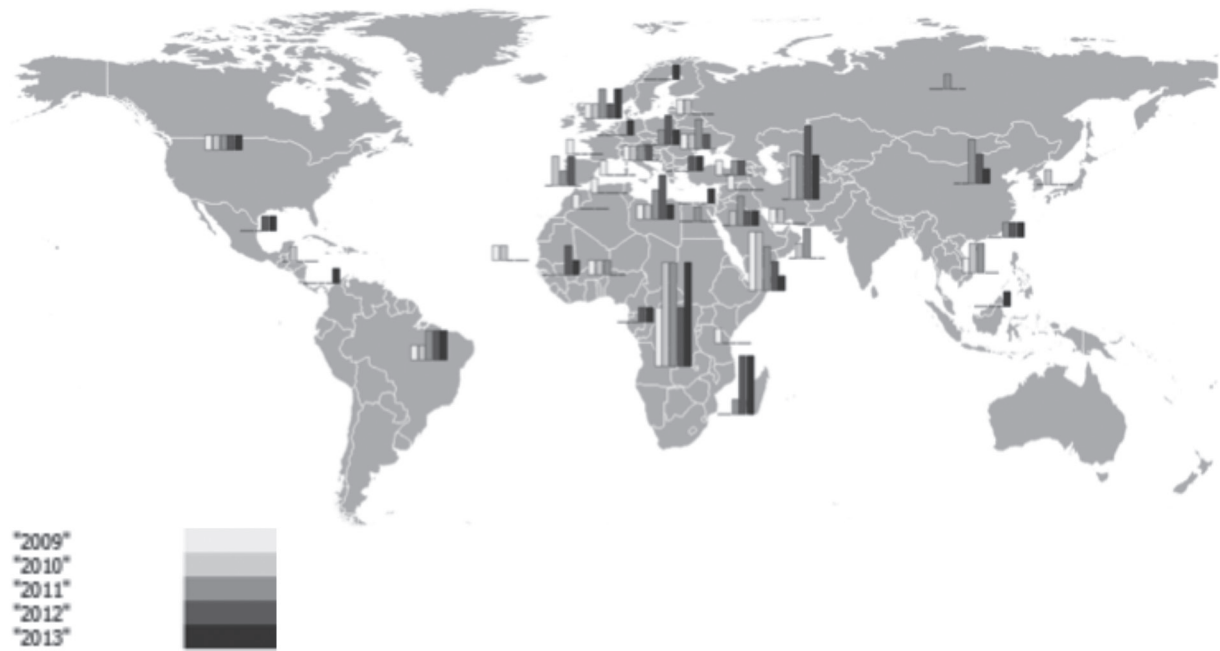


Figure 2. Number of Portuguese football coaches present in different countries. Within each graph bars represent a year of data collection from 2009 in white to 2013 in black. Note large numbers of coaches in Angola, Saudi Arabia, Mozambique and Iran (see table 2 for exact numbers).



### Country distribution

Angola was the country which hosted the highest proportion of Portuguese football coaches in all years (see Figure 2). During the time interval we found differences when comparing the proportion of coaches in different countries. Within Asia the countries which appeared as preferred hosts for Portuguese football coaches were: Saudi Arabia (2009 and 2010), China (2011), Iran (2011, 2012, 2013). Within Africa some countries also appeared as preferred hosts: Angola (2009 to 2013), Mozambique (2012). Within Europe there was a larger spread of preferred host countries: Italy, Romania, England, Turkey, Lithuania, France, Switzerland and Greece (2009), Spain (2010), Greece (2010, 2012), England and Cyprus (2013). Within the two continents hosting the least Portuguese football coaches, the preferred host countries were Brazil (2009 to 2013), Guatemala (2010), USA (2011, 2013), Mexico (2012, 2013), and Costa Rica (2013).

### In-depth analysis of migrant coaches in 2013

#### Demographic patterns

An in-depth analysis of migrant coaches working abroad in 2013 was made in regards to the demographic aspects: age, previous experiences abroad as head coaches, assistant coaches and/or athletes, return migration (i.e., coaches who returned to their country of origin after having lived abroad). In regards to age we found that Portuguese football coaches were on average 48.5 years old ( $SD = 9.4$ ), ranging from 27 to 67 years old. Among all continents, the older coaches were in Af-

rica ( $M = 54.6$ ,  $SD = 5.9$ ,  $n = 13$ ) and the younger coaches were in Europe ( $M = 41.6$ ,  $SD = 4.6$ ,  $n = 10$ ).

In regards to previous emigration experiences, the majority of head coaches who were abroad in 2013 had worked in a foreign country previously as head coaches ( $n = 32$ ), and/or assistant coaches ( $n = 8$ ) and/or players ( $n = 7$ ). Most of those migrations had been between Africa and Asia, and inside Europe (see Table 1). Among coaches who were in Africa ( $n = 13$ ) or Asia ( $n = 9$ ), we found the least previous experiences abroad (2 had been assistant coaches and 1 had been a player abroad). Among coaches who were in Europe they had worked mainly in the continent (only 1 had also worked in Africa) as head coaches ( $n = 10$ ), and/or assistant coaches ( $n = 3$ ), and/or players ( $n = 4$ ).

In regard to return migration we have measured the number of times that a coach returned to his/her country of origin after have moved abroad. We have identified 14 coaches who had returned to Portugal during their careers (overall number of return migrations:  $M = 0.6$ ;  $SD = 1.0$ ). Coaches who were in North and Central America return more times to work in Portugal ( $M = 1.7$ ;  $SD = 2.1$ ) and the coaches who were in South America never returned to Portugal. The coach with the most return migrations ( $n = 4$ ) was in Costa Rica. In Asia the three coaches with most return migrations ( $n = 2$ ) were in China, UAE and Malaysia. In Europe two coaches who worked in Greece and England had the most return migrations ( $n = 2$ ). In Africa two coaches who worked in Angola had the highest number of return migrations ( $n = 2$ ). The return migrations of only 38% of coaches may suggest a difficulty for them to continue their career in Portugal.

**Table 3. Number of coaches with experiences abroad per continent and role**

Coaches N = 37	Number and continent as head coach		Number and continent as assistant coach		Number and continent as player	
Europe (n=10)	10 1	Europe Africa	3	Europe	4	Europe
Africa (n=13)	13 2 2	Africa Asia Europe	0	-	1	Europe
Asia (n=9)	9 5 2 2	Asia Africa North and Central America Europe	2 1 1	Asia Africa Europe	1 1	Africa North and Central America
North and Central America (n=3)	3 1	North and Central America Africa	1 1	Asia Europe	0	-
South America (n=2)	2	South America	0	-	0	-

### Networks

A network refers to a group of coaches or athletes, with the same nationality who have worked abroad in the same club or national team. All Portuguese head coaches working abroad in 2013 had previously worked with at least one Portuguese coach or athlete (See table 2). These networks were more prominent in Europe ( $M = 4.7$ ;  $SD = 4.4$ ). There were more network relations between head coaches and assistant coaches ( $M = 2.1$ ;  $SD = 1.7$ ), and between

head coaches and players ( $M = 2.6$ ;  $SD = 3.4$ ). Interestingly, in Asia we also found a large number of network relations between head coaches and other coaches and players ( $M = 3.0$ ;  $SD = 1.5$ ). The highest number of network relations was found for coaches working in Spain and Greece ( $n = 12$ ). Networks of head coaches with other coaches was highest for those working in Iran, Greece and Gabon ( $n = 5$ ) and the highest social relations with athletes were found for coaches in Spain ( $n = 8$ ).

**Table 4. Average size of networks of coaches who were abroad in 2013. These networks were gathered from tracing the careers of head coaches since their first migration and include both players and other coaches. Note that coaches in Europe and Asia had large networks in contrast with coaches in South America. The number of individuals in the network is given below (standard deviations in parenthesis).**

Continents	Number of individuals in the Networks (SD)		
	Assistant and head coaches	Players	Total networks
Europe	2.1 (1.7)	2.6 (3.4)	4.7 (4.4)
Africa	1.8 (2.2)	0.5 (0.6)	2.6 (2.3)
Asia	2.0 (1.8)	1.3 (1.1)	3.0 (1.5)
North and Central America	2.0 (1.7)	0.7 (2.7)	2.7 (1.5)
South America	0.0 (0.0)	1.0 (0.0)	1.0 (0.0)

### Discussion

Our results show that the destination pattern of Portuguese football coaches involves both peripheral and central areas of football prestige. This hybridization of Portuguese migration corroborates previous studies with players, which located Portugal in the semi-peripheral zone of world football prestige (Nolasco, 2010, 2012). Transcontinental peripheral migration was found specifically to Angola, Saudi Arabia, China and Iran which are African and Asian which are countries where football prestige is small. Similarly, intra-continental migrations were found to peripheral zones inside Europe to Romania, Lithuania, Turkey, Switzerland, Greece and Cyprus. These results complement those from Magee and Sugden (2002) who showed that players migrated from the peripheral zone of Africa to the core zone of Europe. Interestingly, our study shows that coaches migrate in the opposite direction to players, but in the same direction as the worldwide diffusion of football which is from the

core to the periphery (Magee & Sugden, 2002, Taylor, 2010). Within the core of Europe, some coaches were working in the most prestigious leagues in the world, such as England, Spain, Italy and France. This is the case of coaches such as Jose Mourinho who have extensive experience working in the best European leagues. This is also the case for players like Ronaldo who migrated to England and Spain. It is likely that the migration of Portuguese coaches to the European core lends prestige to Portuguese football, as has been argued for Portuguese players (Besson, Poli & Ravenel, 2013).

The pattern of destination countries suggests that the migration of coaches results from an overlap of economic, historical and cultural factors. This is in accordance with previous studies analysing the patterns of the migrant football players present in the World Cup 1998 (Maguire et al., 2002). They found that players often migrated from ex-colonies and from underdeveloped economies. In the case of Portuguese coaches it is important to recall that 2009-2013 were

years of financial crisis with high rates of unemployment. This may partly explain why coaches migrated to countries with emergent economies in Africa and Asia where coaches were able to manage their careers abroad. In accordance to previous studies, football coaches are motivated to migrate because of their career ambitions. Therefore they may have moved to Angola and Saudi Arabia, which are less prestigious leagues, to revive or prolong their football coaches' career (Smith, 2014). Historical relations were also shown empirically with Angola, which was a Portuguese colony, appearing as the main destination country. However, it is noteworthy that Angola is an emergent economy unlike other Portuguese ex-colonies and its financial attractiveness may be an overlapping factor in making it a preferred destination. Other cultural factors such as language have been shown to play a role in players' migration from Africa to Portugal (Darby, 2007) but a recent study suggests this may not be a primary factor for coaches migrating from Portugal to Africa (Borges et al., 2015).

The growth in the number of coaches abroad between 2009 and 2013 suggests that the economic crisis had an impact on Portuguese coaches' migration. This is in line with the increased emigration that occurred in Portugal from 2009 to 2011 (16.899 individuals to 43.998 individuals). At the same point in time, the unemployment rate had increased from 9.4% in 2009 to 12.7% in 2011. This suggests that coaches may have faced challenges in terms of job opportunities in Portugal and may also have had difficulties to negotiate better contracts. Given there is a limited number of opportunities to work as a professional football coach in the 1<sup>st</sup> national leagues, this could have impacted on coaches decisions to move abroad. Interestingly, the larger number of coaches' migration were to leagues outside the European continent (which was facing an economic crisis at the time) to other countries considered to be emergent economies. These may have been attractive because at that point in time they would have been able to offer better contracts to the coaches.

Another interesting result was the network relations found during the careers of Portuguese coaches. Coaches who were working abroad in 2013 had been circulating between countries, and had been working with other Portuguese coaches and players since leaving Portugal. In agreement with previous studies, we found that these networks were important in the recruitment of coaching staff (Taylor, 2010) and players (Agergaard & Botelho, 2011; Elliott & Maguire, 2011). Specifically worth noting are the networks of coaches migrating to Asia, with the largest networks, and to Africa, with the smallest networks.

The size of these networks can distinguish these two transcontinental movements and may be caused by economic or cultural trends. For instance coaches are better able to migrate alone to countries with more cultural similarities, such as the language in African ex-colonies. On the other hand, the networks may have greater relevance for coaches who migrate to very different cultures, such as the language, food and religion in Asian countries. Also, the economic prestige of Asian countries such as Saudi Arabia allows all the coaching staff to achieve lucrative deals. Taken together, cultural and financial factors may be at the root of the large networks seen surrounding head coaches in Asia.

Last but not least, previously migration experiences appear to make Portuguese coaches better able to manage their careers in the football global market. We found that coaches who had previous migration experiences in Europe, either as players or assistant coaches circulate inside this more prestigious zone. In agreement with Smith (2014) our data confirms that coaches with circulatory careers within Europe gain prestige as coach which enables them to continue in the highest-level leagues in Europe. A prominent illustration is Jose Mourinho who was an assistant coach in FC Barcelona and, after his success as head coach in FC Porto, was able to secure head coach jobs in Chelsea FC, FC Internazionale Milano, Real Madrid CF. On the other hand, coaches who had previous migration experiences as football players in the highest leagues are still circulating in Europe but in the peripheral zone. This is the case of Paulo Sousa who gained visibility in the football market as a player at Milan and Dortmund, and who is now coaching in peripheral European leagues (Netherlands and Cyprus). In this sense we add to Carter (2011) who argued that visibility is essential to coaches' career in the global market because we qualify the type of visibility that lends prestige to migrant coaches. Visibility as assistant coach seems to be more valuable than visibility as former player. For instance, Villas-Boas, who never had a prominent career as player, gained visibility in the football global market through his experiences abroad. As an assistant coach of Jose Mourinho at Chelsea FC and FC Internazionale Milano, he was recruited as head coach in Coimbra and FC Porto and later in Chelsea FC. On the other hand, we found that coaches who did not have previous experiences in Europe are mainly working in Africa, Asia, and North and Center America. It is possible that these coaches migrated to lower-level leagues to revive and prolong their careers. For instance our results show that they these are the oldest Portuguese football coaches working

abroad and those who have the largest number of return migrations.

This study has limitations that are worth considering and points directions for future research. First, restricting the analysis to Portuguese football coaches limits the generalization to other nationalities and sports. Future research should consider different universes of coaches differentiated by their nationality or sport. Second, the patterns of migration should consider more demographic aspects such as the academic and coaching qualifications. It is important to analyze how coaches are distributed according to their qualifications and whether their coach education programs prepare them for the challenges of sport migration. For instance, it would be important to raise awareness of trainee coaches for the possible importance of migration in their careers and in educating them for the special requirements in the training of different countries and cultures. Beyond zones of football prestige, it is important to identify the developmental level of football in different championships and what strategies can be devised to succeed under different constraints. This includes the use of informal networks of coaches and players who can share knowledge and advise the recruitment of migrant coaches.

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# Psychological well-being and perceived life satisfaction, physical activity and sport and people mature adult and the elderly

## *Bienestar psicológico y satisfacción vital percibida, actividad física y deporte y personas adultas maduras y mayores*

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### Palabras clave

- Actividad física
- Ejercicio, calidad de vida
- Análisis unfolding
- Personas mayores
- Deporte

### Key words

- Physical activity
- Exercise
- Quality of life,
- Unfolding analysis,
- Elderly,
- Mature adult stage
- Sport

### Resumen

El objetivo principal de nuestra investigación es entender las diferentes percepciones de las personas mayores sobre su bienestar y satisfacción de la vida de acuerdo con los deportes que practican o el ejercicio que realizan regularmente. Analizamos de forma específica las posibles relaciones o asociaciones dentro de diferentes aspectos del bienestar psicológico y la satisfacción de la vida percibida, teniendo en cuenta la intensidad de su actividad física y deporte y los motivos por los que los practica. Los datos se han obtenido a partir de un estudio realizado en el municipio de Dos Hermanas (Sevilla), tomando una muestra de población de 419 personas mayores de 54 años, seleccionada por muestreo estratificado, por cuotas, con afijación proporcional y un nivel de confianza del 95%. En el estudio se examinan las asociaciones que existen entre 14 declaraciones que evalúan el bienestar psicológico y la satisfacción de vida y 5 categorías de realización de deporte mediante un análisis unfolding. Los principales resultados de nuestro estudio ilustran cómo las personas mayores que practican deporte regularmente y muestran interés en ellas declaran que se sienten bien consigo mismas, pueden lograr cada desafío, establecen metas que dan sentido a sus vidas, tienen amigos en los que pueden confiar y sienten plena satisfacción con su vida actual.

### Abstract

The main objective of our research is to understand the different perceptions of elderly people and individuals in the mature adult stage on their well-being and life satisfaction according to the sports they practice or the exercise they regularly do. We analyze specifically the possible relationships or associations within different aspects of psychological well-being and perceived life satisfaction, taking into account the intensity of their physical activity and sport. The data have been obtained from a study carried out in the municipality of Dos Hermanas (Seville), on a population sample of 419 people over 54 years of age, selected by stratified sampling by quotas with proportional affixation and a confidence level of 95%. Our analysis examines the associations with-in five categories using an unfolding model. The perception of psychological well-being and life satisfaction has been assessed by 14 statements. The main results of our study illustrate how elderly people who practice sports regularly and show an interest in them declare they feel good about themselves, can accomplish every challenge, set themselves goals that give meaning to their lives, have friends they can trust and feel full satisfaction with their current life.

## Introduction

Nowadays, life expectancy in better health is increasing more and more. However, a longer life also implies higher possibilities of suffering life-limiting diseases and dysfunctions (Bazo, 1998 and Villar, Triadó, Solé, and Osuna, 2003).

This increase in life expectancy has provoked an evolution in the concept of satisfactory aging: from the WHO definition of "healthy aging" in 1990, focused on health, to the concept of "active aging" in 2002, based on the dynamic lifestyle. Zamarrón (2007) defined "active aging" as the process of optimizing opportunities for health, participation and security in order to improve the quality of life of aging people.

Both "healthy" and "active" aging involve significant changes in the lives of people; they will be healthy as long as their needs can be met (Espinosa and Libreros, 1995). These needs are, as Marín and García (2004) pointed out, emotional well-being, social support and physical health.

According to Moscoso, Moyano et al. (2009) the conception of health as the absence of diseases is something that has already been overcome, this being a more global concept that encompasses areas such as physical, social, life habits, health status, the health system available, and perceived health. Of all of them, this last concept is defined as "the perception that individuals have of their own health". This new concept has become one of the two indicators related to the well-being of the person and a good predictor of mortality. In fact, these same authors recommend the inclusion of a question in the surveys in which people assess their own health given the information it offers. The other indicator related to well-being is active lifestyle. The active lifestyle is associated with whether or not a person does physical activity, which is understood to mean both the regular practice of a sport and other physical activities such as walking.

The American College of Sport Medicine (2011) considers that these activities should be carried out with a duration of 20/60 minutes, 3 to 5 days a week with a low / moderate intensity.

Fox (1999) states that, through aerobic exercise, psychological aspects such as self-esteem, self-perception and anxiety reduction can be improved.

Therefore, in order to benefit from "healthy aging", not only is it important to enjoy a state of physical health but also to have a certain level of social and psychological well-being (Castellón-Sánchez and Romero, 2004). Taking into account the previous assertions, Molina, Melendez and Navarro (2008) consider that, when working to improve the quality of life

of the elderly, intervention should not only focus on better procedures dealing with physical health but also with psychological variables.

There are numerous studies that carry out an X-ray of the physical-sporting habits of the population that they analyze in different territorial and specific population groups such as women, adolescents or the elderly. (Graupera, Martínez del Castillo, Martín, 2003; Martínez del Castillo, Jiménez-Beauty, Graupera, Rodríguez, 2006; Pioto-Flores et al, 2008). In Spain, and regardless of the group that we analyze, we always reach the same conclusion: "Spanish society is at the forefront of Europe in terms of the rate of physical inactivity per inhabitant, and on the other hand, there is a growing interest in physical activity and sport both in its practical and entertainment aspects" (Moscoso, Moyano et al. 2009, p.72)

Finally, before concluding this introductory section, note that the relationship between physical activity and subjective well-being has been analyzed in different research studies, concluding that physical activity has a positive impact on subjective well-being both in healthy subjects (Hong and Dimsdale, 2003; Miller, 2005) and chronically ill subjects with heart problems (Koukouvou et al., 2004), regardless of the benefits of aerobic training. That is, the sense of subjective well-being is more related to the subjects' feelings about the physical experience of exercise they practice than to the effective improvement of their physical condition.

## Objectives and Methodology

The main objective of our research is to understand the different perceptions of elderly people and individuals in the mature adult stage on their well-being and life satisfaction according to the sports they practice or the exercise they regularly do. Our goal is to study whether the lifestyle they lead, as far as exercise is concerned, can positively affect the perception of greater psychosocial aspects.

With this type of data, different agents can benefit from the information needed to develop effective action plans targeting prevention, information or improvement in order to facilitate good psychosocial conditions of the elderly residents of a municipality. The tool used to collect the information was the Dos Hermanas Sports Habits Questionnaire (Porrás et al 2013), which had already been used in the same population and the Satisfaction Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen and Griffin, 1985; and Spanish adaptation of Pons, Atienza, Balaguer y García-Merita 2002).

In the analysis conducted, the study population

is made up of subjects of both gender living in the municipality of Dos Hermanas (Seville, Spain), aged over 54 years old. This age range is taken because not only did we want to have information on the elderly (+65 years) but also individuals in the mature adult stage, since they usually have consolidated incomes and suffer important body changes that they have to know how to manage so that they do not affect their perception of quality life and satisfaction.

To analyze the possible differential characteristics that can be presented in the varied distribution of households (in this case, districts), the method has been selected through stratified sampling by quotas with proportional affixation (a sample proportional to the population size of the district), using gender and age groups. The framework used was derived from the population distribution and its census after a stratification in 5 districts. A simple random sampling was done using a random selection of sample points in each district (see Annex I).

To calculate the necessary sample size for this study we have set at 4% maximum allowable error and a confidence level of 95%. The sample size consists of 419 individuals. 14 statements related to the perception of psychological well-being and perceived life satisfaction according to their current state of exercise and sport practice have been measured.

To study the preferences provided by the elderly people of the village of Dos Hermanas (Seville) and their sport habits, we have chosen multidimensional unfolding models, since they provide a graphical representation allowing us to study jointly the 14 psychological items; they measure the perception of well-being and life satisfaction in terms of the categories in sport practice through generated perceptual maps.

Given this statistical technique aims at sets based on geometric distances, significant advantages can be drawn over other techniques with graphical representations that are not so simple to interpret. It must be noted that the difficult process and calculation of the unfolding technique has generally provoked its underestimation and, consequently, its lack of use. However, at present, both researchers and users have the possibility to discover the full potential of this technique thanks to statistical programs such as SPSS v.20.

One of the weaknesses of the analysis of preferences is that the initial assumption of homogeneity of perception of the subjects must be met. That is, all individuals are assumed to have the same perception process so that the results obtained can be attributed to differences in preferences or perceptions of the elderly and individuals in the mature adult stage.

Unfolding models are based on transforming

personal or group judgments (either on similarity or preference) in distances, represented in a multi-dimensional space, creating a perceptual map, and making comparisons across objective and perceived (or subjective) dimensions. They differ from cluster or factor analyses in that the theoretical value is not used; in addition, a solution can be obtained for every individual.

Coombs and Kao (1960) and Coombs (1964) began to observe the unfolding metric method using a principal component analysis on the correlation matrix obtained from correlations between pairs of scales I. Ross and Cliff (1964) assumed a more extensive technique and Schönemann (1970) found an algebraic solution for the metric unfolding.

If  $N$  individuals who value  $M$  statements producing the  $i$ -esim individual dissimilarities  $\Delta_{ij}$ , we then assume that  $(N + M)$  points are plotted in a  $p$ -dimensional Euclidean space where each individual and each stimulus or statement is represented by one of the points.

The coordinates of the points drawing individuals will be  $X_i$  with  $(i = 1, 2, \dots, N)$  and the coordinates of the points representing statements will be  $X_j$  with  $(j = 1, 2, \dots, M)$ . Thus, the distance between points  $X_i$  ( $i$ -th individual) and  $X_j$  ( $j$ -th stimulus) will be " $d_{ij}$ ".

The greatest difficulty of metric unfolding is to find a configuration so that  $d_{ij}$  distances best represent the dissimilarities  $\Delta_{ij}$ .

To verify the initial hypothesis that there are significant differences in the means of the assertions studied, measuring the perception of well-being and life satisfaction, a non-parametric Mann-Whitney U contrast has been used, given the Normality hypotheses, checked with the Shapiro-Wilk test, are not met in any of the subpopulations analyzed.

In addition, we have studied the possible association between psychosocial variables studied with the chi-square test of independence and Fisher's exact test, when necessary.

All hypothesis tests were performed at a significance level of 5%.

## Results Analysis

### *Sport Practice versus Perception of Psychological Well-being*

First, we have studied the average ratings of 14 statements (see annex II) that attempt to measure satisfaction in the well-being of elderly people's lives, performing a segmentation in this population through the five sports categories considered in the study: "I am interested in sports and practice them regular-

ly", "I am uninterested in sports but do exercise on prescription", "I am interested in sports but I practice them less than I would like to", "I am interested in sports but currently I don't practice any", and finally, "I don't practice sports at all".

As can be seen the physical activity is a factor that increases psychological well-being; people who exercise regularly have higher average rating on the statements on feeling good about themselves, setting themselves goals that give meaning to their lives and

positive feelings to accomplish challenges. However, people who do not exercise declare, with higher value means, feeling isolated or having a ever-changing opinion, under pressure.

To be noted is the great heterogeneity of average response in individuals who are not interested in sports but do exercise on prescription, and the homogeneity of M4 and M6 items in all categories (see figure 1). For this reason, these two variables were eliminated from unfolding study.

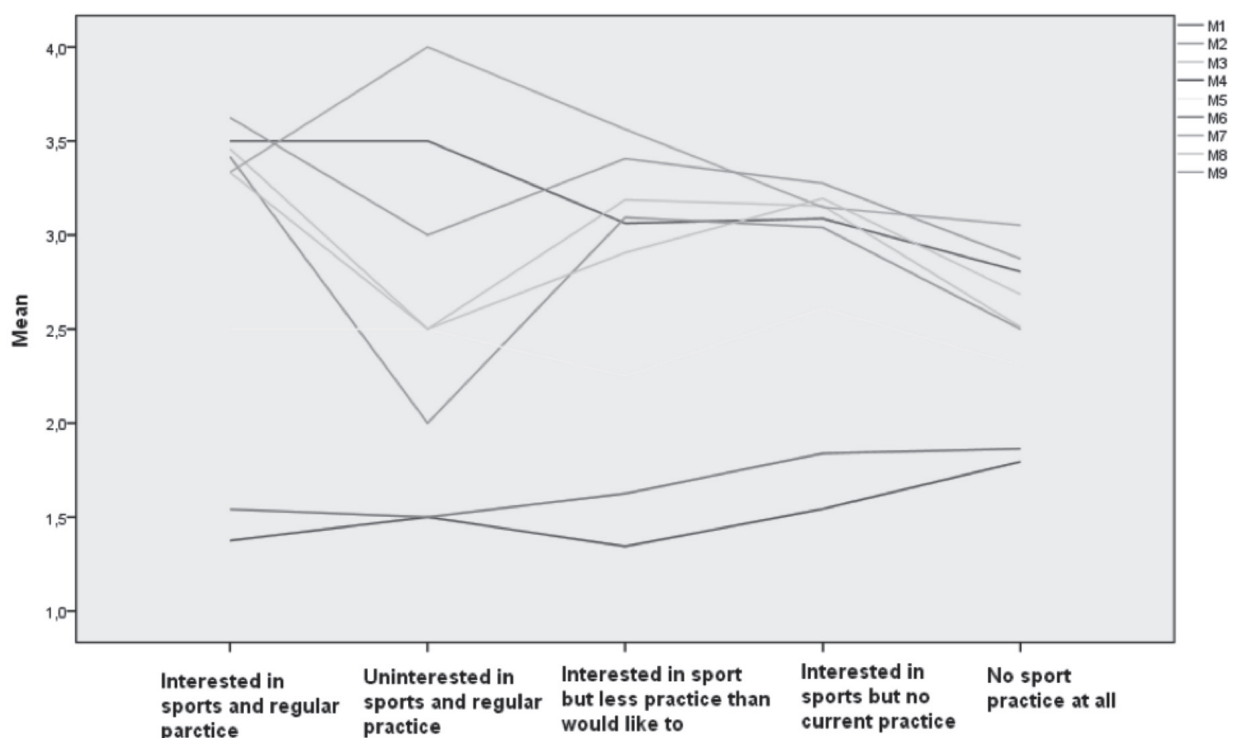


Figure 1: Mean scores in perceived psychological well-being according to sports category

To corroborate statistically this heterogeneity in the mean scores according to sport practice, a nonparametric H Kruskal-Wallis test has been applied. It confirms that populations are not homogeneous; in fact, all groups obtained p-values less than 0.000. Since neither normality nor homogeneity of variance have been verified, ANOVA has not been performed.

Once that, according to types of sports and reasons for practicing them, significant differences in the mean scores of well-being satisfaction have been confirmed, a multivariate unfolding analysis has been carried out in order to study different perceptions and potential groupings among the elderly and individuals in the mature adult stage.

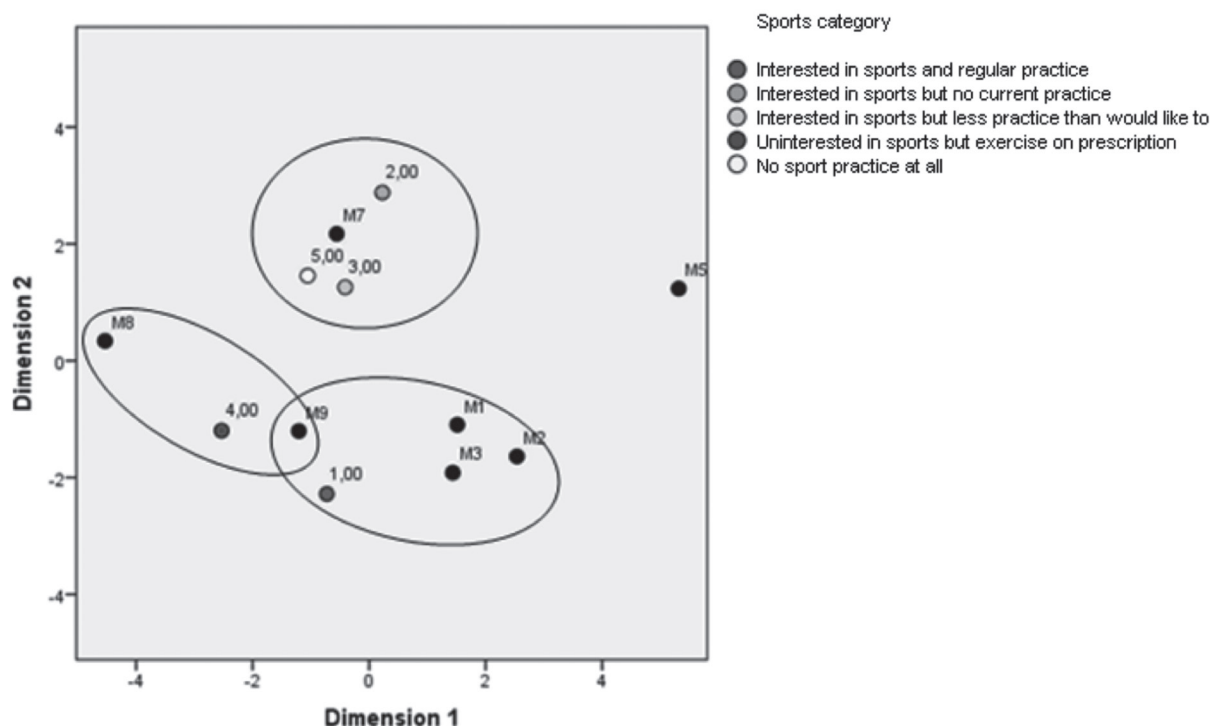


Figure 2: Unfolding Model for psychological well-being according to sports category

This study reveals (see Figure 2) that people who practice sports regularly and show an interest in them declare they feel good about themselves, can accomplish every challenge, set themselves goals that give meaning to their lives and have friends they can trust.

Furthermore, elderly people and individuals in the mature adult stage who do exercise on prescription, who do not practice any sports or who are interested but do not practice them as much as they would like, can be seen in the graph close to the M7 statement: I decide on my own things.

Finally, a third group is made up of the largest group, elderly people who are interested in sports, have practiced them but currently they do not. To a greater extent they perceive that they can love and be loved, and have friends they can trust.

When studying the validity indices obtained in the unfolding model, it can be seen how the algorithm converges to the solution after 287 iterations, with a final penalized stress of 0.246. The coefficient of Kruskal's Stress-I is a measure of goodness of fit of the model and takes the value of 0.0560. This suggests that it is not a degenerate solution. In this sense, the intermixing index DeSarbo takes a value close to zero and the no degeneration approximated index of

Shepard is sufficiently high, 0.7619, indicating that the different distances percentage is close to 77%, a fairly high percentage.

#### *Sport practice versus perception of life satisfaction*

As in our psychological well-being analysis, it can be observed that physical activity affects people's vital perceptions, since they show higher average rating on positive affirmations related to life satisfaction.

In this case, most elderly people and individuals in the mature adult stage who practice sports regularly declare to be happy with their lives, using expressions such as "If I could live my life over again, I would like it to be the way it has been so far," or "In most respects, my life is as I would like it to be." In contrast, those who are not physically active, state they are not happy with their lives in general or do not like everything surrounding their lives (see figure 3).

Again, the differences in the means of the five statements forming this group that measures life satisfaction (see annex II) are statistically significant according to the nonparametric Kruskal-Wallis H-test and its associated sample contrasts, with p-values obtained less than 0.000 in all cases.

People who show interest in sports and practice them sufficiently present ratings above average in statements M10, M11 and M13, yet have very low values in statements M12 and M14.

It is also noticeable that elderly people who are not interested in sports but either do exercise on prescription or do not practice them, have a higher average in negative statements such as M12 and M14, which shows a lower degree of perception of life satisfaction.

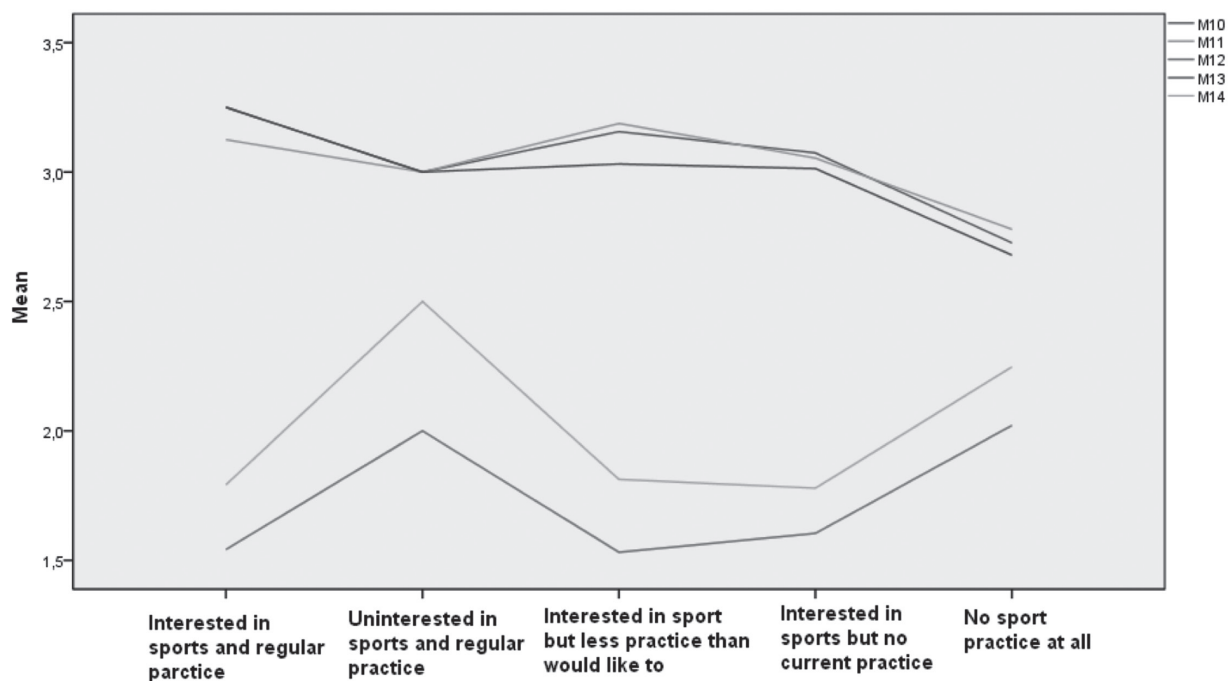


Figure 3: Mean scores in perceived life satisfaction according to sports category

People who are interested in and practice sports differ from the rest. This is one of the conclusions of an Unfolding analysis of the study of the preferences of the five statements of life satisfaction group is shown graphically. On one hand, there is a group of those who are interested in sports and practice them sufficiently (see Figure 4), and who show a greater preference for statement M13 "If I could live

my life over again, I would like it to be the way it has been so far". This demonstrates that individuals who practice sports on their own initiative are fully satisfied with their lives. A second group consists of those who do not practice sports or do exercise on prescription. This group of people perceive that their lives are, in most respects, as they would like them to be.

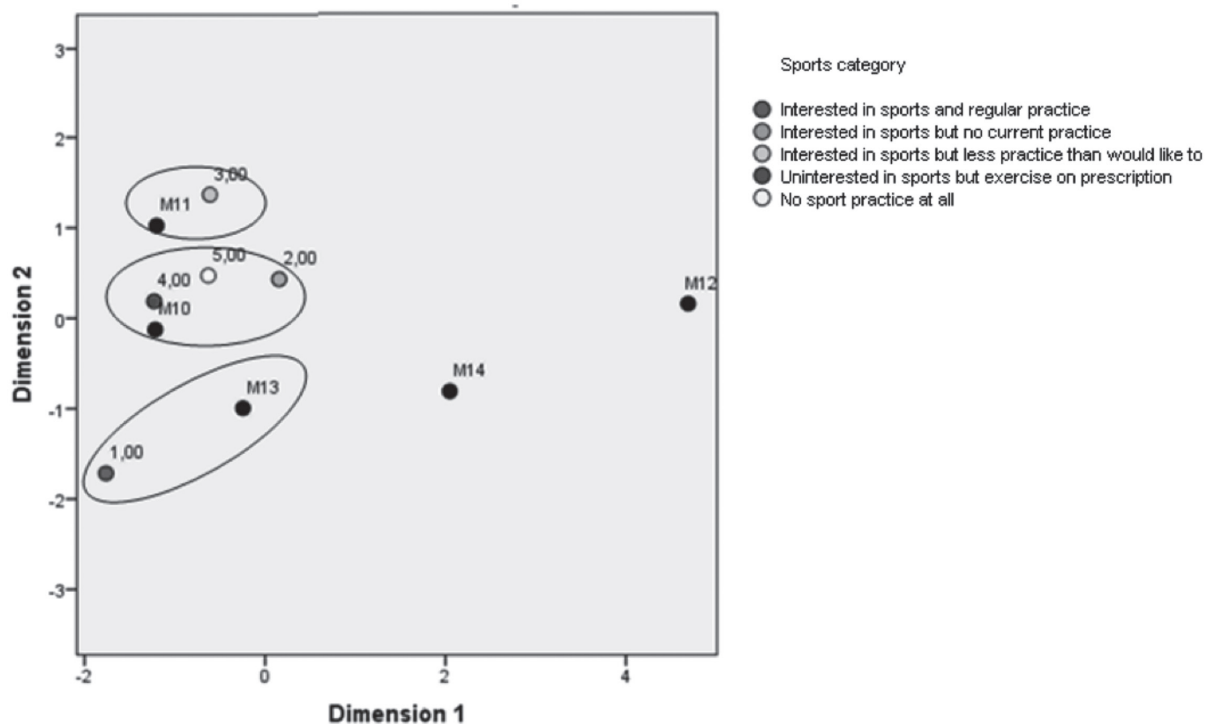


Figure 4: Unfolding Model for life satisfaction according to sports category

Finally, there is another group of people who are interested in sports but cannot practice them as much as they would like because of their personal circumstances. These people show that, so far, they already have all they would like to achieve in their lives.

As shown by validity indices obtained in the unfolding model there are no indications that the solution is degenerate. There is a convergence of the algorithm in 178 iterations, with Kruskal's Stress-I coefficient very close to zero, which suggests that the solution presented is not degenerate. The rate of approximate non-degeneration according to Shepard is sufficiently high, 0.9, indicating that the different distances percentage is close to 90%, a very high percentage.

In both studies, graphical solutions are obtained considering a convergence 0.000001 stress, a minimum stress of 0.0001 and a maximum number of 5000 iterations. As for the penalty term, a magnitude of 0.5 and 1.0 range have been considered.

Finally, the similarities in the distributions of scores assigned by the elderly in the 14 statements according to the sociodemographic variables are studied; age group, gender, either you have dependent children, study levels and employment situation in which you are.

To perform this analysis, the Mann-Witney U or Kruskal-Wallis H contrast is done, since the hypothesis of normality is not verified in the groups studied. The study highlights that almost all the variables studied, except gender, show a different data distribution in the 14 statements studied (see annex III).

It is remarkable that the data distributions analyzed, in the statements about Psychological Well-being Perception and Perceived Life Satisfaction, are similar and do not depend on whether the individual is a woman or a man, and there is no statistical evidence to reject the equality of the median.

## Discussion and Conclusions

The study of quality of life, the perception of health during all stages of life have been extensively analyzed. These concepts are usually more important when we refer to the elderly and adults in the mature stage.

According to various studies, for an individual's healthy aging process certain emotional, social and physical (Espinosa and Libreros, 1995, Marin and Garcia, 2004) must be met (Castellón-Sánchez and Romero, 2004).



Thus, there are two lines of action:

- The first line promotes an intervention with elderly people in order to improve their quality of life from three perspectives: physical, social and psychological (Castellón-Sánchez and Romero, 2004; Molina, Meléndez and Navarro, 2008).

The second one, supported by Fox (1999) Hong and Dimsdale (2003), Koukouvou et al. (2004) and Miller (2005), states that through exercise both physical and psychological health can be improved.

Our study, as well as being consistent with the last group of researchers' work, takes a step further, adding a social component, as we observed that most elderly people who regularly do some kind of physical and sport practice, and show an interest in sports, declare they feel good about themselves, can accomplish every challenge, set themselves goals that give meaning to their lives (emotional and physical health), have friends they can trust (social support) and feel full satisfaction with their current life. However, elderly people who do not practice such activities state, with higher value means, they feel isolated or having a ever-changing opinion, under pressure.

Finally, we can verify that unfolding analysis on the study of psychological well-being and perceived life satisfaction shows that:

- Elderly people who practice sports regularly and show an interest in them declare they feel good about themselves, can accomplish every challenge, set themselves goals that give meaning to their lives, have friends they can trust and feel full satisfaction with their current life.

Among the limitations of the study are the reduction in the number of questionnaires that could finally were statistically treated. On the other hand, the study focuses on sports practice and not on physical activity in general, which limits the results obtained to sports practice.

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**Annex I:**

**Territorial scope:** City of Dos Hermanas, Seville, Spain.

**Universe:** Population over 55 years old

**Type of sampling:** Two-stage Stratified Sampling, with selection of the primary units by municipal districts

(5 districts) with proportional affixation and of the secondary units, individuals, by random routes and quotas of sex and age intervals. The questionnaires have been carried out by personal interview. Fixed a 4% maximum error for a confidence level of 95%, applying the formula:

$$n = \frac{\sum_{h=1}^L W_h^2 \frac{N_h}{N_h - 1} \frac{P_h \cdot Q_h}{w_h}}{\frac{e^2}{k^2} + \frac{1}{N^2} \sum_{h=1}^L \frac{N_h^2}{N_h - 1} P_h \cdot Q_h}$$

where "n" is the optimal sample size, L = 5 is the number of districts, N = 25.092 the total size of the population under study,  $N_h$  is the size of each district,  $W_h$  the population weight of each district,  $w_h$  the weight sample of each district,  $P_h$  and  $Q_h$  proportion of individuals studied who

practice and do not practice sports in each district.

With these data, an optimal sample size of 591 individuals is obtained, although due to study limitations, 419 questionnaires were finally selected, 51.4% corresponding to men and 48.6% to women.

**Annex II:**  
**Average ratings of 14 statements (see annex II) in the five sports categories considered in the study**

		Sports category					Total
		Interested in sports and regular practice	Uninterested in sports but exercise on prescription	Interested in sports but less practice than would like to	Interested in sports but no current practice	No sport practice at all	
M1	Mean	3.5	3.5	3.06	3.09	2.81	2.98
	Stand. Deviat.	0.511	0.707	0.564	0.625	0.608	0.633
M2	Mean	3.42	2	3.09	3.04	2.5	2.8
	Stand. Deviat.	0.504	0	0.466	0.734	0.828	0.811
M3	Mean	3.46	2.5	3.19	3.15	2.51	2.86
	Stand. Deviat.	0.509	0.707	0.471	0.675	0.761	0.776
M4	Mean	1.38	1.5	1.34	1.54	1.79	1.64
	Stand. Deviat.	0.495	0.707	0.545	0.598	0.709	0.662
M5	Mean	2.5	2.5	2.25	2.61	2.31	2.43
	Stand. Deviat.	0.78	0.707	0.672	0.836	0.811	0.818
M6	Mean	1.54	1.5	1.63	1.84	1.86	1.81
	Stand. Deviat.	0.509	0.707	0.707	0.698	0.75	0.718
M7	Mean	3.33	4	3.56	3.15	3.05	3.15
	Stand. Deviat.	0.702	0	0.504	0.63	0.64	0.645
M8	Mean	3.33	2.5	2.91	3.19	2.68	2.93
	Stand. Deviat.	0.565	0.707	0.588	0.6	0.724	0.706
M9	Mean	3.62	3	3.41	3.28	2.87	3.11
	Stand. Deviat.	0.495	1.414	0.56	0.505	0.678	0.647
M10	Mean	3.25	3	3.16	3.07	2.73	2.92
	Stand. Deviat.	0.442	0	0.515	0.571	0.599	0.602
M11	Mean	3.13	3	3.19	3.05	2.78	2.94
	Stand. Deviat.	0.68	0	0.471	0.624	0.567	0.606
M12	Mean	1.54	2	1.53	1.6	2.02	1.8
	Stand. Deviat.	0.509	0	0.718	0.645	0.749	0.726
M13	Mean	3.25	3	3.03	3.01	2.68	2.87
	Stand. Deviat.	0.532	0	0.4	0.557	0.656	0.622
M14	Mean	1.79	2.5	1.81	1.78	2.25	2.01
	Stand. Deviat.	0.721	0.707	0.471	0.676	0.732	0.728

**Annex III:**

Non-parametric study of the similarity of distributions according to the sociological variables: age, gender, dependent children, studies and employment status.

		<b>Age group</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Dependent children</b>	<b>Educational Attainment</b>	<b>Employment Status</b>
Psychological Well-being Perception	M1. I feel good about myself.	0.014	NS	NS	<0.000	<0.000
	M2. I can accomplish every challenge.	<0.000	NS	<0.000	<0.000	<0.000
	M3. I set myself goals that give meaning to my life.	<0.000	NS	<0.000	<0.000	<0.000
	M4. I feel isolated.	0.043	NS	<0.000	0.001	NS
	M5. I am able to influence those around me.	NS	NS	<0.000	NS	0.017
	M6. When I feel under pressure I change my mind.	NS	NS	<0.000	0.037	NS
	M7. I decide on my own things.	0.017	NS	<0.000	<0.000	0.006
	M8. I can love and be loved.	<0.000	NS	<0.000	NS	<0.000
	M9. I have friends I can trust.	0.026	NS	NS	<0.000	0.026
Perceived Life Satisfaction	M10. In most respects, my life is as I would like it to be	NS	NS	NS	<0.000	<0.000
	M11. So far, I already have everything I would want in my life.	0.026	NS	NS	<0.000	<0.000
	M12. I am not happy with my life.	<0.000	NS	NS	0.005	<0.000
	M13. If I could live my life over again, I would like it to be the way it has been so far.	0.07	NS	NS	0.021	<0.000
	M14. I do not like everything surrounding my life.	0.019	NS	0.003	NS	<0.000

NS: Not significant

## **Sección Especial**

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# Praxis de la resistencia ideológica y política al "deporte capitalista"<sup>1</sup>

## *Praxis of ideological and political resistance to "capitalist sport"*

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### Palabras clave

- Capitalismo
- Teoría Crítica del Deporte
- Francia

### Key words

- *Capitalism*
- *Critical Theory of Sport*
- *France*

### Resumen

El artículo sintetiza las ideas principales de la Teoría Crítica del Deporte, que ha investigado desde finales de la década de 1960 en Francia los significados del deporte en el capitalismo. En el primer apartado, se argumenta que el deporte se integra en el desarrollo capitalista y contribuye a transmitir los valores de la burguesía industrial desde finales del XIX. En el deporte, se escenifica la competitividad, la mitificación de la lucha, el triunfo y el éxito, a la vez que es un entrenamiento, un vehículo, para el rendimiento y la productividad en el trabajo. En este mismo capítulo inicial, se discuten diferentes efectos negativos del deporte en el capitalismo contemporáneo, que han sido analizados por parte de la Teoría Crítica del Deporte: desde la violencia al machismo, desde la corrupción de las instituciones deportivas a la mercantilización y espectacularización de un deporte entendido como mecanismo de distracción. En un último apartado, se propone una tipología de actitudes de los actores deportivos que legitiman y hacen pervivir los mencionados efectos negativos del deporte en el marco del capitalismo actual.

### Abstract

*This paper synthesizes the main ideas of the Critical Theory of Sport, which has investigated the meanings of sport in capitalism since the late 1960s in France. The first section argues that sport is integrated into the capitalist development and contributes to convey the values of the industrial bourgeoisie since the end of the 19th century. In sports, competitiveness, the myth of struggle, triumph and success are staged. At the same time, sports constitute a training, a vehicle, for performance and productivity at work. That section also discusses the different negative effects of sport in contemporary capitalism, which have been analyzed by the Critical Theory of Sport: from violence to machismo, from the corruption of sports institutions to the commercialization and spectacularization of sport, which is understood as a mechanism for distraction. The final section proposes a typology of attitudes of sports actors that legitimize and maintain the aforementioned negative effects of sport in the framework of current capitalism.*

<sup>1</sup> Traducción: David Moscoso (Universidad Pablo de Olavide y Universidad de Córdoba).



El *deporte capitalista* globalizado constituye hoy un verdadero imperio planetario, cuya creciente influencia se ejerce tanto en el plano económico como político. Las instituciones deportivas organizadas como grandes empresas multinacionales tienen como único objetivo maximizar los beneficios, uniéndose para ello con las grandes compañías del mundo de los negocios (*business*) y con los grupos de intereses asociados a ellas (fondos de pensiones, petrodólares, oligarquías postsoviéticas, empresas patrocinadoras y anunciadoras, grupos financieros transnacionales...).

Estos "operadores" legitiman su visión mercantil del mundo mediante la promoción publicitaria de ese artificioso universo unidimensional que es el espectáculo deportivo, sea directo o televisado, como lo vemos habitualmente durante los Juegos Olímpicos, las Copas del Mundo de Fútbol o los múltiples campeonatos internacionales. Los "grandes estadios" devoran el dinero público y ocupan el espacio urbano con hormigoneras, especuladores inmobiliarios, tecnologías de control y vigilancia, cuerpos de seguridad y grupos "ultra" (fascistas, skins o neonazis) que vandalizan los equipamientos públicos. Las competiciones, los resultados y los comentarios estúpidos de los locutores, saturan las pantallas, al tiempo que los ídolos deportivos de fabricación industrial parasitan la imaginación de los aficionados. El consumo se orienta sistemáticamente hacia los productos deportivos, de tal modo que el espacio público está profusamente mistificado por las imágenes, los símbolos y las figuras del panteón deportivo, un panteón poblado por héroes, superhombres y dioses del estadio.

En un clima de *unión sagrada*, todos los proyectos políticos están obsesionados con la "grandeza deportiva" de Francia y con su "vocación de organizar grandes eventos deportivos"<sup>2</sup>. El "deporte capitalista" no sólo reina ahora sobre todas las formas de actividad física, sino que se infiltra, a través de la difusión ininterrumpida de sus espectáculos de ma-

sas, en secciones enteras de la ciencia, la cultura, el arte y el pensamiento, exaltando la ideología de la competición, la competitividad y la rentabilidad. La propaganda deportiva se ha convertido ahora en la opinión dominante (casi sacralizada) de la sociedad contemporánea, en un instrumento de idiotización y adormecimiento de las conciencias y en un factor de masificación ideológica sin precedentes<sup>3</sup>.

La colonización deportiva total y totalitaria del mundo actual se propaga por doquier en el sentido en que lo expresó Herbert Marcuse (1968: 29) cuando señalaba que "el totalitarismo no es sólo una uniformización política basada en el terror, sino también una uniformización económico-técnica no terrorista que opera manipulando las necesidades en nombre de un falso interés general".

### El deporte-espectáculo de competición: un deporte capitalista

El *deporte capitalista* no es el resultado final e inevitable del desarrollo histórico de la práctica deportiva, un desarrollo que habría nacido con los primeros pasos del *homo sapiens* y que habría ido mejorando al ritmo de la evolución económica eliminando elementos innecesarios, tal como lo creen los partidarios del liberalismo exitoso. Tampoco es la forma desviada y pervertida por el dinero, el profesionalismo, el mercado, el entretenimiento o los valores burgueses, de un deporte "ideal", "puro" o "emancipador", que sería fuente inagotable de "emulaciones saludables" y de "encuentros fraternos", como imaginan los jermías socialdemócratas, los nostálgicos del deporte soviético o los entusiastas del deporte alternativo (deporte obrero, deporte libertario, deporte cooperativo, deporte homosexual, deporte escolar...)<sup>4</sup>.

Institucionalizado en Inglaterra durante la revolución industrial de mediados del siglo XIX y difundido

<sup>2</sup> Ver las campañas contra los Juegos Olímpicos de 2024 en París iniciadas por Quel Sport? apoyadas por numerosos intelectuales. La última columna se publicó en *Le Monde* el 16 de septiembre de 2020: «JO à Paris: il est irresponsable de dilapider l'argent public dans une opération de prestige pharaonique» (Juegos Olímpicos de París: es una irresponsabilidad derrochar dinero público en una operación de prestigio faraónico). Todos los recursos contra los Juegos Olímpicos de 2024 están disponibles en el sitio web de *Quel Sport?*: [www.quelexport.org](http://www.quelexport.org), rubrique «Non aux JO de Paris 2024! (No a los JJOO de Paris 2024)».

<sup>3</sup> Ver la trilogía de Jean-Marie Brohm, *Théorie critique du sport. Essais sur une diversion politique* (2017); *La violence sportive. Une alinéation de masse* (2019); *Le sport-spectacle de compétition. Un asservissement consenti* (2020).

<sup>4</sup> Ver algunas de las numerosas producciones ideológicas (y miméticas) dedicadas a las supuestas virtudes emancipadoras del deporte en *La Pensée* n° 401 ("Sport et émancipation" –Deporte y emancipación–), enero/marzo 2020. Igor Martinache repite las tradicionales soflamas ideológicas sobre la "cultura deportiva" entonada, en la etapa álgida del camarada Stalin, por el Partido Comunista Francés y sus órganos de propaganda deportiva: "Como insistieron los comunistas franceses [...] [el deporte] puede contribuir decisivamente a la emancipación de los que lo practican" (pág. 14). Pero es difícil entenderlo así, cuando se constatan numerosos casos de violencia sexual en las federaciones deportivas francesas: 40 de ellos están directamente involucrados en los 177 casos de delitos contra niños y niñas detectados por el Ministerio de Deportes (Lemonde.fr, 1 de julio de 2020). En la lista de la emancipación de los pervertidos sexuales, el deporte francés ya tiene un triste récord...

a los cuatro rincones del mundo por la expansión imperialista británica, el *deporte capitalista* es un producto histórico-social sin precedentes y el resultado de una enorme transformación antropológica. En este proceso, el imaginario social capitalista —basado en la radicalización del "dominio racional" y en la arrogancia por adquirir todo lo que es o parece accesible (materia, espíritu, espacio, tiempo)— se ha apoderado de todas las esferas e instituciones sociales<sup>5</sup>, inclusive la del cuerpo, que desde entonces es empleado como un instrumento de rendimiento y de poder alimentado gracias a la competición generalizada de todos contra todos.

Como espectáculo crecientemente globalizado e impuesto a los países por federaciones deportivas burocratizadas y empresariales con cada vez mayor poder, el deporte difunde en altas dosis la ideología capitalista, es decir, la lógica del "mundo capitalista", anclándolo y justificándolo en el imaginario social. Regenera así las bases materiales del modo capitalista de producción y consumo. La *capitalización del deporte* —el capital se adueña del deporte— y la *deportivización del capital* —la lógica deportiva se integra en las estrategias de desarrollo del capital— son las dos caras de la misma moneda en un proceso expansivo que ha invadido el mercado y, a través de él, la sociedad en su conjunto. Asistimos así, con el deporte, "al triunfo absoluto del imaginario capitalista en sus formas más crudas" (Castoriadis, 2009: 110).

El análisis crítico del deporte debe, por tanto, distanciarse decididamente de la concepción tradicional del *deporte* entendido como diversión, pues, esta forma de concebir la práctica deportiva está ya muy lejos de la efectiva realidad del deporte contemporáneo, cada vez más asimilado a un trabajo embrutecedor para quienes lo practican y consumido como el opio del pueblo por millones de espectadores. También debe alejarse radicalmente del eclecticismo postmoderno que florece en las facultades del deporte, unas facultades carentes de objetos de investigación que no sean "políticamente correctos" y para los que todo ejercicio físico sería "deporte", desde la jardinería hasta el patinaje, pasando por el surf, el tai chi y las partidas de cartas. Mantener como válido el postulado del individualismo metodológico, según el cual deporte es lo que la gente dice de él cuando

lo practica, es simplemente renunciar a la tarea de hacer inteligible el deporte contemporáneo como un *hecho social total*<sup>6</sup>. Es como considerar que es mejor dejar que los proxenetes definan la prostitución y que los ayatolás, tiranos y dictadores, nos digan qué es la libertad...

En realidad, el deporte es capitalista porque está impregnado por todos lados de relaciones, lógicas, principios, estructuras y significados capitalistas, que reproduce y renueva dialécticamente: competencia exacerbada, culto al rendimiento, competición permanente, "agresividad conquistadora", productividad como fin exclusivo, ideología de la victoria a cualquier precio, superación constante de los límites, meritocracia erigida como dogma metafísico, fetichismo del récord, apología casi religiosa de los "hombres fuertes".

En tanto que "sistema institucionalizado de prácticas competitivas principalmente físicas, delimitadas, codificadas y reguladas convencionalmente, y cuyo objetivo declarado es designar, a partir de hazañas, demostraciones y actuaciones físicas, al mejor competidor (el campeón) o registrar el mejor logro (récord)"<sup>7</sup> (Brohm, 1976: 89), el deporte es, en definitiva, el campo de entrenamiento disciplinar del cuerpo en la etapa capitalista. Esto es lo que correctamente analizó Theodor W. Adorno (2009: 95) cuando dijo: "El deporte no es un juego, sino un ritual mediante el cual los sometidos celebran su sometimiento. (Los deportistas) parodian la libertad mostrando su disposición a servir, una disponibilidad que el individuo extrae de su propio cuerpo. En el marco de la libertad con que dispone de su cuerpo, el individuo confirma lo que él es infligiendo a su cuerpo esclavo la misma injusticia que ha sufrido bajo la presión de la sociedad. La pasión por el deporte en la que los *maestros de la cultura de masas* asientan las verdaderas bases de su poder dictatorial sobre la masa se basa en este hecho".

### Las violencias deportivas: una escuela de delincuencia

Durante cuarenta años, el deporte capitalista ha generado una cantidad ingente de escándalos (dopaje, trampas, tráfico de todo tipo, corrupción, arreglos mafiosos, fraude financiero, lavado de dinero, abuso

<sup>5</sup> Sobre estas nociones, ver Castoriadis (2009) «La rationalité du capitalisme».

<sup>6</sup> Para una crítica de todas estas definiciones ideológicas, ver Quel Sport? «L'idéologie sportive. Chiens de garde, courtisans et idiots utiles du sport» (La ideología deportiva. Perros de guardia, cortesanos e idiotas al servicio del deporte) (2014).

<sup>7</sup> Para el Conseil d'État, que se basa explícitamente en la definición de Jean-Marie Brohm, "el carácter de una disciplina deportiva se basa en un conjunto de índices que incluyen la búsqueda del rendimiento físico, la organización regular de competiciones y el carácter bien definido de las normas aplicables al ejercicio de esta actividad". Ver también el texto de Lemaire (2008: 39) «La définition juridique du sport».

de poder...) y de violencias de diversos tipos (peleas organizadas, hooliganismo, vandalismo, linchamientos, abusos sexuales, abusos contra la infancia...), en todos los niveles de la práctica deportiva, en todos los estamentos de la institución deportiva, en casi todos los deportes y en todos los países<sup>8</sup>.

La realidad es que, tras cada escandalosa noticia sobre estas "historias sucias" aparecida en el panorama mediático, surgen numerosas charlas sobre el "deporte limpio" que, cada cierto tiempo, desembocan en simposios ministeriales, conferencias universitarias o códigos "éticos" con los que se desea restaurar "el ideal deportivo", "salvar el deporte" o liberarlo de las mafias y matones que lo tienen secuestrado. La ineficacia de estos mensajes reivindicativos y "comisiones Theodule", característicos del reformismo sin reforma, es cada vez más patente, pues los últimos casos están ahí para recordarlo.

Todo esto es ciertamente emblemático del clima deletéreo en el que florecen los agentes de un sistema deportivo irreversiblemente corrompido. El "sistema de dopaje de Estado" en Rusia, revelado en el informe McLaren<sup>9</sup>, ha demostrado que estas prácticas ilícitas, incluso mafiosas (intimidación, chantaje, corrupción, economía sumergida y *omertá*<sup>10</sup>) organizadas a todos los niveles —desde el estadio hasta la cúspide del Estado, pasando por las federaciones deportivas, los patrocinadores, los medios de comunicación y las agencias de control antidopaje— favorecen el nacimiento del campeón "extraterrestre" y, a través de él, la consecución de importantes beneficios económicos y políticos.

Todos los partidos organizados en tenis, fútbol, balonmano, rugby, bádminton... forman parte de una larga tradición de juegos de apuestas con el objetivo de generar beneficios sustanciales en este ámbito<sup>11</sup>. Avalados por los Estados, el mundo de las apuestas deportivas representa más de 10.000 millones de euros, principalmente en el ámbito del fútbol y el

tenis. Por tanto, no pueden sino despertar la codicia de las organizaciones delictivas. En el sector de las apuestas, al igual que en el del dopaje, son precisamente las mafias y las prácticas mafiosas las que se han asentado, como bien demostró el documental de Hervé Martin Delpierre, *Deporte, mafia y corrupción*<sup>12</sup>. Manipuladas por el crimen organizado, las apuestas deportivas se han convertido en la máquina de lavado de dinero negro más efectiva jamás inventada, en la que ciertos atletas, entrenadores, agentes de jugadores, presidentes de clubes y accionistas, actúan como piezas del engranaje.

Finalmente, los innumerables casos de violencia que suceden a lo largo del año en todos los países y en todos los niveles de la competición, tanto en el deporte profesional como en el aficionado, tanto en hombres como en mujeres, y tanto en las gradas como fuera de ellas (incluso en los vestuarios) durante los partidos de fútbol —ahora clasificados de acuerdo con los riesgos para la población—, demuestran hasta qué punto la "pacificación" en torno al balón de fútbol siempre ha sido un cuento de hadas. Cualquiera que de una forma u otra justifique, disculpe o minimice, la violencia en el fútbol, argumentando que la afición es el "jugador número doce" de un equipo y una "parte integral del espectáculo", y que, sin aficionados, este deporte se volvería "poco interesante", se niegan a admitir —por desconocimiento, o porque han sido jugadores o entrenadores— que el deporte lleva implícita la violencia de la misma manera que la nube es portadora de tormentas.

Todas las sutilezas de unos y otros para diferenciar los tipos de violencia simplificando o quitándole importancia a su frecuencia y gravedad (excusas internas) o relacionándola con el entorno social, la violencia urbana, las dificultades de una juventud ociosa o las manipulaciones de grupos extremistas (excusas externas), tienen como único fin disociar el fútbol "real" de sus "abusos" o "excesos" y, por tanto,

<sup>8</sup> En los diferentes números de las revistas *Quel Corps?* y *Quel Sport?* pueden encontrarse sendas contribuciones que tratan de dilucidar el significado político de estos casos, a menudo presentados como independientes unos de otros y generalmente disociados del "deporte propiamente dicho" bajo la manipulación de periodistas que, cual vendedores de vibraciones e ilusiones, no desean profundizar en la realidad del dopaje, la violencia, la corrupción o el engaño, como algo que se encuentra completamente institucionalizado en este ámbito de la realidad social, también la del deporte.

<sup>9</sup> Ver «Plus de 1.000 athlètes et 30 disciplines concernés par le dopage institutionnalisé en Russie» («Más de 1.000 atletas y 30 disciplinas preocupadas por el dopaje institucionalizado en Rusia»), *Le Monde*, 9 de diciembre de 2016.

<sup>10</sup> En alusión a la expresión castellana "ver, oír y callar", si bien se refiere al código de honor siciliano que prohíbe denunciar actividades ilícitas, al considerar que sólo les atañe a las personas afectadas.

<sup>11</sup> Ver «Sport et paris truqués, une longue histoire incestueuse» («Apuestas deportivas y amañadas, una larga historia incestuosa»), *Le Monde* con AFP y Reuters, 27 de septiembre de 2012.

<sup>12</sup> Difundido en el canal Arte el 6 de octubre de 2012.

absolverlo de ser una verdadera escuela de violencia, de fracturas sociales y de odio<sup>13</sup>.

### Resistencias a la crítica del deporte: seis tipos ideales

Frente a los que de manera mordaz oponen el deporte realmente existente al deporte idealizado que imaginan los charlatanes del ideal deportivo, podemos distinguir seis tipos de resistencia a la crítica radical del deporte.

El primer tipo de resistencia —todavía muy extendido hoy entre los periodistas deportivos, los seguidores irredentos y los ilusos de la "izquierda plural"— consistiría en *negar* pura y simplemente la gravedad de los hechos. Para los acérrimos del deporte y los aficionados adictos a las "emociones" deportivas, todo es perfecto y bello en el mundo encantado del deporte. Para ellos, los hechos que se denuncian serían "exageraciones", deliberadamente "magnificadas", incluso "inventadas" por los "fanáticos" de la crítica del deporte. Repiten una y otra vez que "no hace falta exagerar" ni tampoco "mezclarlo todo", sino "defender el espíritu del deporte" contra sus detractores. Esta resistencia "instintiva" le asegura a los adictos a los estadios la plena y libre satisfacción de "sentir el placer" con el deporte y soñar el "deporte" sin ningún tipo de complejos de naturaleza política o ética.

El segundo tipo de resistencia —que se encuentra con frecuencia dentro de la propia institución deportiva, entre entrenadores, "educadores" y practicantes que todavía quieren "creer" en las bondades del deporte— consistiría en cerrar los ojos al problema eliminando de forma selectiva todo lo que incomoda (sería algo similar al fenómeno de la "escotomización" utilizado por el psicoanálisis). En este tipo de resistencia se admite que en el sistema deportivo existen determinados hechos que son claramente criticables, pero son vistos como "casos aislados" que afectan a sólo unas pocas "manzanas podridas", si bien no a la institución deportiva en sí misma, que es considerada como una institución sana en su esencia. Serían "escorias" que deben ser condenadas para preservar mejor lo esencial del deporte: la competición, las hazañas, los récords, la superación incesante de los

límites, la mentalidad de ganador... elementos todos ellos que se supone son parte integrante de la "naturaleza humana".

El tercer tipo de resistencia —cada vez más presente entre los "investigadores" de las facultades del deporte y los nuevos ideólogos del culto al cuerpo y las "prácticas corporales"— consistiría en desviar el problema. Es esta una estrategia a dos niveles: por un lado, consistiría en hablar de cosas distintas del deporte (por ejemplo, los juegos tradicionales del siglo XVI, la gimnasia sueca, los bolos marseleses, la marcha nórdica para ancianos, los paseos en bicicleta, la obesidad, los cuerpos híbridos, las nuevas prácticas sexuales...), y por otro lado, en hablar de aquellos aspectos de la práctica deportiva que supuestamente se han "salvado" de la "deriva" que está siguiendo el deporte (por ejemplo, hay rivalidad competitiva, pero también amistad; hay confrontación, pero también juego limpio; hay dopaje, pero también hay salud; hay entrenamiento intensivo, pero también gestos y comportamientos bonitos; está la pesadilla de la violencia, pero también los sueños que despiertan las estrellas; hay dinero, pero también "valores humanos"...). A eso habría que añadir las publicaciones "axiológicamente neutras" que existen hoy, así como las múltiples anécdotas edulcoradas que se cuentan sobre el deporte o los buenos recuerdos juveniles en pantalones cortos en los estadios, actuando todo ello como pantallas que ocultan la masiva *efectividad política* del deporte capitalista.

El cuarto tipo de resistencia —expresada principalmente dentro del Partido Comunista francés (PCF) y de sus organizaciones satélites (Unión Nacional de Educación Física, Federación de los Trabajadores de la actividad deportiva y gimnástica, Confederación General de Trabajadores...), pero que hoy se extiende en gran medida a toda la clase política y a la intelectualidad— es la actitud que podríamos denominar de *disociación*. Sería el famoso "sí, pero...": sí, el deporte está plagado de "excesos", "abusos" y "desviaciones", pero hay un "núcleo duro" que es sano (llamémoslo como queramos: "comunista", "anarquista", "libertario", "ecologista", "educativo", "ciudadano"...), y que se debe defender contra el ambiente nocivo que lo rodea. Muchos teóricos cercanos al PCF se han esfor-

<sup>13</sup> Sobre el mundo idílico del fútbol, ver *Quel Sport?*, n° 25/26, («Football, la colonisation du monde» —Fútbol, la colonización del mundo—), junio de 2014; n° 30/31 («Le football, une servitude volontaire. Manuel de résistance à la massification» —Fútbol, una servidumbre voluntaria. Manual de resistencia a la masificación), mayo de 2016; y n°33/34 («Total football. Une arme de diversion massive» —Fútbol total. Un arma de distracción masiva—), mayo de 2018.

zados así por identificar dentro del deporte categorías trascendentes, arquetipos y aspectos esenciales que nunca estarían contaminados por el dopaje, la violencia, el dinero o las prácticas del capitalismo mafioso. A salvo en el cielo platónico de las ideas, el deporte puede convertirse entonces en un "logro de la humanidad", un "bien común" o un "juego universal". Y, debido a esta mistificación idealista, compartida por un pequeño puñado de creyentes organizados en microclubes de deportes alternativos, resulta que es toda la maquinaria deportiva imperialista la que se salva de la crítica. Una variante más cínica admite incluso que la función ideológica del deporte es precisamente la de ser "opio del pueblo", pero que la "alegría deportiva", el "placer de los estadios" o los "buenos momentos frente a la tele", son sentimientos más fuertes, más populares y, por lo tanto, más auténticos, que todas esas teorías críticas que "dan dolor de cabeza". Esta es una estrategia de "salida" o de "entrada" sin complejos en los debates sobre el deporte. Daniel Cohn-Bendit, Olivier Besancenot y muchos intelectuales o pseudopensadores explotan esta vena populista: sí, el deporte es alienante; sí, es una droga; sí, es una maquinaria capitalista; sí, es una correa de transmisión de ideologías y prácticas totalitarias... pero el deporte como juego es hermoso, la victoria es estimulante, el esfuerzo es admirable...

El quinto tipo de resistencia es lo que podemos llamar la *afirmación apologética* —una actitud cada vez más frecuente en tiempos de crisis económica, social, ecológica y política, en la que el individuo tiende a replegarse en el ombliguismo, el nihilismo y el hedonismo ("después de mí el diluvio")—. El esquema discursivo es siempre el siguiente: "bueno, sí... ¿y qué?". Es un discurso que surge de la identificación absoluta, a menudo desesperada, desilusionada o cínica, de los individuos con las consignas, hábitos y costumbres de la dominación deportiva. "El espectáculo deportivo me idiotiza, sí, ¿y qué?". Se reconocen así los peores efectos del deporte capitalista, pero o bien se relativizan ("¡Es lo mismo en todas partes! El dopaje también existe entre los artistas; la competición también está en el mundo de la seducción; la violencia también se encuentra en los suburbios..."), o bien se minimizan ("¡todos estos casos no son tan graves si se compara con la felicidad que comporta el deporte!"), o bien se reprimen ("¡de todos modos, no podemos hacer nada al respecto, es así, tienes que vivir con tu tiempo!"), o bien son pasados por el tamiz de la moral ("¡si toda esta alienación puede ayudar-

te a sentirte mejor, ¿por qué privarse de ella?, ¿qué mal hay si te hace sentirte bien?, ¿por qué ser negativo cuando podríamos tomar el lado bueno de las cosas?...!"). Triunfa la servidumbre voluntaria y con ella la imposibilidad de pensar más allá de los límites impuestos por la institución deportiva.

Finalmente, un sexto tipo de resistencia consistiría en el *maximalismo crítico* buscando teorizar la impotencia. Esto provoca una actitud de lamentación que sigue una lógica como esta: el deporte lo ha invadido todo; es el "proyecto de una sociedad sin proyecto"; no debería serlo en absoluto, pero al fin y al cabo es tan poderoso y nosotros somos tan débiles, que es mejor esperar a que se derrumbe por sí solo para gritar entonces "¡Ningún deporte!".

## Conclusiones

La crítica radical del deporte capitalista ha tenido que afrontar, desde la década de 1970, toda esta resistencia más o menos organizada, tanto de forma manifiesta como de forma más sutil. Sin embargo, es evidente que la reacción anti-crítica se ha infiltrado en sucesivas oleadas en círculos cercanos a la Teoría Crítica del deporte hasta el punto de encontrar su mejor apoyo entre exmilitantes que se han convertido en portavoces de una pseudo-crítica aguada y revisionista, y finalmente derrotista. Este fenómeno no es sorprendente en sí mismo, ya que afecta a todos los movimientos revolucionarios o de protesta y a todos los movimientos de vanguardia.

Nunca podremos insistir lo suficiente en el hecho de que la crítica radical del deporte ha tenido que enfrentarse a la hostilidad declarada de la manada de ideólogos del "deporte humanista". Pero también, y aún más, a todos los sectores minoritarios y reciclados del mundo de la extrema izquierda (anarquistas de salón, cansados exmilitantes de la Liga Comunista Revolucionaria, burócratas autoproclamados de la Escuela Emancipada, seminaristas de la "ecología macrobiótica", peregrinos inscritos en foros y universidades de verano de antiglobalización...) que cantan de forma abstracta las mismas consignas raídas, extemporáneas, fuera de lugar y fuera de contexto y que recitan un catecismo políticamente inofensivo, mezclado con buenos sentimientos y piadosos deseos, para finalmente capitular con sonrojo ante la ideología dominante, y darle base teórica a su impotencia, su resignación y su pasteleo.

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# COVID-19 y práctica de actividad física y deporte entre mujeres adultas españolas: Contexto y recomendaciones

## COVID-19 and practice of physical activity and sport among Spanish adult women: Context and recommendations

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### Palabras clave

- COVID-19,
- Mujeres adultas,
- Actividad física
- Deporte

### Key words

- COVID-19,
- Adult women,
- Physical activity
- Sport

### Resumen

Los objetivos del presente trabajo fueron resumir el conocimiento clave y recomendaciones para desarrollar acciones basadas en la evidencia vinculadas al COVID-19 y la práctica de actividad física y deporte de las mujeres adultas españolas, con especial atención a su conciliación con la maternidad y el empleo. Se comienza resumiendo sus necesidades, hábitos y barreras pre y post COVID-19, así como así específicas COVID-19 de organizaciones de referencia. Y se concluye estableciendo elementos clave y recomendaciones para re-crear mejores actividades y espacios más seguros para la práctica de las mujeres adultas.

### Abstract

*The objectives of the present paper were to summarize key knowledge and recommendations to develop evidence-based actions related to COVID-19 and practice of physical activity and sport of the Spanish adult women, with special focus to on combining maternity and employment. First, pre and post COVID-19 needs, habits and barriers were summarized, as well as specific proposals related to COVID-19 from reference organizations. This work concludes by summarizing key elements and recommendations in order to "re-create" better activities and safer spaces for adult women to practice in.*



Este trabajo surge a partir de un informe realizado a instancia de un encargo público, presentado en comparecencia como experta, para incorporar la perspectiva de género a la reconstrucción de la actividad física y el deporte postCOVID-19 en los Pactos de Cibeles del Ayuntamiento de Madrid. Para desarrollar acciones públicas basadas en la evidencia, se revisó el conocimiento disponible sobre la situación previa y el impacto del COVID-19 en la práctica de actividad física, ejercicio físico y deporte (en adelante AFD) de las mujeres adultas españolas, con especial atención a la conciliación de crianza y empleo, así como recomendaciones y hojas de ruta de referencia. Concluye el trabajo resumiendo elementos clave y recomendaciones a considerar para el desarrollo de políticas deportivas.

### Las mujeres adultas como población diana

Para promover estilos de vida físicamente activos y saludables en España las mujeres adultas son un grupo clave por varias razones. La primera es que esta generación del *baby boom* son un grupo muy numeroso; una de cada dos personas en España se sitúa en la franja entre 30 y 64 años (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2020). La segunda es porque son fundamentales para reducir el sedentarismo y obesidad infanto-juvenil, impulsando en sus hijas e hijos la práctica de AFD, dado que tener modelos familiares es la principal variable predictora de práctica, siendo este efecto mayor en las mujeres (Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte, 2020). La tercera es que la práctica en un ciclo de vida anterior aumenta las posibilidades de seguir practicando (Martínez del Castillo et al., 2010; Moscoso et al., 2008), esta cuestión es fundamental en un país envejecido, ya que la vejez es territorio de mujeres (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2020). Por lo demás, se trata este de un grupo de población que también resulta fundamental para profesionales y organizaciones del sector *fitness-wellness*, al demandar significativamente más que los hombres servicios deportivos dirigidos (Espada et al., 2019; Martín et al., 2014).

### Su difícil conciliación de la práctica de AFD con la crianza y el empleo

En mujeres, la edad adulta es el periodo vital donde confluyen circunstancias que limitan de manera

importante su disponibilidad de tiempo libre para la práctica de AFD, entre otras, el empleo junto a las tareas de cuidado de personas y hogar, que han sido tradicionalmente atribuidas a este grupo de población. En relación a la conciliación de empleo y cuidados, aunque se ha ampliado la participación de las mujeres españolas en el mercado laboral, ellas siguen asumiendo la mayor parte de las responsabilidades familiares y domésticas. Es la denominada "*doble o triple jornada o rol femenino*", porque las diferencias entre hombres y mujeres en el reparto de horas entre trabajo remunerado y no remunerado evidencia el desigual reparto de las tareas de crianza, educación, cuidado de mayores, dependientes y trabajo doméstico, así como las jornadas de trabajo totales más largas que realizan éstas (Instituto de la Mujer y para la Igualdad de oportunidades, 2020b).

García y Llopis (2011) señalaron que, en España, uno de los dos momentos de abandono de la práctica de las mujeres se producía por la confluencia de maternidad y empleo. Otros autores atribuyen al triple rol femenino, entre otros, la "*clara persistencia de desigualdades sociales crónicas (o "brecha deportiva") en relación al género y la edad* (Moscoso y Rodríguez, 2020, 199).

En relación a las necesidades y barreras de la población adulta española Martín et al. (2014) evidenciaron que los hombres practicaban más ejercicio físico y deporte (51% y 31%, respectivamente), más mujeres que hombres caminaban para ejercitarse (25,5% y 13,2%, respectivamente), mientras que más mujeres que hombres, aunque no practicaban, deseaban hacerlo (23,9% y 18%, respectivamente).

Martín, Barriopedro y Espada (2020) pusieron de manifiesto que las madres empleadas representan el grupo con mayores puntuaciones en las principales barreras, como la dificultad de generar tiempo para sí mismas, el empleo y horarios incompatibles. En las madres, empleadas o no, el cuidado de su/s hija/os aparecía en mayor medida cuanto menor era la edad de las mujeres.

Aunque la subida del IVA desde 2012, que gravó los servicios deportivos del 10% al 21%, disminuyó en un tercio el porcentaje de mujeres practicantes con ayuda o dirección profesional<sup>1</sup> –es decir, en servicios deportivos organizados– (Martín, Espada y Barriopedro, 2020), el doble de ellas que de ellos practicaba con dirección profesional (Espada et al., 2019), especialmente las adultas jóvenes, si bien durante menos tiempo y en días laborables (Espada et al., 2018).

<sup>1</sup> Tipo de práctica de AFD dirigida, supervisada y orientada por profesionales con cualificación para desarrollar estas funciones de educadores/as físico deportivos/as.

La confluencia de barreras de los espacios privados (déficits de corresponsabilidad) y público (déficits de una oferta de práctica conciliadora con crianza y empleo y subida del IVA), pudiera explicar la alta prevalencia de práctica autónoma (68,5%). Ello, principalmente, en actividades consistentes en caminar por espacios urbanos al aire libre. Además, explicarían tales barreras el elevado número de mujeres adultas sedentarias que deseaban practicar deporte acudiendo a medios de ayuda o dirección profesional (68%) en un servicio deportivo público municipal (47%).

Las innovaciones a emprender solicitadas fueron programas de ejercicio físico en el trabajo, en el propio centro o en coordinación con instalaciones próximas. Pero la más demandada, tanto por hombres como mujeres y a emprender por su escasez, fue la coordinación de la oferta adulta e infancia, mediante programas de práctica conjuntos de adultas y menores, así como la oferta de diferentes actividades infantiles y para mujeres adultas en mismo horario y espacio, ludoteca o guardería en instalación deportiva (Martín et al., 2014). Proporcionar cuidado o actividades infantiles en el mismo tiempo que las actividades de las madres y padres también se recomienda en varias herramientas españolas y europeas (Consejo Superior de Deportes-Federación Española de Municipios y Provincias, 2011; Council of Europe, 2019a, 2019b). Así mismo, el estudio referencial *From Brighton to Helsinki. Women and Sport Progress Report 1994-2014* (Fasting et al., 2014) concretaba que el desarrollo de provisión de cuidados infantiles para las personas involucradas en el deporte en diferentes roles y áreas es una de las cuatro acciones prioritarias para mejorar la participación de las mujeres en el deporte.

### El impacto del COVID-19 en la práctica de AFD de las mujeres adultas

El informe del Instituto de la Mujer y para la Igualdad de oportunidades *La perspectiva de género, esencial en la respuesta a la COVID-19* (2020a) reflejó como el impacto sanitario, social, familiar y económico de esta pandemia, incrementó las barreras vinculadas al cuidado y amplió otras relacionadas con empleo y la seguridad:

- Centralidad de las tareas de cuidado: A sus dificultades habituales, se ha añadido el cierre de colegios y limitación de sus redes de apoyo comunitarias y familiares. Algunas han tenido que conciliar teletrabajo y telecolegio, otras no han podido seguir trabajando.

- Sobrecarga del trabajo sanitario y de servicios esenciales: Las mujeres son la mayoría del personal

sanitario, del comercio de alimentación, así como de limpieza hospitalaria y de residencias.

- Mayor pobreza y precariedad laboral: A la brecha de tasa de empleo femenino, elevada temporalidad y precariedad, hay que añadir que algunos de los sectores más afectados, como comercio, turismo y hostelería, están muy feminizados.

- Incremento del riesgo de violencia de género: Una de las manifestaciones de este impacto ha sido el incremento de consultas online y llamadas al 016 durante el confinamiento.

Castañeda et al. (2020) atribuyeron a la sobrecarga en las tareas de cuidado algunos de los cambios en los comportamientos de mujeres y hombres (entre 18 y 64 años) durante el confinamiento domiciliario. El tiempo sentado aumentó más en los hombres, que también redujeron las actividades moderadas, mientras que las mujeres las aumentaron. El caminar se redujo a la mitad en ambos y ellos más que ellas disminuyeron las actividades físicamente vigorosas, como la práctica de ejercicio físico o deporte, relacionando esto con la brecha deportiva de género. Cabe recordar que 7 de cada 10 mujeres activas partían de un hábito de práctica autónoma y que, en torno al 43% de las mujeres adultas españolas, del sedentarismo.

En hombres y mujeres adultas, García et al. (2020) evidenciaron una disminución de intensidad y cantidad en ambos sexos, así como cambios más acusados en las mujeres, desde ejercicio cardio-respiratorio y muscular a flexibilidad y neuromotor. Prevalció la práctica autónoma en ambos, más en hombres, siendo la práctica virtual significativamente mayor entre las mujeres.

El *Informe Impacto COVID-19 en Instalaciones Deportivas* (VALGO- Federación Nacional de Empresarios de Instalaciones Deportivas, 2020) concreta las acciones virtuales que emprendieron las instalaciones públicas de gestión privada y centros privados. La principal clases *online* a través de redes, seguida de contenidos en web, Apps para móviles propias, canal Youtube y sesiones en directo por videoconferencia. Esto sugiere que quienes antes practicaban con dirección profesional tuvieron una oferta adaptada y segura, aunque el informe recoge que aproximadamente la mitad del sector fitness e instalaciones deportivas españolas presentan dificultades de supervivencia.

Castañeda et al. (2020) evidenciaron que la población menos activa incrementó la realización de actividades vigorosas y moderadas, que atribuyen a la promoción de recomendaciones, entrenamientos matutinos en la televisión pública y sesiones *online*. Piedra (2020) señalaba que algunas de las campañas

que más difusión tuvieron fueron #YoMeNuevoEnCasa y #YoEntrenoEnCasa, desarrolladas por *influencers*. Partían mejor posicionadas y tuvieron mayor seguimiento las *influencers* Michelle Lewin, la reina del fitness en las redes, Jen Setler o Kayla Itsines que los *influencers* Simeon Panda o Joe Wicks. La *influencer* española más seguida fue Patry Jordan, con seguimientos muy superiores a los licenciados en CCA-FYDE Sergio Peinado y David Marchante. Durante el COVID-19 ganó 230.000 seguidores/as en Instagram desde marzo, y su Canal de Youtube pasó de unas 20 millones de reproducciones al mes a las 150 millones en abril o 123 millones en mayo. Destacando que la mayoría de *influencers* carecen de titulación profesional para dirigir ejercicio físico, López, Rodríguez y Salcedo (2020) alertaban sobre el aumento de lesiones detectadas por especialistas de la medicina derivadas de una práctica sin supervisión profesional en hombres y mujeres adultas.

En la desescalada, cuando se permitió salir a los niños y niñas a pasear acompañados de una/a progenitor/a, se presentaron las aglomeraciones y el riesgo de accidentes. También acciones novedosas y adaptativas de la población, que señalaban la necesidad y oportunidad de una transformación urbana facilitadora del ejercicio y el movimiento lúdico, de práctica conjunta o coordinada adultas-infancia, en espacios más saludables (Sánchez, 2020).

### La crisis del COVID-19 como oportunidad para mejorar la práctica de AFD de las mujeres adultas.

La Ejecutiva Global del Grupo internacional Mujeres y Deporte declaró la pandemia COVID-19 como una amenaza para el movimiento "*mujeres en el deporte y la actividad física*", emitiendo una llamada a la acción global mediante su *IWG responds to COVID 19 with global 'Call to Action'*. Alentaron a las organizaciones firmantes de la *Brighton plus Helsinki 2014 Declaration on Women & Sport* a liderar con el ejemplo el desarrollo, recuperación y reconstrucción de una cultura que permita y valore la plena participación de las mujeres y las niñas en todos los aspectos del deporte y la actividad física. Plantean cinco áreas, a considerar para las mujeres adultas las siguientes:

Area 1 Bienestar: Regreso a la actividad física "fuera de casa" tan pronto como sea segura pero, mientras tanto, movimiento "en el hogar".

Area 2 Seguridad: "Re-crear" actividades y espacios seguros para las mujeres.

Area 3 Recursos: Planificar equitativamente recursos y cronograma de recuperación.

Area 4 Liderazgo: Inclusión de las aportaciones de las mujeres y las comunidades en el nuevo diseño organizativo para afrontar este reto.

Area 5 Estructura: "Re-imaginar" nuevas formas de funcionar que incluyan con seguridad y equidad a las mujeres y las comunidades diversas.

A nivel nacional destacar las recomendaciones, solicitudes y manifiesto del Consejo General de la Educación Física y Deportiva para una práctica más segura con dirección profesional, la exención durante el confinamiento y reducción del 21% al 4% del IVA de los servicios profesionales, así como la solicitud de que sean reconocidos como actividad esencial, bajo los mismos parámetros, facilitando espacios públicos y ayudas económicas para su adaptación y destacando sus beneficios frente al COVID-19 y bajo riesgo de contagio (0,34%).

### Conclusiones y recomendaciones

El conocimiento expuesto se resume en las siguientes cuestiones clave.

En el contexto del COVID-19, una población diana sobre la que actuar en materia deportiva son las mujeres adultas, grupo muy numeroso en España que demanda, más que los hombres, servicios *fitness* con dirección profesional, por lo que son fundamentales para el sector profesional. Además, son claves para impulsar estilos de vida físicamente activos en la población infanto-juvenil y mayor.

Ellas partían de una menor y peor práctica. Aproximadamente, de cada 10 practicantes 4 utilizaban una instalación deportiva, 3 se ejercitaban con dirección profesional y 7 con autonomía, principalmente caminando en espacios urbanos al aire libre. 4 de cada 10 mujeres iniciaron el confinamiento desde el sedentarismo; 2 de ellas, aunque no practicaban deseaban hacerlo.

Sus principales barreras para la práctica de AFD fueron la dificultad de generar tiempo para si mismas, el empleo y horarios, especialmente madres empleadas, junto al cuidado de su/s hija/os, principalmente las madres más jóvenes, empleadas o no. En estos grupos confluían déficits de corresponsabilidad en tareas de cuidado y de oferta de práctica conciliadora con crianza y empleo.

El impacto del COVID-19 ha sido mayor en las mujeres por el incremento de las tareas de cuidado domésticas, así como por la sobrecarga del feminizado empleo sanitario y de servicios esenciales, mayor precariedad laboral, pobreza y aumento del riesgo de sufrir violencia de género.

Durante el confinamiento las mujeres aumentaron la realización de actividades moderadas, atribui-

das a tareas de cuidado, mientras que los hombres las disminuyeron. Ellos aumentaron más que ellas los comportamientos sedentarios. Hombres y mujeres adultas disminuyeron la cantidad e intensidad de AFD.

Las mujeres adultas encontraron en la práctica de AFD un elemento compensador y protector de su salud y bienestar durante la cuarentena. La población menos activa incrementó la realización de actividades vigorosas y moderadas. Ellas cambiaron más que ellos el tipo de actividad, desde ejercicio cardio-respiratorio y muscular a flexibilidad y neuromotor, siendo la práctica virtual significativamente mayor entre las mujeres. Podría decirse que para ellas fue una "cuar-entrena online".

Las clientas y usuarias de instalaciones deportivas tuvieron una oferta más segura y adaptada con dirección profesional, mediante clases *online* a través de redes, contenidos en web, aplicaciones de móvil, canales Youtube y sesiones en directo por videoconferencia.

Las *influencers* partían e incrementaron su seguimiento más que ellos, aunque la mayoría carece de titulación profesional para dirigir ejercicio físico. Especialistas de la medicina alertaron del aumento de lesiones en personas adultas derivadas de una práctica sin supervisión profesional. La desescalada mostró aglomeraciones y riesgo de accidentes en los espacios urbanos al aire libre.

Para desarrollar acciones basadas en la evidencia recogida, teniendo en consideración las propuestas de organizaciones de referencia se recomienda:

- Re-crear" mejores actividades y espacios de práctica de AFD, presenciales y vituales, con nuevas formas de organización participativa, para incorporar las necesidades de las mayorías sociales clave en la promoción de estilos de vida físicamente activos y saludables, como las de las madres adultas, hasta ahora escasamente tenidas en cuenta.

- Facilitar y promover una práctica de AFD más segura orientada por profesionales.

- Desarrollar nuevas formas, actividades y espacios de práctica deportiva conjunta de adultas y menores, saludable y lúdica, autónoma y dirigida.

- Promover la conciliación de la práctica diferenciada, coordinando en el mismo horario y espacio la práctica para adultas y menores, incluyendo el juego.

- Adaptar los espacios al aire libre para la práctica de AFD autónoma y dirigida por profesionales, conjunta y diferenciada adultas-menores, promoviendo una transformación urbana facilitadora de desplazamientos físicamente activos y movimiento seguro al aire libre, teniendo como puntos clave parques, espacios deportivos y centros educativos, mejorando su

aprovechamiento para la práctica de AFD saludable y lúdica, extendiéndola a sus vías de conexión según la mirada femenina de Lefaivre (2015).

- Promover programas conciliadores de AFD en el trabajo y tele-empleo, presenciales y virtuales, desarrollados por el propio centro o mediante convenios con organizaciones de la AFD.

- Implementar las ayudas solicitadas, como el reconocimiento de los servicios profesionales de AFD como actividades esenciales y bajo los mismos parámetros o la reducción de su IVA al 4%.

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## **Recensiones bibliográficas**

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Cantarero Abad, Luis  
**¡Cállate papa! Padres y violencias en el fútbol industrial**

Zaragoza. Pregunta Ediciones, 2020, 180 páginas

**Mario Jordi Sánchez**  
Universidad Pablo de Olavide

El libro "Cállate papá. Padres y violencias en el fútbol industrial", de Luis Cantarero es un ensayo crítico que asienta lo novedoso de su aportación sobre dos ejes fundamentales. De un lado, el apoyo metodológico en un sugerente enfoque combinado individuo-sociedad (en el que se da cabida a interpretaciones antropológicas, sociológicas y psicológicas, entre otras) y, de otro lado, el oportuno emplazamiento temático en el ámbito de la reproducción social del deporte. Más concretamente, el núcleo argumental de la obra se sitúa en la relación entre los niños futbolistas y sus padres, con énfasis en el cuestionable comportamiento de estos últimos, un tema en gran medida ilustrador de las contradicciones y fallas del fútbol actual.

Aunque el substrato formal de este libro tiene como referente al ensayo crítico, tanto el tono del lenguaje empleado como la sencilla y cercana exposición de contenidos hacen de su lectura algo asequible y extensible a un público abierto. Esta es una pretensión que el propio autor reconoce, bajo la intención de intentar llegar a una pluralidad de agentes relacionados con el mundo del fútbol. Ello implica también una renuncia explícita a rígidos academicismos, lo que le lleva a prescindir en buena parte de fundamentaciones teóricas o empíricas detalladas.

Para construir su relato, de clara y comprometida decantación ideológica, Cantarero se nutre de una

dilatada y reconocida experiencia de contacto con el fútbol en diversas facetas: como psicólogo, antropólogo, investigador social, docente, exjugador, aficionado y también como familiar de futbolista, todo lo cual aporta una gran riqueza de matices a sus reflexiones. Complementa esta obra a otras producciones anteriores, en las que el autor ha ido tratando diversos aspectos dentro de este deporte, como la psicología aplicada, la cultura alimentaria o su reciente contribución a la investigación cualitativa en el fútbol, a partir de la observación participante plasmada en diarios de campo.

Bajo un acercamiento multidimensional a la realidad del fútbol, pero a la vez conciso en lo formal, la obra se estructura en tres bloques o capítulos, cuyos títulos anticipan ya algunas intencionalidades de su contenido: una primera parte titulada ¡Cállate papá!, una segunda denominada "Si yo fuera novelista", y una tercera que recibe el nombre "Para una deontología futbolista". En el primero de estos capítulos, ("¡Cállate papá!"), el autor incide en la necesidad de una renovación cultural del fútbol, subrayando las carencias culturales y educativas, así como los desequilibrios psicológicos, que manifiestan los padres de niños futbolistas en su relación con estos. En concreto, el autor resalta la necesidad de superar el planteamiento irrealista, irrespetuoso y a veces violento de algunos padres, mantenido dentro y fuera de los



campos de fútbol en los que juegan sus hijos, por su doble asociación con el conflicto social y con la salud mental.

Esta tarea, en principio bastante concreta, busca sin embargo su fundamento en una amplia reflexión de contexto, lo que supone que la renovación cultural propuesta adquiera un carácter holístico, comprometiéndose a otras muchas esferas de este deporte. El resultado es una ampliación de la mirada hacia una multiplicidad de ámbitos y agentes dentro de la cultura futbolística actual. En lo conceptual, esto se aborda proponiendo la diferenciación, sin pretensiones exhaustivas, entre diferentes categorías dentro del fútbol, de las cuales Cantarero selecciona los siguientes “fútboles”: no federado, social, popular, emigrante, de autor e industrial. Aunque el énfasis se situará en esta última, la del fútbol industrial, las primeras páginas revisan someramente el resto de categorías, y nos avisan de algunas contradicciones y disfunciones presentes en ellas. Es el caso, por ejemplo, de lo que el autor viene en llamar *fútbol social*, sobre el que destaca algunas de sus implicaciones contradictorias, como la presencia de solidaridades no gratuitas en algunas de sus acciones o proyectos.

Tras la caracterización del *fútbol industrial* en sus connotaciones más mercantilistas, (destacando aquí Cantarero la inflación mediática, el resultadismo y la corrupción, entre otras), se trata de análisis problematizado de otros colectivos singulares dentro del fútbol, como el de los entrenadores y el de los jugadores, con atención especial a la relación de estos últimos con sus familiares. Se combina aquí nuevamente el enfoque social con el psicológico. Un ejemplo de esto último es lo que el autor considera la enfermiza búsqueda del *reconocimiento social*, expresiva de carencias o disfunciones psicológicas, que encuentra fundamentalmente entre los padres. Una búsqueda del éxito que lleva a instaurar en los hijos una presión desmedida por incorporarse a la senda del deporte de competición, afectada, como el autor sostiene, por una compleja casuística en la que participan múltiples factores. Uno de los más singulares, como aquí es tratado, es el especial protagonismo del intrincado acceso a la estructura de oportunidades que surge dentro del complejo institucional del fútbol. En cualquier caso, Cantarero no pierde aquí de vista la importancia del entorno familiar del futbolista, desvelando que no son las instituciones las que enferman a los niños, sino sus familiares, fundamentalmente los padres al proyectar en sus hijos sus propias debilidades, traumas y frustraciones.

A medida que pasan las páginas, el libro se configura como una amplia revisión de contexto que supera sobradamente el tema central (el comportamiento

de los padres de niños futbolistas) para abarcar una gran multiplicidad de frentes, entre los que se incluyen referencias, si bien sucintas, a fenómenos actuales como la implicaciones con el fútbol industrial de la emergencia de los e-sports, o los efectos de la propia pandemia de COVID-19. Especial atención se dedica a desarrollar, ya en el segundo capítulo, algunos perfiles del ámbito institucional que rodea al fútbol, desde un formato más bien generalista, es decir, sin detenerse en el análisis en profundidad de los ejemplos aportados, suponemos que en aras de no entorpecer la agilidad del hilo narrativo. En la última parte de este capítulo se plantea además un giro discursivo, fundamentado en una propuesta de trueque del tono realista por el de ficción. Ello da sentido al título de este capítulo (“Si yo fuera novelista”), que se adentra de modo supuesto en la dimensión política y económica del fútbol industrial. El juicio ideológico se encamina así hacia algunos problemas que el autor considera básicos del fútbol industrial como la corruptela, el nepotismo, el fordismo impersonal y la carencia de escrúpulos. También apuesta por la dimensión social de tales problemas, para lo cual esboza el protagonismo de un amplio espectro de colectivos, con diferente tipo y grado de participación: gestores, directores deportivos, representantes, árbitros, medios y por supuesto espectadores y público en general. A pesar de su tono crítico, expuesto a veces con cierta acritud, con este tipo de contextualizaciones, en las que se superponen de forma omnicompreensiva las implicaciones económicas con las políticas, sociales o psicológicas, el autor se distancia implícitamente de otros planteamientos discursivos críticos hacia el deporte. Es el caso, por ejemplo, de aquellas aportaciones teóricas mantenidas, desde los años 60 del siglo pasado desde posiciones encuadradas dentro de una sociología materialista de corte reduccionista.

Finalmente, la tercera parte del libro (“Por una deontología futbolística”), se orienta hacia el papel de los distintos profesionales que operan en el fútbol, con especial atención hacia los relacionados con la gestión o el análisis de los recursos humanos dentro del fútbol, incluyendo a técnicos, entrenadores y otros especialistas, como los propios psicólogos y científicos sociales. El autor no renuncia a dirigir su mirada crítica hacia estos últimos, subrayando la persistencia en la intervención psicológica de enfoques que considera inadecuados u obsoletos, como el conductismo. Ello se complementa con la denuncia del débil papel que en su opinión aún se otorga a los científicos sociales en el fútbol, a la par de la constatación de crecientes episodios de intrusismo laboral, entre otros retos a afrontar. Para el autor, todo ello lleva a la necesidad de una doble renovación. Una reno-

vación, en primer lugar, de la atención profesional experta en este campo, concretada en la necesidad de contar con profesionales formados académicamente: psicólogos, antropólogos, sociólogos, educadores sociales, etc. Y, en segundo lugar, una renovación que lleve a afrontar integralmente las debilidades formativas de técnicos y entrenadores, fundamentalmente en ciencias sociales y humanas, ámbito que el autor considera especialmente estratégico. Finalmente, aunque se apuntan algunas pistas que se encaminan al modo de afrontar estos cambios, dada la significativa dimensión de esta empresa renovadora, no esconde el autor cierto pragmatismo en cuanto a la posible consecución de objetivos.

En resumen, en un ámbito tan colmatado discursivamente como el del fútbol de nuestros días, el autor parece buscar con esta obra no tanto equilibrar la balanza, comúnmente desnivelada hacia posiciones menos discordantes y críticas con el fútbol más mercantilizado, lo cual sería algo inabarcable, sino más bien contribuir mediante una posición claramente interpeladora a cimentar una necesaria, como él mismo apunta, visión *realista* de este fútbol. Se entiende por tanto que esta interpelación, leída como una necesaria llamada a la reflexión, complementa y enriquece dialécticamente otras visiones sobre el fútbol, como de hecho engarza perfectamente con otros esfuerzos científicos anteriores del propio autor

dirigidos a una construcción integral del conocimiento sobre este deporte. Todo ello siguiendo un camino revisionista y a la vez comprometido, trazado *desde dentro* del propio sistema-fútbol.

En suma, por su carácter divulgativo y de fácil lectura, este libro se presenta atractivo para una amplia variedad de lectores. En primer lugar, para todos aquellos seguidores de este deporte, vinculados directa o indirectamente con él, e interesados en ahondar en el conocimiento de sus implicaciones sociales más perniciosas. A estos tal vez le sirva de apoyo para revisar su posible relación irrealista con el *fútbol industrial*, relación mucho más extendida en la sociedad de lo que comúnmente se reconoce y que podría aplicarse en cierta medida a otras manifestaciones del deporte de competición. Por supuesto, también el libro puede ser de franca utilidad para aquellos estudiantes, docentes e investigadores de las ciencias sociales que busquen complementar su mirada crítica sobre aspectos del deporte en general, y del fútbol en particular. Pero quizá una de las contribuciones más notables de este libro sea la cantidad de preguntas abiertas que deja entre líneas, como uno de los resultados de su afán interpelador. Preguntas que podrían servir como sano incentivo para la reflexión personal y científica y, ojalá que también como estímulo para el desarrollo de vías futuras de investigación.



Puig Barata, Nuria y Camps Povill, Andreu  
**Diálogos sobre el Deporte (1975-2020)**

Barcelona, INDE, 2020, 463 páginas

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El diálogo, como práctica social, es un punto de encuentro conversacional entre dos o más personas, un escenario donde tenemos la oportunidad de contrastar ideas y pensamientos sobre aspectos de la vida. Según la Real Academia Española de la Lengua, un diálogo es una plática entre personas que manifiestan sus opiniones o conocimientos, una dinámica que pretende buscar la avenencia entre las y los interlocutores. Es un espacio donde es posible converger entre ideas contrapuestas, un reto social que interpela en la moral y en las habilidades sociales de las personas implicadas.

Una de las grandezas de la obra que tienen en sus manos es justamente ésta: el logro de un ejercicio dialógico entre personas expertas y de diferentes generaciones, territorios y perspectivas, que exponen sus miradas sobre la dimensión social e histórica del deporte y la actividad física a lo largo de 45 años de democracia española. En términos generales, dicho reto tiene como finalidad última ofrecer herramientas de análisis para la comprensión del fenómeno deportivo en España, tanto para entenderlo en el pasado, como para comprenderlo e interpretarlo en el presente y en el futuro.

El deporte como fenómeno, en la sociedad posmoderna, repercute en ámbitos tan distantes como la economía y la industria, la educación y el ocio, la política y la legislación, la salud pública y la individual.

Es un fenómeno que impacta, pues, en las relaciones personales y en los grupos humanos y sus formas de socialización. Este hecho da sentido y significado al documento que van a leer, porque el diálogo se da en el marco de dicha complejidad, en la necesaria apuesta por un intercambio de saberes y opiniones de la mano de los y las expertas en materia deportiva.

*Diálogos sobre el deporte* es un proyecto liderado por la profesora Núria Puig Barata, catedrática de Sociología del deporte en el INEFC-centro Barcelona, y el profesor Andreu Camps Povill, catedrático de Legislación y Organización del Deporte en el INEFC-centro Lleida, y aglutina, lo que a mi parecer es otra de sus grandezas, todas las dimensiones sociales de lo que implica el deporte actualmente. Así, el documento ha sido organizado en cuatro capítulos; (1) *El contexto de la práctica deportiva*, (2) *Las personas y sus prácticas*, (3) *La formación, la investigación y el empleo* y (4) *El deporte en la sociedad*. Cada uno de estos capítulos, a su vez, se ha estructurado en base a dos modelos de análisis. Un primer modelo que hace referencia al estudio evolutivo de los últimos 45 años, escrito por expertas y expertos de mayor edad, que con su experiencia y recorrido nos ayudan a entender cómo fue el deporte y la actividad física en los inicios de la democratización del deporte. Y, por otra parte, un segundo modelo que hace referencia al análisis actual de la realidad deportiva. En este caso, las aporta-

ciones han sido escritas por personas expertas más jóvenes, de la generación nacida ya en democracia, que nos brindan la mirada actualizada del fenómeno deportivo, aportando datos, elementos de diálogo, y proponiendo directrices de futuro en relación al deporte y la actividad física.

*(...) nos encontramos en un momento crucial de nuevos cambios y con la necesidad de actualizar y modernizar las leyes del deporte y las competencias de cada uno de los actores en escena. Las grandes ciudades (...) se erigen como administraciones que requieren de más competencias y capacidad de toma de decisiones que implican muy directamente al sistema deportivo postmoderno. La gestión del espacio público, la evolución de la gestión de las instalaciones deportivas tradicionales, las nuevas formas de gobernanza (...) fueron los ejes que incentivaron el debate del primer Congreso de políticas deportivas en las grandes ciudades (www.barcelona.cat).*

*(Carranza-Gil-Dol del Castellar, op. cit., p.117).*



Las políticas deportivas y su gobernanza; el marco legal, competencial y legislativo del deporte; la visión histórica y el proceso de democratización deportiva; el deporte de alto nivel y las instalaciones y los equipamientos deportivos, son algunos de los conceptos que se explicitan en la parte primera del libro.

En este primer espacio París-Roche defiende la tesis de la democratización del deporte como un proceso de cuatro fases esenciales, destacando los elementos sociales y políticos más característicos de cada una de ellas. Este marco permite a Pujadas-Martí y Abadia-Naudí, iniciar su argumentario en la escena postfranquista, dilucidando el impacto del deporte en la economía y las clases sociales del momento.

Carretero-Lestón (*op.cit.*, p.64) hace una exposición magistral, como no puede ser de otra manera, del ordenamiento jurídico-deportivo de la época, reflexionando sobre la primera norma con rango legal reguladora (ley 77/1961 de 23 de diciembre, de Educación Física) y el papel de la Delegación Nacional de Educación Física y Deportes dependiente de la Secretaría General del Movimiento. Blanco-Pereira, por su lado, nos lanza el reto de regular en el ámbito español, y también en el comunitario, las profesiones del deporte, a sabiendas que el marco legal, a menudo, va por detrás de las necesidades del mismo sistema deportivo.

El proceso de descentralización del deporte ha sido posible no sólo por el papel facilitador del marco legal, sino también por las políticas públicas que iban en esa misma dirección. Solar-Cuevillas y Carranza-Dolz del Castellar reflexionan sobre esas políticas públicas y sobre la responsabilidad que algunos agentes, como los servicios municipales deportivos o el mismo proyecto olímpico de Barcelona '92, tuvieron en la configuración del deporte democrático.

Las mismas políticas públicas destinadas al deporte facilitaron el despliegue de las instalaciones y equipamientos deportivos. Andrés-Pérez nos apunta que ya en la Asamblea General del Deporte se hicieron peticiones sobre la necesidad social de equipamientos e instalaciones (*op.cit.*, p. 123), influenciados, seguramente, por el "Golden Plan" de Alemania Occidental. Gallardo-Guerrero dialoga sobre la función actual de los equipamientos e instalaciones deportivas, y aboga, en todo su artículo, por la defensa de un modelo de instalación deportiva más sostenible medioambientalmente, más saludable y mucho más conectada. Poniendo, al final, el foco, justamente fuera de las instalaciones deportivas, pues ya el 40% de la población europea (y el 53% de la población española), realiza actividad física al aire libre, es decir, en espacios no destinados estrictamente para la práctica del deporte (*op.cit.*, p.141).

El deporte de alto nivel no se gesta específicamente en los espacios públicos. La campeona o el campeón aparecen como resultado de una interacción interdependiente entre el entorno y los genes. Sánchez-Bañuelos, Vilanova-Soler y Casado-Estupiñán, exponen como los JJOO de Barcelona '92 constituyó un punto de inflexión en relación a los deportistas de alto nivel (DAN) y las estructuras que les son necesarias.

*Desde esta perspectiva ya no se trata de transformar el deporte en su globalidad (...) pero si trabajar en propuestas locales y particulares que promuevan transformaciones que posibiliten disminuir las desigualdades de género en los diferentes ámbitos del deporte. (Soler-Prat, Martín-Horcajo, op. cit., p.231).*

brecha deportiva  
 las personas  
 igualdad  
 práctica  
 deporte federado  
 género  
 violencia sexual  
 estereotipos  
 mujeres  
 participación

Con los conceptos de desigualdad e igualdad, género y equidad en el deporte, de las personas y sus prácticas deportivas, los colectivos LGTBI, el deporte federado y la brecha deportiva, se inicia la segunda parte del libro.

García-Ferrando y Llopis-Goig nos muestran los datos evolutivos de la participación deportiva en el período situado entre 1975 y 2015, en población comprendida entre los 15 y los 65 años y analizan algunos de los cambios sociales acaecidos en este período democrático. Moscoso-Sánchez y Rodríguez-Díaz ponen de manifiesto el concepto de la brecha deportiva, como elementos delimitantes de la participación democrática y equitativa pendiente de resolverse.

En una misma línea de trabajo Vázquez-Gómez y Alfaró-Gandarillas plantean los antecedentes y el histórico en referencia a la lucha por la igualdad de géneros, y el papel de las mujeres y su proceso de empoderamiento para alcanzar la situación actual. Soler-Prat y Martín-Horcajo dan un paso más, y contextualizan la misma situación de desigualdad en los colectivos recientemente visibilizados y críticos con el modelo etnocentrista del patriarcado capitalista.

*Sería necesario promover planes deportivos específicos (...) que favorezcan la igualdad de oportunidades deportivas. (...) estos planes deben centrarse en la concienciación a través del conocimiento de las desigualdades, la formación del conjunto de agentes que participan en el hecho deportivo universitario y deporte en edad escolar.*

*(Serra-Payeras, op. cit., p.316).*

deporte escolar  
 mercado de trabajo  
 formación  
 I+D+i  
 historia  
 sostenibilidad  
 empleo  
 plan nacional  
 educación física  
 ciencias del deporte  
 investigación  
 deporte universitario

La formación y los retos del mundo laboral que suscitan los empleadores y el mundo laboral, los programas de educación física en el deporte escolar y universitario, y las ciencias del deporte y su relación con la investigación social relacionada con el mismo, son algunos de los conceptos que se enmarcan en el tercer capítulo.

Fraile-Aranda y Gambau-Pinasa perfilan las políticas y los procesos de formación del profesorado de educación física durante la Transición Española (1977-1991), destacando como los y las profesionales buscaban el prestigio social de la titulación, consolidando cada vez más unas pautas de formación de calidad y continuada (*op. cit.*, p. 249). Manel-Gutiérrez, Pérez-Villalba y Nebot-Vilar, hacen su réplica añadiendo, que ya no solo el ámbito universitario es el responsable de la formación profesional, sino que la formación profesional de la familia de las actividades físicas y deportivas (AFD), las enseñanzas deportivas (ED), las cualificaciones profesionales (QP) y los certificados de profesionalidad (CP) también inciden en el proceso actualmente.

En el capítulo de la educación física se genera el debate entre Peiró-Velert, Molina-Alventosa y Rey-Cao, en relación a la evolución de la educación física, pasando de un modelo técnico y táctico a un modelo mucho más pedagógico y educativo. El cambio de valores tradicionales en el deporte y la educación es transferido a la educación física, impulsado en parte por los movimientos de renovación pedagógica y por la proliferación de actividades de formación. Dicha evolución llega a la práctica reflexiva condicionada por las dualidades local/global, consumo/responsabilidad o juventud/envejecimiento, entre otras...

El papel cohesionador del deporte es esencial para la formación también de la población universitaria y escolar. Campos-Granell y Serra-Payeras apuestan por el establecimiento de programas deportivos

tanto en la escuela como en la universidad, que configuren espacios de transformación social y cultural, y plantean el reto de la brecha y equidad de géneros en dichos escenarios.

Tanto en el ámbito universitario como en el ámbito de la educación primaria y secundaria, se vislumbran nuevos horizontes muy distintos a los alcanzados hasta el momento. Villar-Álvarez y Ferro-Sánchez exponen la importancia de la incorporación de los procesos de investigación, desarrollo e innovación en las instituciones relacionadas con las Ciencias de la actividad Física y el Deporte (CAFD). El futuro de la formación en CAFD pasa por la capacidad de transferir habilidades, recursos y conocimientos derivados de la investigación y ciencia, para hacer más competentes a los profesionales del deporte y las actividades físicas. (*op. cit.*, p. 333).

*El peso del deporte en la economía se puede explicar como el valor económico del volumen de actividades que, de forma directa o indirecta, están ligadas con las actividades deportivas. Por tanto, los estudios de peso económico se centran en la estimación de los principales agregados: a) desde el punto de vista de la oferta: producción, valor añadido, consumos intermedios, ocupación; y b) desde el punto de vista de la demanda: gastos en deporte de familias, empresas e instituciones. (Bosch-Jou, García-Villar, Murillo-Fort, op. cit., p.357).*



Finalmente, el libro reflexiona entorno al deporte en sociedad, sus impactos en la economía y en el ámbito laboral, su influencia en la construcción de la identidad social y el papel que juegan los medios de comunicación en esa misma construcción (De Moragas-Spa y Suárez-González)

La heterogeneidad de agentes sociales relacionados con el deporte se incrementan día a día: empresas comerciales, actividades económicas relacionadas, servicios deportivos, medios de comunicación, gestorías deportivas, eventos y megaeventos deportivos.... Bosch-Jou, García-Villar y Murillo-Fort sitúan el peso del deporte en un 1'44% del PIB español (*op.cit.*, p. 371), y por tanto, lo consideran un sector económico por sí mismo. Además, la actividad económica que genera se muestra tendiente al alza. Las empresas vinculadas al deporte en España superaban las 34.000 en el 2017, y el empleo deportivo se situaba en el mismo año en 200.000 personas.

Sánchez-Martín aporta luz sobre los centros deportivos privados y encuña el término "efecto de arrastre" para determinar que el sector económico deportivo es una actividad productiva que desborda los modelos tradicionales de análisis económica y penetra en otros muchos sectores sociales y comerciales. A la vez se extiende un nuevo sector productivo, para algunos considerado un nuevo mercado económico en sí mismo, relacionado con las plataformas 2.0, las apps i los e-sports.

Los grandes eventos deportivos son otro de los motores económicos del deporte. Así lo defienden Añó-Sanz y Solanellas-Donate, que plantean a su vez algunas condiciones para la celebración de los futuros eventos deportivos: consulta a través de referéndums con la población, revisión en la gobernanza, colaboraciones público-privadas para sufragar la inversión... (*op. cit.*, p. 408).

Concluyendo, diremos que en el trabajo *Diálogos sobre el deporte*, se pone de manifiesto la gigantesca e implacable influencia de la práctica del deporte en la construcción social y cultural de la democracia, y por su carácter centrípeto (*op. cit.*, p. 444), y en la construcción identitaria de los grupos sociales (Rojó-Labaien y Sánchez-Pato).

Mayúsculos son los retos lanzados por las expertas y expertos en la materia deportiva, y serán necesarios muchos recursos, voluntades y cambios culturales para poder resolverlos de forma satisfactoria, persiguiendo siempre el hito de una auténtica democratización del deporte.

El proyecto de Puig-Barata y Camps-Povill no debe quedar aquí. Sería interesante y necesario que las nuevas generaciones, manteniéndose fieles a la idea del proyecto y al legado que nos dejan, asuman el reto de analizar la evolución democrática del deporte dentro de los próximos 45 años. ¿Vamos?

## **Estadísticas Anuales 2020**

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En 2020, la revista ha contado con la colaboración de 15 revisores para evaluar tanto los trabajos aceptados como rechazados, encontrándose adscritos aquellos a Universidades de España, Francia, Reino Unido y Chile. Otros 9 revisores invitados no participaron.

*Xavier Camino (Universidad Rovira i Virgili, España)*  
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### Porcentaje de Aceptación y Rechazo

En 2020, el porcentaje de aceptación y rechazo de artículos es el siguiente, de acuerdo con la calidad de los trabajos presentados y el dictamen de los/las evaluadores/as:

- Aceptación: 76%
- Rechazo: 24%

### Indexación

*Sociología del Deporte (SD)* es una revista de nueva creación, contando con apenas seis meses de vida. Dispone de ISSN otorgado por parte de la Biblioteca Nacional tanto para su versión en papel (2660-8456) como para su versión digital (2695-883X).

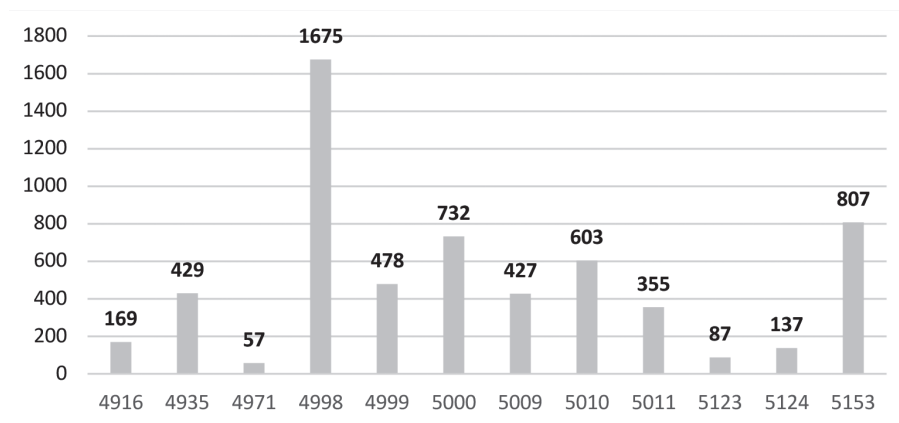
Actualmente, se encuentra indexada en Dialnet y en la Matriz de Información para el Análisis de Revistas (MIAR). Se está a la espera de que pueda incorporarse también en Erih Plus, Carhus Plus+ y Latindex a partir del mes de enero. Seguiremos trabajando para que a lo largo de 2021 se encuentre indexada en otras bases bibliométricas.

### Visitas de sitio web de revista y descargas

En cuanto al sitio web de la revista, a fecha de 21 de diciembre de 2020 cuenta con 36.539 visitas de personas registradas en 141 países. De ellas, excluyendo a España, donde más visitas se producen es en Dinamarca (5.812 visitas), México (5.017 visitas), Colombia (2.429 visitas), Perú (1.976 visitas), Filipinas (1.401 visitas), Ecuador (1.301 visitas), Argentina (968 visitas), Estados Unidos (859 visitas), Chile (805) y Turquía (564 visitas).

En cuanto al número de descargas de artículos, se han producido con fecha 20 de noviembre 5.956 descargas de los distintos artículos publicados en el número 1 de la revista desde el pasado mes de julio de 2020.

Número total de descargas por cada trabajo



Fuente: Datos de la plataforma web. Extraídos el 20/11/20.

# Normas para el envío de contribuciones

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## Secciones

Con carácter regular, *Sociología del Deporte (SD)* publica trabajos científicos originales e inéditos de carácter empírico o teórico y notas sobre investigaciones sociológicas o áreas afines. De forma extraordinaria, también publica secciones de debates, estados de la cuestión, secciones monográficas, reseñas bibliográficas y contenidos de especial interés para la comunidad sociológica.

En el caso de las secciones de publicación regular, su contenido y dimensión son las siguientes:

- **Artículos de investigación.** Textos científicos originales, de carácter empírico o teórico, que aborden cuestiones propias de la sociología del deporte, con una extensión máxima de 8.000 palabras, incluyendo cuadros, gráficos, notas al pie y referencias bibliográficas.
- **Notas de investigación.** Textos científicos breves, preferentemente de carácter empírico, cuya extensión máxima será de 4.000 palabras, incluyendo cuadros, gráficos, notas al pie y referencias bibliográficas.

En ambos casos, cada contribución deberá incluir un resumen cuya dimensión no exceda las 200 palabras y un número de palabras clave no superior a 5, ambas escritas en castellano e inglés.

Las contribuciones han de seguir las normas adaptadas del sistema Chicago (autor-fecha) que se indican en el documento accesible a través del siguiente **link**:

<https://www.upo.es/revistas/index.php/sociologiadeldeporte/libraryFiles/downloadPublic/2>

## Procedimiento de presentación de manuscritos

El proceso de selección es gratuito y se desarrolla siguiendo el procedimiento descrito a continuación:

- 1 **Recepción de manuscritos:** para presentar manuscritos originales a *Sociología del Deporte (SD)*, se debe acceder al sitio Web dedicado a esta revista en la plataforma Open Journal Systems, registrándose previamente a través del siguiente link: <https://www.upo.es/revistas/index.php/sociologiadeldeporte/user/register>

La recepción de manuscritos se realizará solo a través de esta plataforma, no admitiéndose el envío de contribuciones a través de mensajes de correo electrónico.

El manuscrito debe remitirse mediante la versión original, tal como los/las autores/as desearían que figurara en la edición de la revista, y una versión completamente anonimizada, en la que no figuren nombres ni adscripciones de los/las autores/as, ni ninguna otra información que permita identificar la autoría del artículo. Todo ello con el propósito de garantizar la imparcialidad en la evaluación de los trabajos. La versión anonimizada será referida como tal en el nombre del archivo específico.

No obstante, se pueden transmitir dudas o consultas relativas al proceso de presentación de manuscritos a la dirección de correo electrónico [sociologiadeldeporte@upo.es](mailto:sociologiadeldeporte@upo.es)

2. **Respuesta automática al envío de la contribución:** una vez recibido el manuscrito mediante dicha plataforma, su autor/a o autores/as recibirán automáticamente un correo acusando recibo del envío.
3. **Verificación de originalidad del manuscrito.** Tras el registro de las contribuciones, los textos serán sometidos a la verificación de su originalidad, a través de la herramienta Safe Assign, que se trata de un sistema de prevención y detección del plagio académico. En caso de que no se detecte la presencia de coincidencias en el manuscrito registrado a través de esta herramienta, la contribución continuará el proceso editorial correspondiente.
4. **Primera valoración o selección previa:** tras su anonimización, un miembro del Consejo Editorial comprobará la adecuación del manuscrito tanto al ámbito temático de la revista, como su calidad general. En caso de su aceptación por parte del Consejo Editorial, el manuscrito original anonimizado será remitido a su evaluación externa.

Por norma general, se excluirán aquellos trabajos cuyo contenido sea ajeno a la perspectiva sociológica del deporte, o de sus disciplinas afines indicadas en estas mismas normas, o cuya temática no se encuentre en relación con la motivación de esta revista. También podrán excluirse los ori-

ginales que no presenten una estructura propia de un texto académico o cuya redacción y estilo no satisfagan la calidad esperada en esta revista. No obstante lo anterior, si el Consejo Editorial lo considerase oportuno, se podrá solicitar a su autor/a o autores/as la subsanación de errores de formato o presentación, o su adecuación a los requerimientos detallados en las normas de redacción.

En caso de exclusión, por parte del Consejo Editorial, su autor/a o autores/as recibirán notificación justificada de tal circunstancia.

5. **Revisión por pares (peer review):** cada contribución que cumpla los requisitos para su evaluación, conforme al criterio del Consejo Editorial, será sometida de forma anonimizada a la evaluación de al menos dos especialistas externos. Estos evaluadores emitirán un informe motivado sobre la calidad científica del manuscrito y la conveniencia o no de publicarlo, que será tomado en consideración por el Consejo. Si no hubiese acuerdo entre los evaluadores, se podrá solicitar una evaluación adicional por parte de un tercer especialista.

El miembro del Consejo Editorial al que se asignó la valoración inicial de la contribución elaborará una ponencia o informe de evaluación definitiva del artículo, apoyándose en las evaluaciones externas de los especialistas junto a la suya propia, sometiéndola al debate del Consejo Editorial para su decisión final.

Este informe o ponencia, junto a los propios informes de los evaluadores externos y la propia decisión final del Consejo Editorial, serán remitidos a los autores por correo electrónico.

6. **Decisión del Consejo Editorial:** el Consejo Editorial en función de las evaluaciones externas de cada manuscrito podrá adoptar cuatro tipos de decisión:
  - a) Publicable sin modificaciones.
  - b) Publicable con modificaciones menores: el manuscrito será publicado directamente o tras realizar mejoras menores.
  - c) Publicable con modificaciones importantes: se podrá publicar tras realizar mejoras importantes.
  - d) No publicable: el manuscrito no será publicado.

Los plenos del Consejo Editorial se celebrarán al menos dos veces al año, debiendo asistir como mínimo la mitad más uno de sus miembros.

Los autores de los manuscritos que deberán ser sometidos a revisión para su publicación dispondrán de dos semanas para comunicar a la Se-

cretaría de *Sociología del Deporte (SD)* si acceden a realizar las posibles modificaciones en el sentido propuesto por el Consejo Editorial, así como el plazo en el que se comprometen a entregar la versión revisada, que en ningún caso será superior a los dos meses. El manuscrito, una vez revisado, se enviará de nuevo a la revista acompañado de una memoria explicativa de los cambios realizados, señalando claramente en dicho informe los cambios propuestos y los cambios aceptados o no, con las razones que se consideren oportunas. Si el Consejo Editorial estima que las modificaciones introducidas se corresponden con las solicitadas, el manuscrito pasará a considerarse aprobado para su publicación.

7. **Video-Abstract:** *Sociología del Deporte (SD)* incluye en cada una de las contribuciones publicadas acceso a través de código QR a un video-abstract, dando respuesta así al propósito de esta revista de llegar con más facilidad a lectores especializados y otro tipo de públicos. Por ese motivo, a los/as autores/as cuyos originales hayan sido aceptados se les solicitará un video que recoja la información del abstract del artículo en el idioma en el que esté publicado. En caso de no realizarlo antes de la impresión del número, la revista realizará el video-abstract con la colaboración de los miembros del Consejo Editorial, si bien se pedirá autorización para ello previamente a los/as autores/as.
8. **Criterios de Política Editorial:** los factores en los que se fundamentan las decisiones sobre la aceptación-rechazo de los manuscritos son los siguientes: originalidad y relevancia de la contribución para el ámbito propio de la sociología del deporte, así como la calidad metodológica y presentación o estilo del texto presentado.

### Aspectos éticos

*Sociología del Deporte (SD)* se adhiere, en general, al *Code of Conduct and the Best Practices Guidelines for Journals Editors* del *Committee on Publication Ethics – COPE*. Además, se rige por los siguientes aspectos que configuran su propio código ético:

1. **Acceso abierto.** Comparte los principios éticos de otras publicaciones que emplean el sistema **Open Access**, al entender que el conocimiento científico debe ser accesible de forma democrática y gratuita al conjunto de la sociedad.
2. **Gratuidad integral.** El envío de manuscritos, su evaluación y, en su caso, ulterior publicación no supone coste alguno para los/as autores/as. Asimismo, la mayor parte de los programas em-

pleados para el funcionamiento de la publicación (el soporte web de la revista –Open Journal Systems–, ingreso de contribuciones científicas, etc.) forman parte de proyectos educativos y académicos gratuitos, no dependiendo de los grandes grupos comerciales del mercado científico.

3. **Evaluación por pares.** La publicación aspira a alcanzar la mayor calidad posible en los trabajos que publique, por lo que utiliza un sistema arbitrado de revisión externa por expertos (**peer review**), como parte de un proceso transparente de aceptación de contribuciones y evaluación por pares.
4. **Normativa inclusiva.** Las normas de presentación de manuscritos (estilo Chicago) se han adaptado para hacer visible el nombre de las autoras de las publicaciones en las referencias bibliográficas.
5. **Sistema antiplagio.** Todas las contribuciones recibidas por parte de la revista que sean admitidas para su evaluación por el Consejo Editorial serán sometidas a un sistema de verificación de originalidad a través de la herramienta de prevención y detección de plagio académico Safe Assign.
6. **Transparencia.** *Sociología del Deporte* (SD) hará público al comienzo de cada año un Informe de Actividades referido al año anterior, cuyos contenidos mínimos serán:
  - a) Identidades del total de evaluadores externos durante el ejercicio anterior.
  - b) Total de manuscritos recibidos.
  - c) Total de manuscritos rechazados en selección previa.
  - d) Total de manuscritos evaluados en los plenos del Consejo Editorial: cuántos resultaron aprobados, de cuántos se requirió revisión y cuántos fueron desestimados para su publicación.
  - e) Tiempo promedio entre la recepción de un manuscrito y la comunicación del resultado de la evaluación a su autor.
7. **Obligaciones de los/las autores/as.** Los/las autores/as de los originales remitidos para su evaluación a *Sociología del Deporte* (SD) se comprometen a no someter a evaluación el mismo manuscrito en otras revistas durante el proceso de evaluación en esta revista. Asimismo, en caso

de haber sido publicado previamente en otro tipo de formato, será comunicado al Consejo Editorial para que evalúe la pertinencia de aceptarlo en el proceso editorial. Los/las autores/as se comprometen igualmente a no publicar los artículos aceptados por *Sociología del Deporte* (SD) en ninguna otra revista, bajo ningún formato de papel o electrónico, salvo que se solicite y cuente con la prescriptiva autorización y, en cualquier caso, quedando los/las autores/as sometidos en su propia persona a posibles conflictos por razones de derechos de autor. Por último, los/las autores/as cederán a *Sociología del Deporte* (SD) los derechos de comunicación pública de su manuscrito para su difusión y explotación a través de los medios que considere oportunos, mediante la puesta a disposición de los usuarios para consulta *on line* de su contenido y su extracto, para su impresión en papel y/o para su descarga y archivo, todo ello en los términos y condiciones que consten en la web donde se halle alojada la obra y sin perjuicio para la propia difusión que hagan los/las autores/as a través de medios propios.

### Bases de datos

*Sociología del Deporte* (SD) es una revista de nueva creación, por lo que aún no ha sido incluida en ninguna base de datos. Está previsto que en 2021, pase a formar parte de las siguientes bases de datos: Latindex, CIRC, ERIH y CARHUS Plus+. A medio plazo, su reto es someterse en 2021 a la octava evaluación de la calidad editorial y científica de las revistas científicas españolas de la Fundación Española para la Ciencia y la Tecnológica (FECYT), con el objetivo de obtener el Certificado de Calidad FECYT para este tipo de publicaciones. Para ello, desde su puesta en marcha, ha implementado los 17 requisitos exigidos desde esta Fundación del Ministerio Ciencia e Innovación del Gobierno de España, requisitos por lo demás que forman parte de los exigidos en la mayor parte de los sistemas de indexación internacionales.











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