

A

ABORIGINE

The term aborigine (or aboriginal) refers to any of the indigenous populations that existed before the arrival of colonial settlers. Most commonly we use the term aborigine to refer to the indigenous populations of Australia (usually Aborigine) and North America (usually Native American). However, continuing the legacy of the colonial settlers, this labelling tends to have the effect of falsely homogenizing what are, in fact, very diverse and culturally distinct populations.

What aborigine populations do tend to have in common is their displacement and persecution at the hands of colonial settlers. Many aspects of traditional aboriginal culture (including what appears to have been a very rich sport/leisure tradition) have been wiped out as native populations have been forced to conform to the ways of European colonizers (**imperialism**). Sport has, historically, played a central role in the attempts of colonizers to assimilate and 'civilize' aborigine communities. Throughout the process of colonization, integration has been characterized by persistent persecution, racism and continuing disadvantage. Such has been the scale of suffering that aborigines now tend to constitute only very small minority populations (e.g. accounting for just 1 per cent of Australia's and 2 per cent of Canada's total population. There are about 2.1 million Native Americans among the 300 million citizens of the United States).

Research on aboriginal sport centres on two separate processes: the representation of

aborigine athletes in mainstream sport and the attempt to sustain aborigine cultures and identities via sports events specifically designed for, and restricted to, indigenous populations. With regard to the former, despite the relative absence of mainstream sporting opportunities for aborigine men and women, a few internationally significant aborigine athletes have emerged; most notably Billy Mills, a Native American athlete who won the 10,000 metres at the 1964 Olympics, Australian tennis star Evonne Goolagong, Canadian athlete Angela Chalmers, and Cathy Freeman, Australian winner of the women's 400 metres at the Sydney Olympics of 2000. The press have largely portrayed these athletes as 'success stories', overcoming adversity to achieve sporting success. However, such athletes have had to tread a delicate path between conforming to 'white' or mainstream expectations (and thus being allowed to participate, receive government funding, etc.) and not appearing so integrated as to invoke the anger of, and perhaps be rejected by, their aborigine communities (Freeman, for instance, held both an Australian and an Aboriginal flag during her victory lap in Sydney).

Participation in major sports events has provided the opportunity to make poignant political and social statements. While Cathy Freeman's actions and media portrayal bolstered the image of Australian national unity and harmony, the staging of the Olympics in Sydney allowed others to make more radical and critical statements. There were complaints about the marginalization of Aborig-

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ines in the Sydney organizing and bidding committees, complaints over the portrayal of Aborigines in the Sydney bid, and a campaign which argued that state-perpetrated human rights abuses against Aborigines should effectively disqualify Australia from hosting the games. While few tangible concessions were won, the Games did provide the opportunity to raise awareness and make issues such as inequality and ingrained racism increasingly prominent.

Outside the mainstream, Eurocentric, sports system, the establishment of 'all-aboriginal' sports and festivals (e.g. the Yuendumu Games or 'Black Olympics' in Australia, and the 'Northern Games' in Canada) are attempts to reverse the decline of indigenous cultures and redefine ethnic identities. Moreover, there are increasing movements towards 'international' sporting forums and events for indigenous populations (the International Aboriginal Cup between indigenous Australians and Canadians, for instance). However, those athletes integrated into, and successful within, 'mainstream' sport often feel alienated from these all-aboriginal events because their assimilation has entailed a degree of distancing from their own culture. Ironically, at the same time they tend to feel alienated within mainstream sport due to the persistence of racism (**race**).

Finally, a number of authors have noted that American team sports tend to draw on Native American names and/or symbols, e.g. the Washington Redskins. Rather than being respectful of these cultures, the use of such symbols tends to perpetuate a stereotype that unsympathetically evokes the history of violent persecution which aborigine communities have faced. Such insensitivity is clearly likely to contribute to the social exclusion of aborigines in sport in particular, and in society more generally.

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AEROBICS

Aerobics and similar kinds of 'exercise to music' physical activities emerged in the 1970s, popularized particularly through the Jane Fonda 'workout' video. The vast majority of aerobics participants are female and while competitive and sport-like aerobics events exist (**sport, definition of**), it is largely as part of the development of a broader fitness industry that sociologists of sport have analysed aerobics. Sociological focus has centred on the relevance of aerobics in terms of **gender** relations and the sociology of the **body**. For instance, though it is claimed that this group of activities served to promote more active images of femininity, through the use of lycra and 'figure hugging' clothing, it also fuelled the **sexualization** of the sporting female body.

Margaret MacNeil (1988) was perhaps the first social scientist to examine this type of physical activity, noting that the television production of aerobics (e.g. the camera angles, lighting, etc.) portrayed women's physical activities as something close to soft pornography. Moreover, exercise classes, clothing and videos represented a **commodification** of feminine style. Females are 'sold' these narcissistic commodities via sexuality and glamour and through this process, which associates women more with appearance than performance, the view that sport is a male-appropriate and female-inappropriate activity is perpetuated.

Similarly Maguire and Mansfield (1998) argue that women take part in aerobics largely because they are persuaded that participation will enable them to achieve what Markula (1995) has called the 'firm but

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shapely, fit but sexy, strong but thin' body. Women seek to lose fat, and tone and shape their muscles to produce a slender, tight body in accordance with idealized images of the female figure. However, theorists largely agree that while women's increased participation in sport (and sport-like activities such as aerobics) is a positive development, there are considerable negative consequences of their increasing popularity. Markula (1995), for instance, argues that women wish to conform to the 'feminine ideal' but perceive its actualization to be impossible. The typical aerobics setting, in highly mirrored rooms, acts as a form of **surveillance** and control. Aerobics thus becomes disciplinary (**discipline**) and restrictive. Consequently, aerobizing women come to hate those very parts of their body which define them as women. The logical outcome of this, Markula argues, is that women come to hate looking like women. However, it is also important to note that research has increasingly shown that there is a clear contradiction between the dominant images associated with aerobics and the personal experiences of many women. Rather than being oppressive, participating in aerobics classes provides a safe and sociable environment that is both pleasurable in itself, but may also enhance self-esteem.

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AGE

(lifestyle sports; retirement; youth sport participation)

AGENCY AND STRUCTURE

Sociologists widely agree that social phenomena are mainly determined by a combination of two main factors: agency and structure. However, they are divided over the relative significance of agency and structure, and the relationship between the two. Some (e.g. advocates of structural **functionalism** and more traditional forms of **Marxism**) argue that social life is largely determined by social structure, and that human actions are a product of that structure (these might be termed macro-sociological approaches). Others (e.g. advocates of **symbolic interactionism**) emphasize the capacity of individuals to shape the social world (these might be termed micro-sociological approaches. See **macro- and micro-sociology**). For instance, whilst the former might explain the deviant behaviour of elite athletes (drug taking, violence, etc.) as a product of the organization of professional sport, the latter might explain such behaviour as a product of a more 'individual' choice relating to how people see themselves and/or would like others to see them; in other words, identity.

A third group of sociological theories (e.g. **figurational sociology**; **structuration theory**) takes as their starting point the 'dilemma' that sociologists have traditionally had in understanding, and speaking about, the relationship between agency and structure (also referred to as the individual and society); the so-called 'agency-structure dilemma'. Linguistically, just by referring to agency and structure (e.g. 'the athlete' and 'the sports system') we necessarily separate out that which is, in reality, one and the same. The humans that sociologists study are social beings, against which asocial humans

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would provide a sharp contrast, i.e. there would be no language, no regular, patterned or consistent ways of behaving, and no social norms. However, it also makes little sense to conceptualize society as somehow distinct, or existing separately, from human beings. Society is nothing more and nothing less than the networks of relationships formed by human beings.

The dilemma for sociologists is to avoid both the reductionism inherent in focusing too closely upon the individual/agency, and the tendency towards **reification**, which accompanies a strong emphasis on the determinant nature of society/structure. In attempts to overcome such problems, terms such as figuration and structuration have been introduced. Followers of Bourdieu have also argued that his concept of **habitus** has successfully overcome this dilemma.

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AGGRESSION

An everyday term used to encapsulate a broad range of behaviours, from a rather forward approach (e.g. to driving a car) to physical attack. Consequently, for use as an analytic term, sports researchers define it rather more narrowly. Aggression is generally defined as intended behaviour that results in physical or psychological harm or injury to another living thing. Aggressive acts may be verbal or physical. They should be distinguished from **violence** (which is generally deemed to be more extreme) and assertive behaviour (where there is no intent to harm). However, aggression can be further subdivided into: (1) hostile (or reactive) aggression, where

the intent to harm is primary; and (2) instrumental aggression, where the intent to harm may be a secondary goal, e.g. to winning a game, scoring a goal, etc.

In defining aggression, and distinguishing aggression from similar behaviours, a number of factors tend to be considered. In addition to the intent to do harm, acts are normally labelled aggressive only if they violate social norms. The perceived degree of injury or harm inflicted is also likely to be influential. Beyond this it is known that one's direct involvement and one's relationship to the perpetrator and victim influences the categorization of behaviour as aggression (e.g. a parent is more likely to define behaviour towards their child as aggressive, than might a more neutral observer), as does the perception of the social context (behaviour in a place of worship is likely to be defined differently to behaviour on a football pitch).

One of the main difficulties aggression poses for social scientists is that it is particularly difficult to measure. External measures may include crime statistics or, for sport, penalty and foul counts. However, these measures are problematic as not all fouls are aggressive, and not all aggressive acts result in fouls. Moreover, external measures necessarily focus more on the outcome (i.e. injury, harm) than the intention. However, external measures may have more validity when assessing what forms of aggression should be/are deemed legitimate, and what contextual factors (e.g. crowd noise) are likely to increase aggression (**aggression, causes of**).

Internal measures of aggression involve investigating the individual's desire to aggress, and individual perceptions of aggression. Measures such as asking athletes how often they feel aggressive are, however, problematic due to the incongruity between aggressive feelings and aggressive acts, the tendency for a time delay between the aggressive acts and the perpetrator's assessment, and the disinclination of research subjects to discuss openly what might be deemed deviant acts (**deviance**).

AGGRESSION, CAUSES OF

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AGGRESSION, CAUSES OF

There are three general approaches to the causes of **aggression**. While these encompass a far wider range of theories and more explicit explanations, generally speaking, aggression is viewed as something that is: (1) biologically determined; (2) learned; or (3) stimulated/triggered by specific events.

The first explanations of aggression were largely biologically based. Instinct theory, for instance, suggests that people have an innate instinct for aggression; it may build up and then need to be expressed, leading to **catharsis**. There is, however, little empirical evidence to support the existence of an innate and/or pent up body of aggression, and thus there is a tendency for this argument to be circular (people are aggressive because they have an aggressive instinct; we know that people have this aggressive instinct because they are aggressive). Related to this is the theory that aggression is related to testosterone and while some evidence suggests that higher testosterone levels may lead individuals to be more aggressive, people with relatively low testosterone levels (e.g. females) can also be aggressive.

The second general approach encompasses **social learning theory**. This essentially suggests that aggression is learned as a result of direct and indirect experience, and direct and

indirect reinforcement (e.g. through reward for, or the non punishment of, aggressive behaviour).

The third approach is epitomized by the Frustration-Aggression Theory. This states that aggression is the consequence of frustration (such as an inability to achieve a particular goal), and hence losing teams commit more fouls than winning teams, impeded players may strike opponents, etc. (this too may lead to **catharsis**). The problem for this theory is that it is either circular (frustration causes aggression, but we only know that people are frustrated because they become aggressive) or that there is clear counter-evidence (examples where frustration does not manifest itself as aggression). Berkowitz's reformulation (1993) – that frustration may not lead to aggression, but increases **arousal** and anger and therefore the *propensity* to be aggressive – combines elements of frustration-aggression and social learning theories and is currently one of the most popular explanations of the causes of aggression.

Research in sports psychology has centred around these three general approaches. Researchers have looked at those situations that might increase frustration, such as particular rivalries, losing at home as opposed to losing away from home, losing late in the game, losing by large margins or to opponents one considers inferior/as a consequence of underperforming. Aggression may also be the product of retaliation but this, of course, begs the question what caused the aggressive act that sparked the retaliation. Researchers have also examined how aggressive behaviour may be learnt (e.g. from interaction with parents and coaches) as well as what, more specifically, has been learnt. Athletes therefore might be aggressive because they perceive such actions to have been beneficial to them in the past. Athletes may engage in aggressive behaviour because they see themselves as fulfilling a particular role (**group dynamics**), because they wish to present themselves to others in a certain way (e.g. to demonstrate commitment to team mates and coaches and augment their place in the team), or because

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aggressive behaviour is seen as an important part of group norms and team **cohesion**. Finally, it has been suggested that aggression stems from **motivation**; more specifically, that those who are highly ego-oriented are more likely to be aggressive than those who are task-oriented or have particularly low levels of moral development.

In addition to these theories it should be remembered that aggression is contoured by broader social factors. More specifically, it is clear that **gender**, **social class** and age influence aggression (most aggressive acts are perpetrated by young, working-class males; see e.g. **football hooliganism**) and that the definition of an act as aggressive is culturally and temporally specific (i.e. in different societies, at different times, people tend to tolerate different levels of violence; see e.g. **civilizing process**).

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brewing industry has used sport to sell alcohol (**sponsorship** and advertising); the relationship between alcohol and the behaviour of sports crowds (**puritans** objections to sport, and more recent concerns about **football hooliganism**); and changing attitudes towards alcohol's relationship with sports performance, used as a performance enhancing drug in the early twentieth century (**drugs**), now viewed as highly detrimental to **health**. In addition to this, sociologists have been concerned to examine the role of alcohol in (predominantly) male sports such as rugby, and in initiation, or 'hazing', rituals in university and college sports. Drinking alcohol (especially in large quantities) is often closely linked to **masculinity** and should thus be seen as a gendered social practice (**gender**).

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ALCOHOL

Collins and Vamplew (2002) describe the link between alcohol and sport as symbiotic; that is to say, it is difficult to conceive of one without the other. In their book, *Mud, Sweat and Beers*, they trace this relationship through four angles: the role of the public house as the initial basis of many sports teams (**commercialization**), but now as venues for the consumption of televised sports coverage (**post-fandom**); the ways in which the

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In its broadest sense alienation refers simply to estrangement or a lack of involvement in a situation, social group or community. In its more sociologically rigorous sense, alienation is a concept used by Marxists (**Marxism**) to describe the social relations of production within capitalist societies. For Marx, human potential and creativity develop out of social relations. However, in the exploitative framework of capitalist production (where wages are kept low and maximum profit extracted from the workers' labour) human develop-

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ment is stifled. Workers are subject to the demands and interests of the owners of capital, work has no intrinsic satisfaction, and thus human creativity cannot develop. The social relations of capitalism, Marxists claim, are played out in sport just as they are in any other capitalist industry. Athletes sell their labour power and lose control of their product (the sporting contest) and are thus alienated just as workers are in more conventional forms of industrial production.

Marxists also stress the importance of the relationship between the producer and the product in generating alienation. When the object (commodity) that the worker produces does not belong to him/her, but to their employer (**commodification**), and when, as in modern highly specialized industries, the worker is confined to a small part of the broader production process (seeing little of the end-product or its consumption), feelings of alienation are generated. In the sporting context, athletes may come to see themselves as interchangeable pieces in a broader production machine (i.e. a substitute in a team sport). Training, which breaks down sporting practices to their smallest parts, is akin to work on a factory production line, where the final product is obscured from the producer. Thus the relationship between the producer and the product in sport under capitalism leads to the athlete's alienation.

The sporting use of alienation, however, is taken slightly further by Jean-Marie Brohm (1978) who argues that participation in sport in capitalist societies leads the athlete to become alienated not just from the practice of sport, but from his/her own **body**. The body becomes just a means to an end, an instrument or tool within the production process. Modern **sports medicine** practices may lead athletes to have little or no control over their body, and **drugs** may reduce one's capacity to even 'feel' one's body.

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ALTERNATIVE SPORTS

(lifestyle sports)

AMATEURISM

The creed of not being paid to play can be understood only in relation to people actually being paid to play; amateurism was a response to professionalism. Indeed, conflicts between ideals of amateurism and professionalism were central to the culture and governance of British sport from the late nineteenth century. Yet amateurism was about more than money: it was an ideology, a code of conduct, an outlook on sport and life. Combining nineteenth-century middle-class ideas and older upper-class sporting ideals, amateurism involved playing the game for its own sake rather than winning, an adherence to **fair play** and disciplinary codes, a disdain for **gambling**, and winning with grace but losing without candour.

Above all, amateurism was about social position. To be an amateur in late Victorian and Edwardian Britain was to not need paying in order to play. Thus enforcing amateur regulations was about displaying status (**class; social stratification**), avoiding too much mixing with the masses and preventing the challenges to the older hierarchies that were beginning to emerge in the realms of work and politics. In cricket, for example, where amateurs and professionals often played in the same team, social distinction was preserved through the use of different changing rooms and different ways of writing names and, initially, by requiring professionals to labour with bowling and even menial tasks such as cleaning the kit. Yet, despite the

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snobbery that underpinned amateurism, there was a general reluctance in most sports to impose explicit class-based restrictions on participation, though rowing and athletics were nineteenth-century exceptions. In most amateur sports, exclusion was enforced more subtly, through relying on economic realities to ensure working men could not afford time off work to play with their social betters.

The impact of controversies over amateurism can be clearly seen in rugby. The growth of socially mixed northern teams in the late nineteenth century led to **broken-time payments**, where working men were compensated for missing work in order to play. Such payments, however, not only offended the amateur principles of some of the elite, but also threatened to take power away from the middle classes, both on and off the playing field. These tensions, fuelled by north-south rivalries, were so profound that they led rugby to split into two codes, later known as league and union, in 1895.

Of course, the rhetoric of amateurism did not always match reality. Nowhere was this clearer than in the case of cricketer W. G. Grace (1848–1915). Undoubtedly the most famous sportsman of the Victorian era, Grace was a doctor and a gentleman but he was also supremely competitive and certainly not above gamesmanship and demanding excessively generous expenses. Definitions of amateurism and regulations over what expenses and payments were permissible varied from sport to sport and diversified as the twentieth century progressed. Amateurism thus evolved into a code defined as much by the circumstances and prejudices of an individual sport's administrators as by its historic origins. 'Shamateurism' was as common as amateurism.

Although amateurism was tied up with notions of Britain's social and moral superiority, it did spread across the globe with the diffusion of British sports (**globalization; imperialism**) and was championed as much for the link it created with British sporting ideals as its own perceived worth. Thus while British soccer sanctioned professionalism in 1885, professionalism did not become com-

mon in Continental Europe until the 1920s. Even then amateurism remained influential and West German football did not become professional on a full time basis until 1963.

Television was to prove the undoing of amateurism in elite sport. Extensive **media** coverage opened up opportunities to exploit sport commercially and enrich its heroes (**commercialization**). This created tensions between the amateur traditions of the administrators and the commercial demands of sport's star performers. Distinctions between amateurs and professionals were also becoming increasingly anachronistic in post-1945 Britain, when the rigid and snobbish class system, which had given birth to the classifications, was crumbling. Furthermore, amid the rhetoric of national decline that was so common in early post-war Britain, professionalizing industry and administration was deemed important to modernizing the nation. Amateurism was thus increasingly outdated in sport and beyond.

The amateur ideal was nonetheless resilient. Cricket abolished the professional-amateur distinction in 1963 but athletics did not permit payment for performance until 1981. Other sports responded to tensions by slowly becoming explicitly commercial (as in the case of professional golf), by turning a blind eye to transgressions of the amateur code (as in the case of parts of rugby union), or by essentially allowing paid amateurs (as in tennis). Ultimately, money ruled and amateurism gave way to commercial pressures across senior sport. Rugby union was one of the last to embrace professionalism, but when it did so in 1995 the change was sudden and profound, revolutionizing the character and foundations of the game overnight. The sport's traditions and history were cast aside, as its administrators feared being left behind in a marketplace dominated by television.

The ideology of modern Olympism (**IOC**) was also influenced profoundly by the ideals of British amateurism; fair play and the valuing of taking part over winning were key components of the Olympic philosophy. But the growing television coverage of the Olympics, and the commercialization that coverage brought,

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undermined the stance taken by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) on amateurism. Suspicions over the extent to which state-sponsored athletes of the communist bloc were actually unpaid also helped undermine the amateur status of the Games in the West, where there was an unwillingness to uphold the ethos if it meant losing to cold-war rivals (**propaganda**). There was also something hypocritical about the accusations of professionalism levelled at the communist states from Western athletes who drew income from **athletic scholarships** in US colleges. The huge commercial success of the 1984 Los Angeles Games opened the floodgates for change and the Olympics became overtly professionalized. Olympic boxing remains amateur but this situation stems from the unwillingness of professional promoters to cede their own influence to the Olympic movement. Other Olympic events, especially those played by women, also remained amateur, but this was more rooted in a lack of commercial interest in the sports than any ideological stance.

By the end of the twentieth century amateurism had come to mean unprofessional, not in the sense of not being paid but rather in not performing competently. An ideology that had dominated the origins of **modern sport** and influenced its course across the globe had died at the hands of the very pressures that had given it a *raison d'être*. Commercialism and the influence of money undermined amateurism but perhaps this was inevitable in the capitalist global market (**globalization**).

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AMBUSH MARKETING

Developed in the 1990s, ambush marketing in sport emerged out of the broader growth in the **sponsorship** of sport. In contrast to conventional sponsors who pay the sports team/event/individual for the right to be associated with an activity, ambush marketers seek to give consumers the impression of association, without actually paying a fee to the team/event/individual. Sometimes this is done to weaken the impact of a competitor's official sponsorship of an activity, and serves thus to confuse the consumer and misrepresent the official sponsorship of the event.

Ambush marketing may take the form of: (1) sponsoring the *broadcasting* of an event (which is normally cheaper) rather than sponsoring the event itself; (2) aggressively placing commercials during the televising of an event; (3) sponsoring a team or individual involved in the event; and (4) promotion and marketing that draws on the broader cultural themes generated by an event (e.g. launching a football-linked promotional campaign in the run up to a major tournament), thus giving the impression of official association with that tournament.

The growth of ambush marketing has had significant implications for sport. First, ambush marketing poses a danger to sports bodies because often none of the income spent filters through to the sport itself. Second, it has had a negative impact on sponsorship revenues as sponsors fear that, if successfully 'ambushed' by a competitor, they might not reap the full benefits of sponsorship. Third, ambush marketing has led to conflict between event organizers and athletes. Event organizers have sought to limit the potential ambushing of official sponsors by exerting greater control over the sponsorship rights and contracts of athletes, while athletes have increasingly sought to secure the legal ownership of their image rights.

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AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM

(sports space)

ANABOLIC STEROIDS

(drugs, classes of)

ANCIENT OLYMPIC GAMES

Many have idolized the sports of ancient Greece as representing the pinnacle of civilized sporting achievement, but empirical data increasingly show this to be largely a myth. Among the sporting festivals of ancient Greece, the Olympic Games held at Olympia were the most significant. The origins of the ancient Olympic Games are unknown, but the earliest remaining record of a victor's name comes from 776 BC. It is highly likely that the competitive games grew out of religious ceremonies designed to celebrate and appease the Gods (**religion**).

The Games continued for approximately 1000 years, but they changed considerably over this time and so one must be wary of making overly generalized comments. However, by 472 BC the form of the Games had become relatively stable. Zeus became the primary God honoured through the Games. Working in the four-yearly cycle that

we see for the modern Olympic Games (**IOC**), the festival became fixed as a five-day combination of prayers, oaths, sacrifices and 12 game contests: 2 equestrian events; 6 track and field events; a foot race for athletes dressed in armour; and the 3 physical contact contests, wrestling, boxing and **Pancration** (note that the ancient Greek Olympics did not include the marathon, which is a modern glorification of the exertions of a young Athenian named Pheidippides). Participants in the Games were freeborn males only. Slaves and foreigners were permitted to watch, but women were entirely excluded. Women participated in a parallel but separate athletic festival, in honour of Zeus's sister/wife, Hera.

Compared to **modern sport** these events had less-detailed and less-differentiated rules, which were customary rather than written. While umpires and judges were in attendance, in all likelihood, rules were enforced less strictly and less consistently than we would expect in today's sporting contests. While modern sports are largely organized along the principles of **fair play**, the game contests of ancient Greece were governed by a warrior ethos that primarily rewarded bravery and valour.

Contests tended to be far more violent than today's sports, with the Pancration the most violent event. Running races involved jostling and physical contact. Chariot races invariably included collisions. In one chariot race it was reported that only one of the original 40 entrants finished. The organizers of the ancient Greek Olympics employed whip-bearers and truncheon-bearers to keep both spectators and competitors under control. Drunken rowdiness was such a problem at the Pythian Games at Delphi that spectators were forbidden from bringing wine into the stadium (Guttmann, 1986). Elias (1971) usefully links the relatively high level of **violence** in these game contests to the violent tenor of life in ancient Greek society more generally (e.g. he notes that if murder was committed in Greek society, it was the duty of the victim's kin rather than the state to

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exact revenge, that genocide was not uncommon, and that some city-states, notably Sparta, were organized on the basis of the perception of the constant threat of war). The notion of the Olympic truce is a reflection of this, based as it was on the assumption that travel between different regions was normally a hazardous and physically dangerous affair.

Though being an athlete was an expensive pastime, the only prizes to be won at Olympia were honorary olive crowns. Athletes paid for specialized diets, full-time training and the services of a coach, and had extensive travel commitments (to Olympia and the similar, though less prestigious, Pythian, Isthmian and Nemean Games). Initially, this meant that participants were largely the sons of the wealthy, but wealthy patrons and public figures increasingly realized the gains that could be reaped from association with a successful athlete and started to provide financial assistance to lower-class athletes of promise. Baker (1982) has consequently argued that despite the lack of direct material reward, the ancient Olympic Games were a 'maze of commercial enterprise' (**commercialization**). A clear sign of this was the development of athletic guilds in the second century BC that bargained for athletes' rights.

We know so much about the ancient Greek Games because the sporting activities were closely recorded in art, poetry and the writings of philosophers. Though some athletes were criticized as 'all brawn and no brain', the Greek ideal twinned the athletic and the cerebral. Due to the relative frequency of violence in ancient Greek society, the weak held a low social status. Conversely Plato is thought to have competed in the Isthmian Games. Plato and Aristotle gave lectures and taught in gymnasiums. It is the closeness between physical activities and what in modern societies tend to be thought of as 'higher' cultural practices that led many to mistakenly think that the game contests of ancient Greece were a pinnacle of civilized sporting achievement. Such a reading, however, obscures the generally violent tenor of

the society in general, and the violent nature of the sports of ancient Greece in particular.

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ANIMAL SPORTS

A significant feature of the festive culture of England up until the Victorian era. Although initially animal sports were largely rural-based activities, they survived initial urbanization processes (**city**). As a form of **folk games**, animal sports tended to be locally specific, with rules and customs that were orally transmitted, and characterized by **gambling**, eating, revelry, the consumption of **alcohol** and relatively high levels of **violence**.

Holt (1989) highlights four animal sports in particular (1) throwing at cocks – a bird would be tethered and participants paid to throw stones etc., with the person throwing the object that eventually killed the bird taking the cock as a prize; (2) cock-fighting – owners would pit their cock against an opponent's, sometimes in specially constructed 'cockpits' to contain the birds and aid viewing (see also **deep play**); (3) bull baiting (and less commonly bear baiting) – owners would set their dogs (and bulldogs in particular) on the bull in the belief that such 'baiting' improved the meat; and (4) bull running – bulls would be chased through streets and beaten with sticks prior to slaughter. That the bulldog became an English emblem reveals the popularity and social significance

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of such events. Many public houses in England retain a name (e.g. The Cock Inn, The Bull) that demonstrates and preserves the link between animal sports and the festive nature of these events (Collins and Vamplew, 2002).

Animal sports died out for a number of reasons. First, there were objections from **Puritans** whose religious sensitivities were offended by the sports and their accompanying revelry. However, the anti-animal sport movement strengthened as Puritanism waned, and Methodists assumed the mantle of the main critics of animal sports on religious grounds. Second, new attitudes to man's relationship with the 'natural' world became influential, whereby there was a loss of confidence in man's supremacy and a recognition that animals, as God's creatures, had certain rights. Third, the new urban professional classes became increasingly influential inside and outside Parliament, establishing the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in 1824, the campaigns of which were instrumental in producing the Cruelty to Animals Act of 1835.

That **fox-hunting** survived indicates that the attacks on animal sports were as much about social control (there was a persistent concern that such festivities generated unruly and uncontrollable mobs and thus posed a threat to property and social stability) as they were about cruelty. Holt (1989) cites three other broader social processes that were influential in the decline of animal sports. First, he notes that the history of animal sports provides supporting evidence for Elias's theory of the **civilizing process**. Second, Holt notes the role of the development of a skilled and literate working-class elite in actively rejecting animal sports (possibly seeking to enhance their social status by aligning themselves with the middle classes and so distancing themselves from the lower working classes). Third, he cites the changing power relations in rural communities, and especially the gentry's lost confidence in their social status, partly following the French Revolution, and partly due to their declining financial power. Customary

bonds and duties were weakened, and the gentry withdrew (both physically and in terms of their support) from the activities of the masses. Thus animal sports lost the powerful allies who had previously protected them from abolition.

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ANOMIE

'Founding father' of sociology Émile Durkheim (1858–1917) originally described anomie as a state of moral de-regulation. Durkheim saw anomie as developing out of rapid social change (e.g. from an agrarian-based to an industrial society), which led to a situation whereby previously accepted norms and values became outmoded and, crucially, were not replaced by another broadly accepted, more adequate and contemporaneously relevant set of values.

Robert Merton subsequently refined Durkheim's concept of anomie to be more akin to 'normlessness' (**functionalism**; **soft functionalism**). For Merton, anomie arose where social systems were relatively poorly integrated and where different individuals reacted in different ways to the pursuit of institutional goals. Merton suggests five different responses to institutionalized goals: conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism and rebellion. Where individuals adopt different responses to institutionalized goals we see anomie and deviant behaviour (**deviance**).

Sociologists of sport have thus largely used the concept of anomie when investigating

ANTI-RACISM

deviance such as cheating and the use of **drugs** in sport. In the case of drug use, for instance, Lüschen (2000), following Merton, has argued that athletes' behaviour can best be understood as innovation; that is to say the acceptance of the general goal of achievement and performance in sport, but the rejection of conventional means for attaining that outcome, and thus their replacement with new or 'illegal' means.

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ANTI-RACISM

Because of the game's popularity, social significance, and the multi-ethnic composition of professional football players, anti-racism in British sport has largely focused on football (**race**). Launched by the Commission for Racial Equality and the Professional Footballers Association in 1993, Let's Kick Racism out of Football was the first national anti-racism in sport campaign. It was designed to combat racist chanting and practices (e.g. the throwing of bananas at black players on the pitch) but was initially supported by just 40 of the 92 Football League clubs. The remainder largely denied either that a problem existed, or that the problem was one which they, as football clubs, should or could address.

Since 1997 Kick it Out has taken responsibility for running Let's Kick Racism out of Football and has widened its campaign to address grassroots football, conduct outreach work with local minority ethnic communities, develop educational materials for schools, and coordinate the annual national anti-racism week. A number of regional anti-racist organizations have also emerged, including Show Racism the Red Card in the north-east of England, which utilizes a variety of media to dissipate players' and managers' views on racism, and Football Unites, Racism Divides, which is a partnership of fan groups, Sheffield United FC, local police and council officers. In addition to these, many clubs have their own initiatives, the most notable of which are Charlton Athletic Race Equality (CARE) and Leicester City's Foxes Against Racism.

These campaigns have been successful in making sports organizations more proactive in dealing with racism in sport and, with legislative help in the form of the 1991 Football Offences Act, many of the more overt forms of racism have been suppressed. However, these successes have now been tarnished by the dominance of the perception of what critics have termed the **racist-hooligan couplet**. Key 'race' problems seemingly unaffected by anti-racist movements also remain in football. These include the following: (1) the lack of participation in elite sport among British-Asians; (2) the lack of minority ethnic managers and administrators; and (3) broader issues of institutional racism within the game, e.g. in terms of local league rules that may effectively bar minority ethnic groups from participation.

Finally it should be noted that these campaigns have led to a number of imitators in various countries across Continental Europe, coordinated by FARE (Football Against Racism in Europe), and in other British sports. In 1995, following *Wisden Cricket Monthly's* publication of an article called 'Is it in the Blood' (in which Robert Henderson argued that the poor record of the England cricket team was connected to the prevalence of players who had been born overseas and/or had spent much of their childhood liv-

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ing in other countries), a cricket anti-racism pressure group, Hit Racism for Six was formed. Similarly in 1996, the magazine *Open Rugby* announced that rugby league had launched its own version, Let's Tackle Racism. These movements, however, have attracted rather less **media** attention, government funding or academic interest.

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the basis that they will improve the **competitive balance** of a league, while anything less equitable may lead to economic inequalities and, therefore, negatively affect uncertainty of outcome. However, allowing leagues to act as cartels ultimately impinges upon the employment rights of workers and forces **media** companies to pay higher fees for broadcasting rights. This, together with the ability to restrict the supply of team **franchises**, inflates the price at which franchises are sold and has allowed certain individuals to make considerable profits. In recent years, however, the European Commission, has also been seen to accept similar arguments to those used by American sports leagues to justify the exemption of European sporting bodies from laws regarding anti-competitive practices.

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ANTI-TRUST LAWS

Laws that operate in the United States and delineate the legal boundaries within which corporations may act to preserve their interests. For the purposes of sports law there are two key sections of the 1890 Sherman Act: Section 1, focusing on 'restraint of trade', and Section 2, relating to monopolization and monopoly practices.

By decree of Congress, however, American professional sports leagues are largely exempt from anti-trust laws. The rationale for this is that, compared to other businesses, there is a mutual interdependence of competitors or teams in sport and thus all teams benefit from the equalization of sporting competition. Certain monopolistic practices, for instance **player reservation systems**, the sale of television **broadcasting rights** as a **cartel** rather than as individual teams, etc., are justified on

ANXIETY

A negative emotional state that refers to both mental processes, such as worrying (cognitive anxiety), and automatic physiological responses, such as increased heart rate (somatic anxiety). Anxiety is a form of, but should be analysed distinctly from, **arousal** (which refers to a more general state of activity measured on a continuum from comatose to highly excited. See also **stress**).

Psychologists further distinguish between trait and state anxiety. *Trait anxiety* refers to anxiety as a component of **personality**, and to the degree to which one is predisposed to experience anxiety, while *state anxiety* refers to the moment-to-moment experiences of

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anxiety. While to some degree cognitive and somatic anxiety are linked, and to some degree a strong relationship exists between trait and state anxiety, these relationships are far from perfect and psychologists, in attempting to unpack these different forms of anxiety, refer to the *multidimensional nature of anxiety*. For instance, even athletes with high trait anxiety can learn to control the cognitive and somatic effects of anxiety with practise and regular exposure to particular environments. Similarly, trait and state anxiety may be present in different proportions at different moments of sporting performance and build-up (e.g. one is likely to experience more cognitive anxiety in the days prior to a significant sporting event, but more somatic anxiety in the minutes leading up to the start of the event).

While there is very little consensus over the exact nature of the link between arousal, anxiety and performance, most research indicates that a link does indeed exist. The most widely used theory in this regard is the inverted-U hypothesis, which states that increased arousal will positively affect performance up to an optimal point (the peak of the inverted-U) after which increased levels of arousal will reduce performance. Moreover, the optimal arousal level will vary according to the complexity of the task to be performed. Complex tasks that require high levels of decision making and thought (e.g. a snooker shot) have a lower optimal level of arousal than do relatively simplistic and/or physical tasks such as tackling (where higher levels of arousal may be optimal).

In spite of the fact that the validity of the inverted-U hypothesis as a general theoretical model is widely accepted, a number of criticisms have been made: (1) the model falsely conflates arousal with anxiety, and overlooks the distinction between cognitive and somatic anxiety; (2) there is no evidence to suggest that optimal arousal for performance should be in the middle of the curve; and (3) the inverted-U hypothesis is solely descriptive and offers no *explanation* as to why sports performance may vary from context to context.

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APARTHEID

A term derived from the Afrikaans word meaning 'apartness'; it was a system of racial segregation and discrimination enforced by successive South African governments from 1948 to 1991. Apartheid affected every facet of South African life during this period, creating townships, separate education systems and, of course, separate sport systems. Apartheid was forcefully and brutally enforced by the legal, political and military bodies in South Africa and enabled a privileged white minority to retain control of the country and repress the overwhelming black majority's call for democratic rights.

In 1962 SANROC (South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee) was launched. SANROC's aim was to replace the existing, whites-only Olympic Association as the recognized representative of the IOC in South Africa. SANROC was rapidly banned by the South African state. However, the IOC (the charter of which forbids racial discrimination) stipulated that South Africa would have to make a number of changes to its sporting system if it wished to participate in the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games. South Africa's insistence that sport in the country must comply with South African 'customs' (i.e. apartheid) meant that the IOC's conditions could not be met and the IOC withdrew South Africa's invitation.

Sport had traditionally held a central place in South African culture and the Olympic ban clearly caused annoyance to South African politicians. However, when cricket and rugby, the sports holding the greatest significance for white male South African identity (**sport, social significance of**), became subject to

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protests and boycotts, it became apparent that sporting isolation would have a significant effect (given that most nations continued to trade and have economic links with South Africa). Up to this point the cricket and rugby authorities in countries that made regular tours to South Africa to play test matches (and where whites were in the majority) had been prepared to send all-white teams to enable sporting links to continue, despite the fact that it meant compromising their selection Maori players to play both home and away). However, in 1968 the issue finally came to a head, when the MCC (Marylebone Cricket Club) and the English press deliberated over the inclusion of Basil D'Oliveira (a 'cape-coloured' batsman/all-rounder from South Africa who had settled in England eight years earlier) in the England team to tour South Africa. Being black, D'Oliveira would have had no legal right to share facilities with white players and would thus publicly expose the inequalities of apartheid. When D'Oliveira wasn't selected in the initial tour party, protestors argued that the MCC had bowed to political pressure, but a subsequent injury to the England bowler Tom Cartwright opened the way for D'Oliveira's inclusion. The South African premier, John Vorster, complained that the MCC had allowed political activists, and SANROC in particular, to select the side and refused to allow D'Oliveira to enter South Africa (noting for instance that D'Oliveira - primarily a batsman - had been picked as a replacement for a bowler). The MCC cancelled the tour.

The D'Oliveira issue accelerated the process of sport playing a key role in the international opposition to apartheid. The 'Stop the Seventy Tour' campaign successfully halted the proposed South African cricket team's tour to England two years later, and protests further disrupted a South African rugby union tour to Britain. In 1971, Prime Minister Vorster announced that a 'multinational' sports programme would be implemented in South Africa, allowing the different 'races' to compete against each other as separate 'nations'. Few felt that this

marked a significant change as whites continued to monopolize sports facilities and receive the majority of funding.

The South Africans remained excluded from the Olympic movement. Building on earlier successes, the anti-apartheid movement, in the form of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, objected to New Zealand's participation in the Montreal Olympics (on account of New Zealand rugby union's continued links with South Africa) and a **boycott** by African nations ensued. A year later, governments from the nations making up the British Commonwealth signed the **Gleneagles Agreement**, condemning apartheid and pledging to take measures to increase South Africa's sporting isolation.

But many individuals (and some sports organizations) continued their sporting links with South Africa. Some simply argued that 'sport and politics shouldn't mix', others (e.g. English cricketers who took part in 'rebel' tours to South Africa) that any restriction on their activities would be an unreasonable 'restraint of trade'. Some claimed that by playing against multiracial teams, or by coaching non-whites, their activities were effectively challenging apartheid and that therefore such sporting contact should be permitted. Many (e.g. rebel 'England' cricket teams, golfers, black American boxing champion, Mike Weaver, etc.) were clearly attracted mainly by the large amounts of money South African authorities offered.

In 1981, the United Nations issued a 'blacklist' of sports performers who continued ties with South Africa. As well as shaming, this blacklist had the effect of jeopardizing England cricket tours to the West Indies in 1981 (with Robin Jackman, for instance, being refused permission to enter Guyana) and India in 1982. Notable South African cricketers (Allan Lamb, Robin Smith) and athletes (Zola Budd and Sidney Maree) 'defected' to Britain and America amid much protest. This, however, was a further sign that sporting isolation was having a significant impact.

As a consequence of international pressure (how much of it is attributable to

ARCHERY

sport-related activities we will never know) apartheid eventually collapsed. Long-term prisoner Nelson Mandela was released from custody on Robben Island in 1991 and, at the ensuing elections, became South African president. The sports world welcomed South Africa back with open arms and when South Africa hosted and won the 1995 Rugby World Cup, Mandela very deliberately aligned himself with the South African rugby captain, François Pienaar, in an attempt to unify the nation and offer hope for the future.

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statutory regular practise down the social and economic order. This, in turn, resulted in the suppression of other pastimes and games. While the growing military role of archery had much to do with the decline of the **tournament** as a form of training for war, the rise of the gun (significant in the defeat of Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth in 1485) eventually led to a decline in the military significance of archery.

By the early fourteenth century the first guilds of crossbowmen had been founded. Though clearly these guilds had a military and/or law enforcement purpose, it seems that a primary motivation for founding guilds was the enjoyment derived from participation and the sociability such guilds provided. Shooting guilds became a manifestation of the emerging bourgeois life and restricted membership enabled a degree of status exclusivity and distinction. Subtle **class** gradations were introduced: crossbowmen were wealthy merchants or nobility; longbowmen were less affluent, often rural-based merchants.

Guilds often became the means by which towns were represented and competed against each other. Like the tournaments, increasingly elaborate ceremonies and festivities grew up around the central, sporting, event. Unlike tournaments, archery contests occurred at fixed points in the calendar (e.g. on the day of the guild's patron saint), which was probably a legacy of the earlier royal proclamations that insisted on regular Sunday and holiday practise. Thus, as the early military roots of archery gave way to a growing, and more economically based, class consciousness, archery became a means by which local identities and status hierarchies could be maintained and reproduced.

ARCHERY

Still practiced today as an Olympic sport, archery is of particular historical and sociological significance as a **medieval sport** form. In England during this period, archery was a distinctly middle-class or bourgeois sport, in contrast to the **tournament** and the **folk games** that were the preserve of knights and the masses respectively.

In 1252, Henry III pronounced that all subjects with property worth between 40 and 100 shillings should own a bow and arrows, and some of the most famous English military victories in the fourteenth century (e.g. Bannockburn in 1314 and Crecy in 1346) were attributed to the extensive and skilled use of longbows. These military victories led to further state proclamations that gradually spread compulsory bow ownership and

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AROUSAL

Refers to the intensity of behaviour, ranging on a continuum from deep sleep/coma state to high levels of excitation. Arousal is a multidimensional state with both physiological and cognitive components. However, research has indicated a very poor correlation between different types of physiological response to arousal (e.g. increased heart rate may not be linked to perspiration) and a poor correlation between cognitive and physiological responses to arousal (e.g. self-reported measures of nervousness may not correspond to changes in heart rate). Strictly speaking, the term arousal involves no negative or positive evaluation of the state; however, within the psychology of sport one will often find the terms arousal and **anxiety** used interchangeably (see also **stress**).

ATHLETIC SCHOLARSHIPS

Prior to 1953, US college students were eligible for financial assistance only on the basis of academic performance and financial need. By widening the funding criteria to include athletic performance the relationship between colleges and athletes was irrevocably altered. Athletic scholarships now underpin the US college sports system. Such scholarships effectively provide a mechanism by which higher education institutions can financially recompense formally amateur 'student-athletes' (**amateurism**). Such a mechanism has grown in importance in recent years as college sports have experienced considerable **commercialization**, with the fees that **media** companies pay for

broadcasting rights being a particularly significant source of income. The National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) has, however, remained resolute in its desire to retain the image of its sports as amateur. From this, tensions arise.

Critics of the athletic scholarship system argue that it enables colleges to exploit students. The term 'student-athlete' effectively denies college sports stars the right to be officially recognized as workers and thus reduces their legal rights (e.g. to pensions, compensation on the termination of contract, etc.). The NCAA argues that this exception is warranted because: (1) student-athletes get a free education; and (2) 'student-athletes' are members of, and represent, the student body. However, critics point out that most athletic scholarships are terminated by coaches rather than professors, on the basis of sports performance not academic attainment. These conditions mean not only that athletic scholarships do not necessarily entail a free education, but also that 'student-athletes' are not, normal members of the student body; they are in fact 'paid for play'. Moreover, graduation rates for those on athletic scholarships are relatively low (a 1999 survey found that just 58 per cent graduated within six years of starting a degree). Tellingly, there appears to be an inverse relationship between graduation rates and the revenue generated by a sports programme; that is to say, athletic scholarships to the most commercially successful sports are least likely to result in educational qualifications.

Athletic scholarships are also the mechanism by which US colleges recruit athletic talent from other countries. In this respect they also contribute to the increasing trend of **sport labour migration**.

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ATTENTIONAL FOCUS

(concentration)

AUTO-ETHNOGRAPHY

(ethnography)