



Ethics and sport in Europe

Dominique Bodin and Gaëlle Sempé

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Dominique Bodin and Gaelle Sempé

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Foreword

Reconciling ethics and sport is crucial

Compliance with the ethics which provide sport with its underlying values is now open to question. Sport faces problems of corruption, violence, drug taking, extremism and other forms of discrimination, but this is nothing more than a reflection of the societies in which it takes place. If, however, sport is to continue to benefit individuals and societies, it cannot ignore these scourges or the ethical values it draws on.

Like the Olympic movement, which upholds the integrity and universal educational values of healthy physical activity, numerous sports organisations and government institutions are engaged in a battle for ethics in sport, whether it is practised as a professional or leisure activity. The 11th Council of Europe Conference of Ministers responsible for Sport, held in Athens on 11 and 12 December 2008, confirmed the prime role of the Council of Europe and its Enlarged Partial Agreement on Sport (EPAS) in the new challenges facing sports ethics. The political impetus provided was reiterated on 16 June 2010 by the Committee of Ministers, when it adopted an updated version of the Code of Sports Ethics, in Recommendation CM/Rec(2010)9 to member states, emphasising the need for co-ordination between governments and sports organisations.

Alongside these institutional developments, research scientists from numerous fields (philosophy, history, sociology, sports sciences, biology, etc.) have been analysing the concept of sports ethics. The open and often critical approach taken by these academics and institutions has cast new light on a subject with very firm historical and philosophical foundations. It is now clear from all the work done that sport does not intrinsically bring with it the values and ethics that the greatest optimists had thought. As the media reveals to us what actually goes on in sport, and in view of the difficulties encountered by the practitioners of sport, it is now agreed that governance and regulations need to change.

Following the ministerial conference in Athens, EPAS stepped up its work on sports ethics. *Inter alia*, with the Human and Social Sciences Research Laboratory and Anthropology and Sociology Laboratory (LARES-LAS) at the University of Rennes 2, it held an international conference attended by political leaders, sportspersons, researchers and voluntary sector officials.

Some of the experiences described at the conference and the thoughts that it prompted have been included in this publication. All the writers share the same concern: that the end result should be practical action – particularly in terms of the setting of standards – fully within the remit of EPAS, giving a real boost to the promotion of the values of the Council of Europe.

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Introduction

Ethics and sport in Europe

Dominique Bodin,¹ Gaelle Sempé,² Luc Robène³ and Stéphane Héas⁴

The idea that sport has inherent ethical values prized by society has been circulating widely for over a century now. Historians and sociologists who examine the gilt-edged monument which sport's "eternal values" symbolise in the collective conscience may perceive the influence of Baron Pierre de Coubertin. The idea has become something of a skilful ruse, whose cultural, moral and ideological foundations, as well as discriminatory social outlook, are rarely questioned. It has been nurtured over time, built on by the International Olympic Committee (IOC), reverently taken up by most of the media, and given impetus by certain schools of educational thought. Through the 20th century, sport has come to be seen as a naturally virtuous activity which rises above the vicissitudes of everyday life, even as the hopes of an entirely unblemished world of sport, free in particular of political manipulation, have been eroded.

The contented purring of the media and the message from the streets, particularly during major competitions or symbolic meetings (including the Olympic Games), should be enough to show how much critical mass this idea has now accumulated. Sport has to be a "good thing" as it embodies rules, virtue, respect for others and oneself, and provides reference points and an almost innate means of controlling human emotions and behaviour. In short, sport is considered to be covered by an almost timeless ethical code.

In truth, the association of ethics and sport conceals a major social and political problem, one of whose less apparent features – for good reason – is precisely the ideological nature of the message, put over with such force that this instrumental pairing appears obvious.

However, this is not the only problem. The corollary of this ideological issue is a question concerning definition. What in fact do we mean by "sport"? What does this over-determined concept cover? While the concept of ethics does not really require any direct clarification (although we will return to it later), the concept of sport has an ambiguous background. Its very history and the diverse theories as to its origins, particularly in terms of continuity,

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change and its place in society, are such that considerable caution is called for when drawing conclusions from an analysis of patterns of physical activity and their genealogy.

Even if we take account of those factors which define sport and its emanations as a historically and socially grounded activity, the ties between ethics and sport, or more specifically professional and/or high-level sport, are more an article of faith or an incantation than established fact. The received ideas and laudatory presuppositions which surround sport, in all its passion, brilliance and seductive spectacle, may in many cases conceal the exercise of power, make light of real problems of exclusion or segregation, and hide manifestations of dominance, violence, cheating and corruption. Sport has in many instances fallen far short of the "ethical" goals which are almost automatically assigned to it, at least in theory.

However, when talking in such terms, are we not simply raising the question of what is "normal" and what is "abnormal", in other words standards commonly accepted by a particular group but regarded as deviations by another group or, more simply, the dominant one?

Ethics and sport: the quarrels of an old couple

In recent times, we have witnessed doping in cycling, particularly during the Tour de France, and in athletics, match-fixing in football in the Italian Series A and also in Marseille, France, investment by the Russian mafia in international professional football, the stabbing of a woman tennis player and the doping and poisoning of other players, hooliganism at football matches but also at water-polo, cricket and basketball, cheating surrounding the marking in figure-skating judging, athletes forced to take part in competitions despite having serious injuries, racketeering, vote-catching, harassment and exclusion in the sphere of sports. This is by no means an exhaustive list,⁵ so how then do we go about linking ethics and sport? Is merely asking the question, let alone answering it, a utopian conceit?

It may be tempting to criticise these examples by pointing out that they mostly relate to professional sport or sport at the highest level. However, this would be to overlook the reports of the French Doping Prevention and Control Council (CPLD), which show that doping also occurs in amateur sport, and at a very young age. It would overlook the violence that occurs in amateur football, which has prompted leagues and committees to ban certain small-town clubs from competition in the lowest divisions.⁶ It would be forgetting that some

5. Bodin D., Robène L., and Héas S. (2005), *Sport and violence in Europe*, Council of Europe Publishing, Strasbourg.

6. For example, the Cussac Fort Médoc football club, representing a village in the Gironde, France, with 800 inhabitants, was banned from competition for the whole of the 2004/05 season.

rugby referees have been assaulted by players – and by managers – at minor amateur rugby matches.⁷ It would also be shamelessly closing our eyes to the behaviour of managers, trainers and parents who encourage their children to damage their opponents during junior football matches.

Such excesses have long been condemned. One source of criticism has been a social and philosophical approach to the issue drawing on Freudian and Marxist theory.⁸ This views sport as an ideological tool of the state and the opium of the people, a setting in which the “sporting multitudes” can be unleashed. Sport is seen as part of the general process of economic and political manipulation of cultural practices. Another criticism derives from a more systemic viewpoint, combining historical, socio-economic and anthropological approaches, and highlighting the undesirable effects⁹ of the presentation of sport as a spectacle and the emotional excesses to which this can sometimes give rise.¹⁰

In truth, sports are no more ethical or virtuous in essence than they are inherently evil. It is much more likely that they are an extremely complex result and reflection of the activities of human beings living in society: a historical and social construct which should be analysed as such by assessing the impact of the cultural, social, ideological, political and economic issues and markers which help to define their functions and may result in excesses in the changing contexts of our modern societies. The etymology of the word ethics prompts us, moreover, to give particular credence to this theory. The Greek word *ethikos*, *ethike*, from which the word ethics stems, means morals and, unless they are interpreted solely in the light of the Judeo-Christian moral code, morals do not necessarily have to be “good”. How, moreover, could anything else be true when sport has this strange and paradoxical particularity of “bringing people together in one place to pit them against one another more readily”?¹¹

This raises two questions, which account for the double-edged thrust of our investigations. One is sociological, questioning this “naturalisation” of sport. The other attempts to understand what is lasting about this connection,

7. An example was the case of Mr Larbalétrier, who was violently assaulted by the players, managers and supporters of Nissan at the end of a final between Castelnau Magnoac and Nissan on 11 June 1995.

8. Brohm J-M. (1993), *Les meutes sportives. Critique de la domination*, L'Harmattan, Paris; Brohm J-M. (1992), *Sociologie politique du sport*, PUN, Nancy.

9. Boudon R. (1977), *Effets pervers et ordre social*, coll. Quadrige, PUF, Paris.

10. Bodin D., Robène L., and Héas S. (2005), *Sport and violence in Europe*, Council of Europe Publishing, Strasbourg ; Brissoneau C. (2003), *Entrepreneurs de morale et carrières de déviants dans le dopage sportif*, Thesis prepared at the University of Paris X, Nanterre; Bromberger C. (1995), *Le match de football, ethnologie d'une passion partisane à Marseille, Naples et Turin*, Maison des sciences de l'homme, Paris; Duret P. and Bodin D. (2003), *Le sport en questions*, coll. Sports études, Chiron, Paris.

11. Jeu B. (1987), *Analyse du sport*, coll. Pratiques corporelles, PUF, 1992 edition, Paris.

or rather this missing connection between sport and ethics, relating to the sphere of historical anthropology.

Structured in this way, these investigations attempt to answer several questions. How should we interpret the fact that, in both everyday and political collective representations, sport is very often regarded as "ethically correct", being fundamentally imbued with respect for opponents, referees, and rules? What should we think about the fact that it is viewed as a setting in which, more than in any other, a degree of distance from one's role is expressed?¹² How is it that it is possible to imagine that ethical attitudes acquired through sport can be transferred to the rest of one's social activity? How is it that this ethical code which is assumed to be acquired from, or present in, sport can cause this sphere of activity to be regarded as healthy, inclusive, integrating, and socialising, to the point that it is arbitrarily viewed as an essential component of education in our modern societies, and used as a major form of occupational therapy in prisons¹³ or as an immediate retort to violence in the disadvantaged suburbs?¹⁴

Modern sports: a legacy of the ancient games, chivalry or functionalism?

Perhaps we should begin by looking for the origins of this utopia in the history and the beginnings of modern sport, noting that the ethics in question are no more than a reflection and a legacy of a Judeo-Christian bourgeois ideal. This is an ideal which attempts to domesticate bodies and minds, and pits people who are "well-born", and give precedence to distancing themselves from their role, against those who need results to construct their identity and assert themselves.

Whatever approach is adopted to interpreting the beginnings of modern sport, whether it is the theory of "eternal sport",¹⁵ sport as the transformation of the practices of chivalry in the Middle Ages,¹⁶ or sport as one of the

12. Goffman E. (1959), *The presentation of self in everyday life*, Penguin Books, 1990 edition, London.

13. Sempé G. et al., (2006), "Le sport carcéral chez les «courtes peines»: une approche comparative franco-canadienne en prisons pour femmes", *Esporte & Sociedade Resvista digital*, No 4; Bodin D. et al. (2006), "Le sport en prison entre insertion et paix sociale Jeux, enjeux et relations de pouvoirs à travers les pratiques corporelles de la jeunesse masculine incarcérée", *Le Temps de l'histoire, revue d'histoire de l'enfance "irrégulière"*, No. 8.

14. Duret P. (2001), "Le sport comme contre-feu à la violence des cités", Bodin D. (ed.), *Sports et violences*, coll. Sports études, Chiron, Paris.

15. Jeu B. (1975), *Le sport, la mort, la violence*, PUL, Lille; Jeu B. (1977), *Le sport, l'émotion, l'espace*, Vigot, Paris; Jeu B. (1987), *Analyse du sport*, coll. Pratiques corporelles, PUF, 1992 edition, Paris.

16. Duby G. (1984), *Guillaume le Maréchal ou le meilleur chevalier du monde*, coll. Les inconnus de l'histoire, Fayard, Paris.

factors contributing to the organisation of modern societies,¹⁷ sports are viewed above all as highly segregating, distinguishing practices.

The cultural foundations on which Pierre de Coubertin built his own sporting ideology at the end of the 19th century did not deviate from these ideas. Coubertin placed the physical activities of the idealised model of the Greek athlete at the pinnacle of the virtuous edifice of a dissocialised, apolitical form of sport, cut off from the social and economic vicissitudes and challenges of everyday life. Yet Greece was no more the creator of sport for pacifying purposes than it was the inventor of the reason which is assumed to imbue the ancient games and the *Gymnopaedia* with harmony. It has been a long time since the "Greek miracle" was deconstructed, following Louis Gernet,¹⁸ by the school of historical psychology.¹⁹ From the beginning the Greek ideal was an aristocratic one and it remained so throughout periods of democracy, slave democracy and xenophobia, based on citizenship through a restrictive combination of *jus soli* (right of the soil) and *jus sanguinis* (right of blood). Sport was reserved for the best (*ariston*) and the well-born (*eleutherion*), who were also assigned physical and moral virtues (noblemen were expected to be *kalos* and *agathos*, handsome and good). It was practised by men alone, and only free men at that.

If Greek sport was *ethikos*, it was only within the restricted framework of this aristocratic ideal, and it served as a means to categorise, distinguish and exclude, reinforcing and safeguarding a social order that was inequalitarian by design.

On observing the practices of the nobility, Georges Duby for his part sees the ethical values traditionally associated with modern sport (such as fair play, observance of the rules, and honesty) as a distant legacy of "the morals of the 11th-century warrior".²⁰ While tournaments and jousts were part of a chivalrous ideal, they represented the most accomplished components of a highly inequalitarian, masculine society dominated by the logic of lineage and alliances (as a result of which wives were coveted assets), and the process of conquering fiefdoms and land, on which no serf or villain was regarded as anything more than an object. These distinctive, bellicose morals, which Jean-Jules Jusserand²¹ describes quite rightly as inherent to a circular or totally interconnected process in which the tournament was preparation for war and

17. Elias N. and Dunning E. (1986), *Quest for excitement. Sport and leisure in the civilizing process*, Blackwell, Oxford.

18. Gernet L. (1917), *Recherches sur le développement juridique et moral en Grèce*, Leroux, Paris.

19. Vernant J-P. and Vidal-Naquet P. (1986), *Mythes et tragédies, II, La découverte*, Paris; Engl. translation as *Myth and tragedy in Ancient Greece*, Zone Books, 1988.

20. Duby G. (1986), "EPS interroge Georges DUBY: des tournois au sport moderne", EPS, p. 10.

21. Jusserand J-J. (1901), *Les sports et jeux d'exercice dans l'ancienne France*, Champion éditions, 1986 edition, Paris.

war was a prelude to the tournament, do form an ethical code of chivalry. However, this code only very roughly matches the picture which has been built up in the popular imagination. This last is in fact a distant legacy of the Chronicles, namely the stories devised at the request of those whose qualities and virtues they were intended to praise through the performances of troubadours and trouvères. Far from defending the poor and the weak, medieval knights did not hesitate to commit atrocities against their enemies, who could nonetheless be neighbours or former allies, or against those on their own lands. This was such a problem that tournaments were in fact regarded by a section of the nobility as a convenient means of occupying their youth and channelling their knights' violent urges.²² The goal was not the humanism that this pacifying process could have represented, but economic dividends in terms of preserving labour. Chivalry therefore was also a socially biased ideal, excluding outsiders such as peasants, serfs, and poor and marginalised people. In fact, physical games played by the peasantry, such as *la soule* in northern France, were also the setting for much disorder and violence, to the extent that they were regularly banned by the Church.

When Norbert Elias began investigating the origins of sport, he did not see it in terms of a process of filiation or genealogy of models of physical activity, but as the result of a watershed event deriving from the social transformations at the beginning of the 18th century. At the time, the trend in Europe was to attempt to pacify societies through certain measures including the monopolisation by the state of the means of controlling violence.²³ In Elias's view, modern sports emerged at the same time and their structuring went hand in hand with the reorganisation of forms of political life. The function of these new practices was to teach people to control their own urges while at the same time offer them a setting in which they were allowed to give free rein to their emotions.²⁴ When he talks of the origins of sport, Elias does so through the prism of the emergence of the aristocratic tradition of fox hunting, whose standards, rules and social codes prevailed to the extent that they were also used in the organisation of collective sports. In the 19th century, such collective sports were used, in turn, to train the gentry in Britain's public schools.

This brings us full circle. By resurrecting the Olympic Games, Coubertin was simply strengthening this elitist aristocratic ideal which, in all its practices and manifestations, pitted the ruling classes against the masses. Drawing substantially on the social theories of Frédéric Le Play, the conservatively minded

22. Duby G. (1986), *op. cit.*

23. Elias N. (1939), *Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation Soziogenetische und psychogenetische Untersuchungen*; Engl translation as *The civilizing process*, Vol I, *The history of manners*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1969, and *The civilizing process*, Vol II, *State formation and civilization*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1982.

24. Elias N. and Dunning E. (1986), *Quest for excitement. Sport and leisure in the civilizing process*, Blackwell, Oxford.

Coubertin attempted to apply the concept of a segregational form of sport, whose most obvious features were amateurism and the exclusive participation of men. Coubertin's approach to sport up to 1912, when he was forced by his weakened institutional position to accept a limited degree of democratisation, was marked by the goals of disinterestedness, distancing from roles, detachment with regard to results, and education. Sport was an elite activity meant to contribute to the edification of a society in which the people with power were expected to remain there, while the masses would be restricted to stimulating physical activities (such as gymnastics and military exercises), fortifying society's foundations. Coubertin's vision of sport was tied up with a view of a fixed pattern of society, which imposed traditional social destinies on the rulers and the ruled and on men and women.²⁵

In occupied France, under the Vichy regime, Marshal Pétain and tennis champion Jean Borotra promoted this conservative ideal despite the regime's avowed intention to include the entire population in the "National Revolution" project. Vichy needed leaders and "Sport – the modern-day chivalry", to quote the slogan used by its Commissioner General for Education and Sport,²⁶ was to serve as one of the foundations for the construction of this new France, which advocated a return to age-old values and the traditions of France's rural heartlands. In this connection, sport contributed to what Eric Hobsbawm has termed the "invention of tradition",²⁷ in which the establishment of an elite and its traditions seem rooted in an immemorial past, whose components have in fact been reconfigured to help construct identities. In this manner, pure, unadulterated sport, dominated by a compulsory form of amateurism, came to be regarded as a tool for racial regeneration, predictably excluding "pariahs" such as sports professionals and, later on, Jews. This reorganisation of forms of exclusion and segregation reached the very height of cynicism when the regime's official physical education instructions were published in 1941 and the authorities lauded the benefits of a physical education inspired by the philosophy of Henri Bergson – even though the régime had condemned the philosopher for being Jewish. At this time more than ever, the association between sport and ethics had to be called into question.

It would be possible to adapt the title of a work by Max Weber²⁸ for our own purposes and talk more generally of the emergence in the West of a

25. It should be pointed out that Pierre de Coubertin was opposed, if not to the participation of women in the Olympic Games then at least to the increased autonomy of women within sports federations and in the organisation of parallel games, repeating that there should be "No women's Olympiad!" The baron put considerable efforts into thwarting the desires of those, like Alice Milliat, who dared to infringe this golden rule.

26. Gay-Lescot J-L. (1991), *Sports et éducation sous Vichy*, PUL, Lyon.

27. Hobsbawm E. and Ranger T. (eds.) (1983), *The invention of tradition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

28. Weber M. (1905), *The Protestant work ethic and the spirit of capitalism*, Penguin Books, 2002 edition, London.

very strong tie between 'The Judeo-Christian Ethic and the Spirit of Sport', in which the latter was organised, devised and structured by elites according to their own standards and values, which were expected to play a decisive role in the orientation and regulation of people's "sporting" activity. The example of Vichy also shows that it is precisely because of the lack of any ethical values in sport's "genetic code" that it is an empty vessel in this respect, and hence the perfect ideological vehicle, liable to be manipulated. Whatever the case, the establishment of standards is one of the key ways in which sport is used, influencing its very definition and making it such a convenient tool for the tasks of standardisation, exclusion, segregation or, more simply, differentiation.

What is true for some may not be true for everyone

The only problem is that the standards and values that it is the intention to inculcate and promote are those of the dominant group. As a result, relationships centre on a classical sociological confrontation between dominant groups and dominated ones, the "established" and the "outsiders"²⁹ and "normal" and "deviant" behaviour.³⁰ While it seems impossible to deny this formal link at the organisational and institutional level, to regard it as a more general truth is tantamount to denying the existence, firstly, of other types of practice (non-competitive sport; purely recreational activities; dangerous sports; and sport practised outside sports associations) and secondly, of other types of practitioners.

To subscribe to the first point is to reject any anthropological approach in which sport is considered to contribute primarily towards human as opposed to animal behaviour. The anthropological approach sees sport as succeeding, through controlled movements and institutional constraint, in curbing people's unreasonable passions. This view effectively resurrects the ideal that Plato expressed in the *Timaeus*, in which the courses of the soul of animals could be tamed by means of contradictory courses and prescribed figures.³¹

To accept the second point is to fail to take account of the historic emergence of new physical and sporting activities which seem to be at variance with any idea of social control, including self-organised activities (for example freestyle BMX, skateboarding, street sports and surfing) and non-federated

29. Elias N. and Scotson J.L. (1965), *The established and the outsiders A sociological enquiry into community problems*, Frank Cass & Co., London.

30. Sayeux A-S. (2006), *Surfeur, l'être au monde. Analyse socio-anthropologique de la culture des surfeurs, entre accords et déviance*, Doctorate completed at the University of Rennes 2, Brittany.

31. Bodin D. and Debarbieux E. (2001), "Le sport, l'exclusion, la violence", Bodin D. (ed.), *Sports et violences*, coll. Sports études, Chiron, Paris.

and/or non-competitive activities. The rise of these new ways of thinking about and practising sport do raise a number of questions. Do the standards, including the ethical ones, imposed by the sporting community since the beginning of the 19th century still have any real meaning at the beginning of the 21st? Do we not run the risk of depriving ourselves of an excellent social yardstick?

Our aim should be to take things one step further than Elias, who claimed to be aware that “knowledge of sport is key to understanding society”,³² and suggest that in modern Western societies, physical and sports activities probably have the power to influence society. It is enough to witness the extreme tolerance of sports players and spectators towards the behaviour of “outsiders” compared with the way such behaviour is dealt with in society as a whole, whether with regard to homosexuals, cheats or drug takers. What indeed should we say about the much reviled use of doping, which is officially condemned by the establishment in the name of sporting ethics long before any thought is given to the health of athletes, and which in many sports is regarded as the “usual” practice?³³ This may be explained by the fact that the norm is merely a reflection of the dominant model, which, although imposed on everyone, is not necessarily accepted by everyone.³⁴

The transformation of sport

Clearly, sport has now become a full-fledged social phenomenon, or what Marcel Mauss termed a “total social fact”. The number of participants is constantly increasing and its importance, felt throughout society, is growing within the leisure sector itself. Its use as a spectacle cannot escape anyone, unless he or she is cut off from the world. Sport has become a real cultural phenomenon; we talk about it, live it, wear sports gear and reminisce about the performances of particular teams or players. It is also something that is constantly evolving.

The historian Georges Vigarello shows how much belief and hope sport gives everyone, embodying a meritocratic and democratic ideal through *agon* (competition) and *alea* (chance).³⁵ However, by offering a mirror which perfectly suits the requirements of the media in terms of image, spectacle and occasion, sport is also undergoing new pressures which are radically transforming it. New “sporting” attitudes are emerging which favour

32. Elias N. and Dunning E. (1986), op. cit.

33. Bodin D. et al., (2005), “Doping: caught between the desire for glory and social constraints”, *Society and Leisure*, Vol. 28, No. 1, pp. 211-37.

34. Bodin D. (2003), “En guise de conclusion Normes sociales et normes sportives: le mélange des genres”, Duret P. and Bodin D. (eds), *Le sport en questions*, Chiron, Paris.

35. Vigarello G. (2002), *Du jeu ancien au show moderne. La naissance d'un mythe*, coll. La couleur des idées, Seuil, Paris.

ilinx (vertigo) over *agon*,³⁶ taking sportsmen and sportswomen away from federal bodies and associations and placing them in “untamed” locations not initially devised for sport, shifting the violence from the pitch to the stands or the streets. These ideas may prompt us to think of other approaches and relationships between sport and ethics.

36. Caillois R. (1958), *Les jeux et les hommes*; Engl. translation as *Man, play and games*, University of Illinois Press, 2001.

Chapter 1

Ethics in sport: historical and philosophical context

Historical and philosophical background

Lambros Couloubaritsis³⁷

Competitive sport (*agon* meant a competitive event) was introduced to Ancient Greece in an attempt to keep under control that physical violence which was mainly used in battle. It is one of the forms of transfer, repeated in other competitive events (music, poetry, theatre, etc.), which led to the birth of democracy in the sixth century BC, when political rivalry diverted physical violence (that of tyranny or oligarchy) into oral violence within the different assemblies. These successive shifts, unique in human history, are also the reason why the Ancient Games were associated with procedures for achieving an Olympic Truce (*ekecheiria*), which every city was free to accept or refuse.

The link between ethics and sport thus began with the codification of a particular kind of competition involving physical effort by a human being involved to the fullest, a person capable of thought and action, thereby promoting the idea of a healthy mind in a healthy body. Physical and mental health underpin human life, and go hand in hand with ethics with a view to the best possible human fulfilment.

Two things need to be added, however, to understand the origins of the link between ethics and sport. These will bring us to a third theme relating to the democratisation of sport, which enabled the greatest possible number of people to be involved not just as spectators, but also as participants.

1) The need for exercise to preserve and improve physical performance was recognised in military organisation, particularly at a time when phalanxes of hoplites waged war. Intensive training was provided so soldiers could cope with weighty equipment and huge physical demands, as well as psychological training to inculcate bravery and a spirit of unity. Thus certain places were needed, such as the *gymnasium*, where naked men (*gymnoi*) exercised. There were also rules to ensure, through an appropriate regime, that the body was fit for purpose; this led to the formation of habits (*hexeis*) constituting an *ethos*, the source of a self-control ethic. Aristotle considered that the dietary regime should be commensurate with the physical efforts required, and that bravery (*andreia*) was an ethical virtue, in so far as it was defined as lying between the two behavioural extremes of deficiency (cowardice) and excess (foolhardiness). Bravery, which was associated with fear, expectation, risk and effort, was not divorced from suffering and, with other virtues, contributed to an active life, which could result in a form

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of individual happiness. The gymnasia where these exercises took place had been built in Ionian cities long predating those three known to have existed in Athens. Here, they were associated with philosophical activity: the Cynosarges, the Academy (the school of Plato), and the Lyceum (the school of Aristotle). Following the disbanding of the hoplite corps in the wake of the disastrous battle of Leuctra (371 BC), military commanders conceived the idea of a professional army of more mobile, lightly armed foot soldiers, combined with fast-moving cavalry. This innovation entailed an adaptation of gymnastics and sport. It goes without saying that for the armies of every era, physical exercise has always been a key area of concern. This exercise presented an opportunity for competitions, which were already mentioned in Homer's writings.

In each era they took on a specific form, often linked to religious ceremonies and rituals. The feudal lords of the Middle Ages regarded them as a means of upholding honour and of consolidating alliances and loyalty to the sovereign. Today the training of elite troops in specialist military camps sometimes resembles an initiation rite, close to a kind of torture both physical and mental. This has not prevented trained soldiers, once trained and then confronted with existential suffering, from developing harmful pathologies, bringing consequences that stay with them for the rest of their lives. Even more disturbing is the fact that the adoption of gymnastics and sport by the armed services has prevented sport from playing the historical role that the Ancient Greeks hoped to assign to it when they sought to achieve a transfer of violence into spheres of creative rivalry, of which sport is one example, in the same way as the oral violence of our democratic societies has not prevented physical violence at moments of political crisis, which is the final stage before political tyranny. Violence in and around sports venues, which undermines the sports ethic, to some extent reflects the difficulties of this transfer process.

Even in ancient times sports competitions already had a long history, as first recounted by the sophist Hippias of Elis and as time went by certain disciplines were gradually supplemented with new events. For example, the first Olympiad (in 776 BC) consisted of one event, the *stadion*, a sprint race the length of the stadium; at the 14th Olympiad (724 BC) the *diaulos* (a foot race over twice that distance) was added; at the 15th (720 BC) the *dolichos* (a long-distance foot race) was added; at the 18th (708 BC) the new events were the *pentathlon* and wrestling; at the 23rd (688 BC) boxing was added; and at the 25th (680 BC) the four-horse chariot (*quadriga*) race took place for the first time. Not until the 99th Olympiad (384 BC) was a variant introduced, the four-colt chariot race, followed by the colts' race at the 131st Olympiad (216 BC). With the modern Olympic Games too tending to include more disciplines, it may be assumed that the relationship between ethics and sport is also evolving. What distinguishes physical and sports activities at all stages of the past from modern-day events is the technical

and economic context, which has an irreversible impact on sport, not only through the means used to improve performance, but also through the advertising made possible by media coverage. This observation brings us to my second point concerning the relationship between ethics and sport.

2) All forms of competition entail rivalry between those vying to be the best, as well as fame and glory (*kleos* and *doxa*). Both themes have been defined in relation to the hero in Homer's epics. Achilles' father Peleus, for instance, not only tells his son to excel (*aristeuein*) and prove himself superior to others, but also says that death will bring him glory. When they died, heroes were said to go live on the Islands of the Blessed. Poets wrote hymns for the good of their souls as much as for their fame, and sometimes there were sacrificial rites in their honour. Heroes, in Ancient Greece, were among the leading cultural and religious figures. From the very first Olympic Games (776 BC), the victors were considered heroes. Nowadays it is the media that has taken over this role, placing athletes in the public eye in the same way as they do film stars, certain politicians and even consumer goods. The need to be recognised drives human ambition and acts as a driving force in the quest for success. The requisite efforts entail suffering and this can lead athletes and sportsmen to use illegal methods and break rules to achieve success. However, this now extraordinarily widespread phenomenon is nothing new.

Even in Ancient Greece, some cities were so concerned about cheating that the athletes trained under the supervision of official judges (*Hellandikai*), as was the case in the gymnasium at Elis. Then they went in procession to Olympia, where they sacrificed a boar on the altar of Zeus Horkios (keeper of the oaths), swearing with their families and trainers that they would not cheat. Breaches of the rules were punished with fines, which were in turn used to erect statues of Zeus in a line at the foot of Mount Kronion, where everyone could see them. The link between ethics and sport can therefore be seen to have existed from very ancient times, and it was not confined to questions relating specifically to the ethics of heroic deeds based on violence, nor to the issue of bravery as popularised by Aristotle. With technical and pharmacological progress in the increasingly commercial modern world, it is inevitable that the desire for fame and glory will push young sportsmen and women to compromise themselves in the shady world of doping or other kinds of cheating involving wider networks. Combating this problem means identifying all the hidden conditions and factors which help to induce and reinforce such behaviour. It should be emphasised that while a zero tolerance policy is a desirable goal, particular care should first be taken to avoid causing injustice on account of the inequality of opportunity that exists among athletes in a diverse world.

This is a fundamental ethical problem linked to the theme of fairness, exacerbated when national identity comes into the equation. A sportsperson is first and foremost the hero of a country or nation, before being a hero

of humankind. This situation fosters nationalism, with its accompanying excesses. The value increasingly attached to multiculturalism by modern politicians worldwide, including in our democracies, complicates matters. In this context a closeness of identities is encouraged over the closeness of personal relations, which alone can engender positive contacts between individuals and peoples. Whereas multiculturalism involves the risk of increasing the juxtaposition of factors which may transform emulation into antagonism, interculturalism can do the opposite, creating fruitful relations, and where emulation leads to the formation of friendships in an effort to build a shared world based on fraternity.

The promotion of interculturalism can enhance the ethics of sport, because it is capable of situating fame and glory on a collective level. Here, heroes are not seeking personal advantage from their performance and their victories, but become accustomed to associating all those who compete with their own achievements. This removal of the focus on recognition reduces the need to win and stand out at all costs, and can bring about a change in sportspersons' attitudes to dishonest means of winning. To understand the implications, let us remember that in the era of the ethics of heroism, the glory went solely to the winner (or his trainer or sponsor), who alone could hope to reach the Islands of the Blessed. The link between the achievement of hero status and religion conferred a sort of holiness on the person concerned (as was also the case in the Middle Ages for Christians who did good deeds). However, this view of things underwent a sea change in Classical Greece, at least in Athens, where democratic ethics held sway. Aristotle argued that individual deeds and the happiness they could bring also extended to those close to the person concerned (family and friends). Thus today, at a time when we defend the principles of democracy, transposing this approach to sport may have fruitful results as we strive to develop a positive interculturalism. This extension from multiculturalism to interculturalism brings us to a third point, which concerns the democratisation of athletics and sport.

3) It is Aristotle, again, that we have to thank for some far-reaching considerations on gymnastics, by analogy regarded as the basis for political pluralism. He considered different aspects of gymnastics according to the goal aspired to. The specific art (*techné*) of gymnastics may attach value to the type of exercise that is intrinsically the best, so that the innately talented person who is best equipped can achieve the very best performance. This is the kind of gymnastics for those whose aim is exceptional performance. But there is also value attached to different kinds of exercise to be practised by the majority, who only wish to become fit, and have no intention of taking part in public competitions. Indeed, the art of gymnastics also considers that on account of the diversity of physical constitutions, there is no single mode of exercise, but that a gymnastics trainer should adapt exercises to each individual (*Politics*, IV.1). This is a remarkable document, since it recognises

that gymnastics and – why not? – sport in general can be accessible to everyone, depending on the inclinations and the physical capacities and strength of the person concerned. Viewed as a necessary activity for the preservation and enhancement of bodily health, gymnastics and sport take on a major preventive role. The Ancient Greeks associated such bodily health with mental health.

Although the situation is different today, Aristotle's observations are of enduring interest for our modern societies, in which individuals lead abnormally sedentary lives and eat an unnatural diet. What preventive policies have our states devised to preserve their citizens' physical and mental health? Each state now has a responsibility, as have the European authorities, to study this problem and take decisions accordingly. This is all the more so because it might help resolve the long-term deficits of sickness and disability insurance schemes. The risk is growing, what with the dramatic rise in computer use and Internet access, which encourages children and adolescents to spend hours just sitting in front of their screens. This new development has had an unbalancing effect, not only on the body but also on the mind, which is bombarded with information and images, often of a violent nature.

In other words, encouraging participation in gymnastics and sport can also play a preventive role in the field of mental health, and, as in Ancient Greece, lead to a transfer whereby physical violence is superseded by peaceful rivalry, albeit in new and more diverse ways. Thanks to the spatio-temporal proximity it creates between individuals, such a rivalry could help promote various forms of relational proximities, conducive to a policy aimed at fostering interculturalism. Training human beings capable of self-control in mutual emulation and respect, without making winning and performance ends in themselves, is a first step towards a promising sports ethic. The underlying assumption is that constant efforts to create positive relations through gymnastics and sport provide the ethical framework essential to a democratic society.

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Philosophy, ethics and sport

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"The owl of Minerva takes its flight only when the shades of night are gathering", according to Hegel: once the reality of the day is done, all that remains is to study it. But Hegel and I agree that philosophy is not superior to other ways of expressing one's views. Indeed, there is only the expression of a sincere modesty which involves submitting to what has taken place and what has been said so as to address it again and maintain it in its amazing or problematic aspect. I shall proceed in three stages, first endeavouring to explain the link between the three words in my title, then setting out a critical concept of sport (critical in that I am at a critical distance, in a crisis, seeking criteria), and concluding with a look at the conditions in which sport may have an ethical function, in the light of contradictions which it does not resolve, but in fact accentuates.

As you know, philosophy is both critical and methodical, and is amazed by reality and the thoughts that it provokes. Not amazed in the sense of surprised about the unexpected, but wondering, anxious and doubting. Not occasionally, but systematically and as a matter of principle. These feelings are not a simple starting point to be forgotten when we move on (a chronological beginning), but a movement to be constantly renewed or strung out (a logical command). This combination of amazement, anxiety and doubt thus alerts the mind as awareness grows of a difficulty, of an impasse, of aporia conflicting with the facts which (non-philosophical and non-critical) spontaneous thought nurtures as prejudice or opinion. Difficulty, contradiction, opposition, crisis, intellectual effort are thus both ways and means, to the point to which one of the metaphors most frequently used by philosophers to describe their science is that of an upward path difficult to follow for those endeavouring not to get lost and to avoid all the obstacles in the way. From Parmenides and Plato to Heidegger, from Hobbes and Hegel to Nietzsche, philosophers have often expressed the view that: "The sedentary life is the very sin against the Holy Spirit. Only thoughts reached by walking have value."³⁹ Taking this idea to such an extreme that it is a paradox, Nietzsche wrote: "We do not belong to those who only get their thoughts from books, or at the prompting of books, – it is our custom to think in the open air, walking, leaping, climbing, or dancing on lonesome mountains by preference, or close to the sea, where even the paths become thoughtful."⁴⁰

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39. Nietzsche F., *Twilight of the Idols*, Maxims 34.

40. Nietzsche F., *The Joyful Wisdom*, § 366.

This feeling of the contradictory and corporeal nature of thought, of a shifting balance and a difficult effort, not to resolve the contradiction permanently, but to maintain it, this feeling which is in a way a sporting one and resulted in Socrates being a gymnast, Plato a wrestler, Descartes a swordsman, Nietzsche a Rambler, and Michel Serres a climber, is the philosopher's.

It is also that of ethics. For ethics is not morality. Morality involves a system of values which govern our acts and give every individual criteria on the basis of which he or she can distinguish what is prohibited from what is allowed, divide what may be done from what it is desirable to do. Philosophers have always endeavoured to find the basis of morality, a foundation for the correctness of action in the universality of good and happiness or that of duty. But while morality is viewed in the context of universality, human acts take place in the region of the particular, the random, the unexpected change, the contingency and the historical authenticity of situations. An act opens up the whole field of ethics, within which the principle for regulating action or the criterion for distinguishing good from evil comes up against a reality that is complex, obscure, singular, shifting or even contradictory. Ethics therefore has to be understood within the different fields of human action, such as work, medical care, scientific research and the relationship of human beings with nature. In the same way we speak of biomedical ethics, we speak of sports ethics as involving a process of thought about experimental practices which have provided practical experience to those involved with contradictions, conflicts of duty or opposing moral requirements, all (to some extent equally) demanding their respect. Unlike abstract morality (partitioned according to the situation), ethics is put to a practical test by crisis, combat and the multitude of appropriate actions. There is an uncertainty about ethics, and a full awareness, like the philosopher's, that a free act is a problem, an effort, a never-ending process, a steep climb, because it is based on different duties, it leads to multiple consequences and it takes place in conditions which require adaptation, proportionality and implementation of the principle of action. Aristotle realised this, showing in *Nicomachean Ethics* that all practical wisdom (prudence, *phronesis*) necessitates application of what he calls a mean state, a virtuous halfway house between excess and defect, which are vices. Courage, for example, so important both in the physical activity of combat and in sport, is midway between fear and boldness, between too little and too much. Similarly, "In respect of anger: Here too there is excess, defect, and a mean state":⁴¹ the excessive state is "passionateness", leading to disorderly violence; the defective state is that of "angerlessness", which leads to impotence or indolence; the mean state, or happy medium, leads to a resolute effort to overcome the obstacle. The precise mean state obviously varies according to the circumstances of the action. The anger of Louis Lachenal against the mountains as he went through the most difficult passages had that justice, or that exact mean state, that was

41. Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, Book Two, VII.

lacking when Zinédine Zidane raked one opponent with his studs or head-butted another.

Sport being a human activity, it has an ethical dimension. As it serves its own ends and is in itself pleasurable, it is very much in the realm of human activity for, like moral activity, it seeks only its own practice (*praxis*) and has no external aim of producing anything (*poiesis*, production). This makes it a liberal activity, free of interests (usefulness), for persons free from economic and political constraints, concerned only to bring their faculties into play. Sport, in old French *desport* and in old English *disport*, is always to one side, separate, abstract in the word's etymological sense. It is gratuitous, without self-interest, without usefulness, requiring detachment from ordinary life for as long as the match, the race or the game lasts. It is a matter of a game, an art, a level of fantasy or fiction at the whim of the person concerned. It was this freedom, as compared to mechanical activities, which made Henri Bergson describe the human being as a "sporting animal".⁴² A sporting animal, because he or she thinks and acquires "infinite scope for developing mechanisms or motor habits" countering the body's automatisms and creating an oscillatory movement encompassing all his or her activity. In his view, this oscillation swings from attachment to and detachment from everyday life, with attachment requiring intense effort, and detachment involving withdrawal and thought. These are "the two poles between which morality oscillates", according to Bergson.

It is clear from these introductory definitions of philosophy, ethics and sports how they are all intertwined. In the same way as there is an element of sport in philosophy (in its commitment, its attachment), there is something contemplative in sport (in its detachment), and there is the same oscillation in an ethical system in which abstract values are shaped as they are tried and tested by action. This three-way exchange shows that human beings combine the physical, the meditative, the introspective and the ethical, constantly applying thought to their physical action as it goes on, so as to direct that action as freely as they can, feeling free, but lacking absolute freedom. On the other hand, however, in order to be free, this commitment presupposes a detachment, a standing back, with the result that thought refuses to immerse itself in the spontaneity of the body and of the opinions of ordinary life. Through this detachment, thought and freedom do two things which go hand in hand: they are both exercised and shaped by exercise, so they provide their own representation of themselves as they are being built up. There is neither thought nor freedom without a display of thought and freedom. And sport, like art, is philosophical precisely because it gives us such a display, all the more interesting and amazing for involving all the contradictions, all the ethical quandaries of that freedom which philosophers seek.

42. Bergson H. (1972), "Le parallèle psycho-physique", *Mélanges*, PUF.

All this disproves several false but commonly held views about sport: 1) "Sport is pointless, we could do without it." But a world without sport, art and pointless or futile activities would be inhuman. 2) "Sport is unintelligent, even stupid." But humans are thinking and speaking beings, so this is an inaccurate description. 3) "Sport takes those watching into another dimension, it's a kind of opium for the masses." But it offers enjoyment on a par with films, plays or paintings, and it invites us to learn more about reality through the purified reality which exists during the match or the race that we are watching. 4) "Sport has all the individual and collective ethical virtues (bravery, lucidity, responsibility, autonomy, beauty, solidarity, respect for others and for the rules, friendship), but modern, bourgeois, commercial, capitalist, industrial society on a massive scale has perverted it." This frustrated sport lovers' argument is just as wrong, and overlooks two things: a) that these are virtues only in so far as they stand the test of their opposites (violence, competition, fear, the ugliness of suffering, randomness and, for certain sports, death), b) that this perversion is not unconnected with what has been perverted, but on the contrary makes manifest its ambiguous, contradictory and therefore surprising nature. Philosophising about the ethical dimensions of sport thus takes us outside a situation of unconditional love or hatred. In other words, the two emotions are brought together (and avoided) in an explanatory philosophical process entailing both anxiety and wonderment.

We were reminded of this by a writer who engaged in philosophy in a well-known novel. His name was Georges Perec, and that of his book "W, or the Memory of Childhood". This is a philosophical novel because, for one thing, it has a Utopian dimension. It refers to a both literary and theoretical Utopia. Literary, because the novel describes an imaginary world, narrating events which take place there. Theoretical, because this narration has a critical function, focusing on a separate world limited to a certain space (its island) and to a given cycle of time. Each Utopia devised is a separate social world, one completely different and reduced to just a single dimension of life. Thomas More's Utopia is an island without private property; Francis Bacon's is an island solely for science; Charles Sorel's is devoted to painting. On Perec's island, there is only sport. As in any Utopia, this phantasmagoria is intended to show us a different and impossible world, enabling us to realise our own otherness, our foreignness, our incapability, which we fail to see because it is all around us. By describing a world without a specific location, the author confronts us with our own extravagance, what we could call our own dystopia. All the human beings in the book are involved in sport. Those who do not participate are either preparing to participate (children, "novices") or contributing by organising or officiating at events, by building stadia, by training athletes, by manufacturing sportswear. No work is done other than for the islanders' sole activity: sport. Perec gives us an extremely detailed description, in a sober and objective style (never using "I", without subjectivity, expressionless), through knowing calculations and combinations

(Perec is a member of the Oulipo grouping of writers), of the competitions and the whole social and political organisation of an island which cares only about competitive sport. It is an ideal and happy community: "W is now a country where sport is king, a nation of athletes where sport and life combine in a magnificent effort. The proud motto, *Fortius, Altius, Citius*, on the monumental gates outside the villages, the magnificent stadia ... , the triumphal receptions given to each day's victors, ... these are some of the first sights greeting the new arrival. They will show him, with marvel and enthusiasm ... that life here exists for the greater glory of the human body." Later, we shall see how this sporting vocation shapes life in the community, how sport governs W, how it has profoundly shaped both social relations and individual aspirations (p. 96 of the French text).

This Utopia of sport, or Eutopy of sport, creates euphoria (a feeling of almost physical elation) all the more pleasant for being achieved through honest endeavour and fair play. As the description unfolds of the 22 sports competitions, three Games (Olympiad, Spartakiad and Atlantiad), rules of sport and political laws, however, this happy and perfect place transmutes into an unhappy, cruel, absurd and inhuman place: Clearly, the basic organisation of the sporting life in "W, or the Memory of Childhood" is designed solely to sharpen the competitive spirit, or might we say to glorify victory ... Here it is the struggle for life which is the law; the struggle itself is nothing, and it is not the love of sport for sport's sake or of the sporting achievement for its own sake that drives the people on W, but a thirst for victory, victory at any price ... "Glory to the winners! Woe betide the losers!" (p. 123).

Society is organised in such a way that people without a name of their own, without an identity, without privacy, strive constantly for a victory, failing which they will be pilloried, stoned, "hung up on a meat hook from the main gates, beneath the five interlaced rings, below the proud motto of W, then thrown to the dogs" (p. 148). Systematic injustice is even organised. At any moment, officials are allowed to change the rules and the results, so that, as in Thomas Hobbes' state of nature, "even the best is not sure of winning ... even the worst is not sure of losing" (p. 150). Although "the law is implacable, the law is unpredictable. No one is supposed to be unaware of it, but none can know it" (p. 157). Dumbfounded, readers learn of foot races in which the runners are naked but for shoes with sharp spikes, races in which anything goes, and the final purpose of which is the rape of women. Perec ends chapter XXIV with extreme irony and black humour, telling us that "the officials like the winners to be the gods of the stadium, but they are not reluctant either ... to remind everyone that sport teaches humility" (p. 161). As you will have grasped, this Utopia is gradually turning into an anti-Utopia, with sport turning its idyllic face away to reveal its other side, the ugly and dreadful face that it had been keeping hidden from the start, without us having an inkling. This anti-Utopia concludes with serried ranks of people screaming "raus! raus!"

and “schnell! schnell!”, and we learn that the winner’s time for the 100 metres was 23.4 seconds, and the 200 metres was run in 51 seconds; the top high jumper had never leapt more than 1.30 metres (p. 220). In short, the Utopia of sport ended up as a concentration camp.

It would be wrong to regard Perec’s novel as a facile and gratuitous game, for the inversion or perversion of sport in his cold description is not an arbitrary movement. On the contrary, he tells us about sport as we practise it and watch it every day, without finding anything amiss. Why is he teaching us? Because the perversion for him was to take to its furthest extremes (to absurdity, even to a nightmare situation) the actual properties which make a sport a sport. This perversion entailed taking to their maximum intensity the mechanisms which mean that sport is not virtuous or ethical in itself, but is so through the moderation of our approach, through the restrained nature of our relationship with it, through the purpose which we confer on it, since it has none of its own, being just a game, a futile activity, even a derisory one. Perec’s Utopia reveals, by perverting and exaggerating them, five main properties:

1. Sport is a game, in that it creates a separate world from our everyday one, an abstract world with its own rules and its own coherence. It is in an enclosed and separate place and time and with its own rules that sport exists, in what resembles an imaginary situation or another universe. If Perec, in his fictional Utopia, invented a society with absolutely no such separation logic for games and fiction, this was done to show us that, in our real society, this separation is starting to be broken down. Thus W is our world, but within it the confusion of the boundary between sport’s reality and its unreal aspects is total: constant concern about sport, non-stop media coverage, increasingly widespread and routine involvement in sport, and the greater degree of professionalism involved are all part of a process which has led to W, where sport is the only thing that matters to human beings, who are all sports professionals (hyper-professionals, since there is only one profession), for whom sport, games and fiction no longer exist, because they have taken up all the space. The absurd effect of their own inflation has been their self-destruction.
2. Similarly, sport is a game because the rules incorporate a random element which makes both playing and spectating worthwhile. Its interest stems from collusion between an absolute – even finicky – necessity and the unpredictability made possible by that necessity. It is interesting to watch or to play in a rugby match, for example, because the untidy and confused sequence of events is in stark contrast with the large number of quite precise rules which the referee (himself part of the game) is constantly required to interpret, adding an unpredictable dose of necessity or unpredictability, depending on the circumstances. It is that mixture of necessity and randomness which life on W fails to produce, since the Utopia depicted violently transports islanders and readers alike from one extreme to the other: from the extreme

of implacably regulated organisation making everything predictable and boring to the other extreme of an irredeemably unregulated arbitrariness which makes everything unbearable. Here again, it is the radicalisation of the operations specific to sport which pervert it most cruelly.

3. Sport is an unproductive and gratuitous activity. In the society on W, those characteristics are taken to absurd levels, in that sport is the only profession on the island, the only way in which each resident can feel useful, with the result that this world operates in a vacuum, looking inward, ignoring the necessities of life, with no consideration for purposes other than its own, with nowhere else to go spatially or mentally.
4. In his book, *Les jeux et les hommes*, Roger Caillois drew on *Homo ludens*, by cultural historian Johan Huizinga, to define play in terms of freedom, separation, uncertainty, legality, unpredictability and fictional nature. When he turned his attention to sport, he found another property, competition. He called this property *agon*, combat, because it is based on rules and measurements. Here again, however, this determination is also found in W, but pushed to its limits, made absolute as viewed through the magnifying glass of the Utopia which has perverted it. *Agon* becomes *polemos*, combat turns into warfare of the most tragic kind of all, since each person is fighting against all the others.
5. But while sport is a game, there is another dimension to it that is missing from a mere game. A dimension also present in W, although it is taken to its absolute extreme there: the physical dimension of activity and effort, which are certainly the key aspects of sport, alongside the other properties of games to which I have just drawn attention. In W, however, physical exercise is also extended to every single person. This extension brings us to a whole society devoted to what Perec calls "the greater glory of the body". Everything is spread out in corporeality, an externality and a materiality which reduce human beings to mere external and reifying relations, for the haven provided by thought, reflection, privacy, secrecy, feelings and introspection no longer exists. All that remains is bodies in motion, moved by what Hobbes and Spinoza called their *conatus*, and seeking only to increase their power, transforming their lives into a relentless, pitiless, meaningless fight. In a world where human beings have become just bodies reduced to ever greater effort, it no longer has any aspect of a game: there are no human beings, no values, no prospect of anything else, and no right to ask why, as Primo Levi did in *If this is a Man*.

Two things are clear from these five comments :

1. That it is sport itself which bears within it the seeds of its own perversion if it starts to operate in a kind of circle, taking the form of a strong and immediate social constraint, going hand in hand with worship of the body image, stretching worldwide in an omnipresent media show,

using professional sportspersons increasingly as instruments in the service of the body and its achievements, while providing almost the only role model for the majority of children;

2. That sport is at the centre of multiple contradictions (rule or random, freedom or necessity, gratuitousness or usefulness, moderation or immoderation, pretence or reality, body or thought) which force us, not to overcome them and do away with them, but to do quite the opposite: maintain them lucidly and dialectically, injecting into them a fragile balance, the fragility of which is clear.

Sport has an ethical virtue in that it affords a detachment from all activities of day-to-day life, but a detachment which must also be able to detach itself, take a look at itself and divide itself. Through that division or contradiction within it, sport is ethical, because it leads to freedom, responsibility and autonomy for human beings, in terms not of their substance (which is as it is), but of their constant capacity in principle to detach themselves from their own affairs, their strict identity and the functions that the world imposes on them and in which it always tends to confine them.

Thus sport helps to form the human being under two conflicting conditions: it takes us outside reality while bringing us back to that same reality to allow us better control of it. Its fictional side is positive only in so far as it is not an illusion, pretence or a dream. Fiction provides that pretence only if its imaginary world bears a simplified, enlightened, beautified or modelled resemblance to that reality which the imaginary world transfigures. The resemblance offered by sport is therefore of a kind similar to that offered by art, but with a more specific element in that it does not offer us just a representation (a metaphor), but involves actual physical movement based on action, energy, instinct, conveyed or transfigured by a channelling, a stylisation giving it greater efficiency, beauty and freedom. While a work of art is a Eutopy because it is *eusynoptos* (that is, it can be seen at a single glance), sport encompasses both these properties within a euphoria generated by physical movement.

For, in salutary fashion, sport as a physical activity emphasises the importance of our bodies in a society which provides more and more technical assistance for moving around, obtaining information, communicating and manufacturing (to the point at which we could almost forget that we have bodies). This reminder of our bodies (this reminder of reality), however, would merely take us back to a world shown to be monstrous by Perec's Utopia were it not for the fact that, through exercising our bodies – that is, through training them and trying to take them further than they have ever been – those bodies are capable of detachment, limitation, moderation, the thought process required for discipline and self-control, summed up by Roman Emperor and eminent philosopher Marcus Aurelius (familiar

with both philosophy and power) as gentleness. Gentleness can only come through thought, but that thought comes from the body, which is a thinking body.

Similarly, sport is ethical in that, as a pointless activity, it gives every human being a sense of the futility that is also present in all life's useful and serious activities. It is this sense of futility which ensures that we are never completely at one with ourselves, with what we are or with what we are doing: ironic distance means regarding otherness and humour as part of ourselves, while considering "myself" not to be identical to itself, but to be a shifting self. If we are ourselves like another person, we are able to grasp the other's position, as well as the other's view of our own position.

One of the fragments which has survived from Heraclitus' writings is fragment 128: "We must realise that war is universal, and strife is justice, and that all things come into being and pass away through strife". This apparently obscure sentence bears within it all the wisdom of sport, not as a socially and historically determined practice, but as a physical activity which the Greeks also regarded as a spiritual exercise. What does it mean? Peace (*irene*) is not, as Hesiod believed, happy and separate from the bringer of painful war (*polemos*). For war includes peace, and peace includes war. How is that so? Through the introduction to combat and discord of *harmonia*, by which I mean a proportion, a justice which is first and foremost right in the mathematical sense of accurate. War is productive only if it contains peace within it, and if it has peace within it moves from *polemos*, wholly destructive because it entails excessive violence (resulting from *hubris*), to *eris*, moderate disagreement and strife, without abuse, excess or *pleonexia* (overflowing, surplus, boundless or infinite expansion). Like the bodies of two athletes vying against one another, like the clash between the low and high notes, like the relationship between male and female to which Aristotle referred,⁴³ *eris* is a productive battle leading to an equality which maintains the differences. This equality based on a constructed multiplicity is reality itself. As the fragment says, "[that] needs to be known". The word "needs" expresses a requirement, an order, for knowledge of what comprises the wisdom of the person who truly knows that the conflict between opposites "necessitates" all that exists, and results in there being something, rather than nothing. This wisdom is not only philosophical, but just as much athletic and sporting. Athletic, in that an athlete is only an athlete if he or she expends energy after following a set training and dietary programme, in perfect control of all that he or she does. Athletic as well, because winning requires him or her to measure and conquer fear, anger and impulsiveness, and to time movement and rest appropriately, in the same way as a musician times

43. Marcel Conche refers to this in his publication of the fragments of Heraclitus in French, PUF, coll. "Epimethee", Paris, 1986 (4th edition 1998), 2005, p. 439.

high and low notes or a painter plays with light and dark. In Greek culture, and probably still in ours today, an example to be followed is truly set only during a contest which presupposes controlled, ritualised violence, a battle which can be celebrated (and thereby in its way immortalised) if it is based on asceticism and restraint. The beauty of the (sporting or artistic) body and of the sporting exploit is always that of life, of vital energy (*energeia* and *dunamis*), but reduced to an intelligible pattern, a decipherable, rational, repeatable, imitable example.

Sport affords an opportunity to endeavour to exceed, or rather to explore, the still unknown possibilities of the human body. But the effort to do so is only positive if the person concerned has undergone training that is not solely physical or sport-oriented, but also general (preparing us for all kinds of activities). And this training need is itself based on a need for achievement and competition in this society of ours where there is no longer any meta-physical justification for pain and suffering. Bearing these three functions in mind, sport is educational, which makes it ethical, forming human beings by giving them a freedom that they shape for themselves while allowing for others and remembering that they, like others, are frail.

In *Phaedo* (65c), Plato suggested that the soul "take leave of the body". This should be taken to have two conflicting meanings at one and the same time. The body should be silenced, for, as Rousseau said, "the weaker the body, the more imperious its demands; the stronger it is, the better it obeys" (quoted by Montherlant in *Les Olympiques*). But the other, almost consequent, implication is that the body should be exercised, tested and improved so that it can partake of the individual and the collective community soul. This contradiction is one that Pierre de Coubertin was well aware that sport needed to maintain. He was the man who came up with the famous Olympic motto, which goes hand in hand with the phrase used during the London Games in 1908: "The most important thing is not to win but to take part", and he also began his 1913 *Essays on sports psychology* with a recommendation of Socratic irony: "athletes must relax".

Historical and philosophical foundations of sports ethics

Teresa González-Aja⁴⁴

Before competitions begin, athletes have to swear the Olympic oath. This is true for all modern Olympic Games, as it was for those which took place at Olympia in Ancient Greece. The two oaths, however, are quite distinct. The current version of the oath is:

In the name of all the competitors I promise that we shall take part in these Olympic Games, respecting and abiding by the rules which govern them, committing ourselves to a sport without doping and without drugs, in the true spirit of sportsmanship, for the glory of sport and the honour of our teams.⁴⁵

Thanks to Philostrates (*Life of Apollonios*, Book 5, chapter 43), we know that after the collective training in Elis, the judges of the games, the *Hellandikai*, addressed the athletes thus: "If ye have laboured so hard as to be entitled to go to Olympia and have banished all sloth and cowardice from your lives, then march boldly on; but as for those who have not so trained themselves, let them depart whithersoever they like". After this address, athletes, trainers and judges together made their way to Olympia, where they prepared for the competitions ahead once they had sworn the Olympic oath before the imposing statue of Zeus, the "keeper of the oaths".

It is the custom for athletes, their fathers and their brothers, as well as their trainers, to swear an oath upon slices of boar's flesh that in nothing will they sin against the Olympic Games. The athletes take this further oath also, that for ten successive months they have strictly followed the regulations for training. An oath is also taken by those who examine the boys, or the foals entering for races, that they will decide fairly and without taking bribes, and that they will keep secret what they learn about a candidate, whether accepted or not. (Pausanias 5.24.9 and 10)

Both ancient and modern Olympic oaths are geared to quite distinct societies – second-century Greece and our present-day global society – and the corresponding ethical concepts are also very different.

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45. The first athletes' oath was sworn at the Antwerp Olympics of 1920 by Victor Boin, a Belgian fencer. An oath has also been sworn by a judge, on behalf of all the judges and other officials, at the Games held since 1972.

The modern oath makes a reference to one of contemporary sport's main problems: drugs and doping. Furthermore, athletes compete "for the glory of sport" and "the honour of [their] teams". This oath would have seemed as strange to the Greeks as our athletes would find it to swear upon slices of boar's flesh, as the Greeks did.

Are the sports ethics of these two societies so very different? Could ethics not be the same for all sport?

Ethics

The dictionary of the *Real Academia Española* defines ethics as "a code of conduct in accordance with the principles of morality". So analysing each society's principles of morality will give us some idea of its ethics.

Let us therefore consider what lies hidden behind these words. The Greeks had a number of practical moral precepts which were handed down through education, including that which stated "honour the gods, honour your father and mother, respect foreigners"; to some extent these constituted a series of precepts guiding external morality and prudence in life.

From that point on, an ideal image of the human being exists which is both consistent and clearly defined. The mind is offered an image of humans as they should be. The most important aspect of this image for the Greeks was *to kalon*, "the Beautiful, as a determinant ideal" (Jaeger 1945: 3).⁴⁶

In the oldest account of Ancient Greek culture, given by Homer,⁴⁷ we find not only the history of that era, but also a poetic expression of its ideals. Thanks to his writing, we can recreate an image of the Greek world and reflect about the human ideal.

If we consider Homer to be "the first and the greatest creator and shaper of Greek life and Greek character",⁴⁸ we must refer to his poems to find out why Greeks in the ancient and subsequent eras engaged in activities which we can now, not completely anachronistically, regard as "sporting".

The human ideal in the *Iliad* is a heroic morality of honour. But it is not duty as we understand it today – a duty to others – that drives them to heroic acts, but a duty to themselves. Thus we move beyond morality to an ethical concept, given that, as Fernando Savater points out, ethics is basically a process of personal improvement. The ultimate aim of ethics is self-improvement.⁴⁹

46. Jaeger W. (1945), *Paideia: The ideals of Greek culture*, Book One, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

47. By Homer's account we mean his two great epics, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

48. Jaeger W., op. cit., p. 26.

49. Savater F. (1991), *Ética para Amador*, Ariel, Madrid.

The ethical ideal in Homer combines a sense of duty with the feeling that the failure to do one's duty leads to *nemesis*. The Greeks, who still considered outstanding skill and strength to be the obvious basis for any dominant position, used the word *arete* as described by Werner Jaeger:

in conformity with the ideas of primitive Greece, it denotes the strength and skill of a warrior or athlete, and above all his heroic valour. But such valour is not considered as a moral quality distinct from strength, in the modern sense; it is always closely bound up with physical power.⁵⁰

Nowhere else do we find such profound, ardent and lucid joy as in Homer. All is fine in this world lit by the fire of untameable and inexhaustible energy: heroes (Greeks and Trojans alike), battles, banquets, horses, beautiful captives and objects "forged by Hephaestus". Dion of Prusa said that Homer

praised practically everything – animals, plants, water, earth, armour, and horses; in fact it may be said that there is nothing which he failed to mention with praise and honour. At any rate, there is only one out of all the characters in his poems about whom he said harsh things, namely, Thersites, and even Thersites is called a "clear-voiced speaker". (Dion of Prusa, *Discourses*, XXXIII, 11)

This absolute blessing of existence is based on *agon* (combat and competition combined). And it is during this *agon* that *arete* is judged, that is, vigour and strength of will "to be superior to the others". This takes place first and foremost during battle, but when Homer's heroes are not doing battle, they are competing in games. These games were initially reserved for the aristocracy, but the *demos* later participated in the same games. When they first appeared, they were linked to an "aristocratic and warlike" social class with the main aim of competing and winning. Great, but peaceful and courteous, rivalry was the order of the day. The games offered a diversion from battle while preparing for the next. War was never-ending, so physical exercise always took place in either a pre-war or post-war phase. It gave men the physical strength and agility they needed in battle, while calming their minds and accustoming them to fatigue and danger, and enabled their bodies to take on the ideal proportions of male beauty as represented in ancient *kouroi*: muscular legs and thighs, wiry arms, powerful necks and broad chests.

Agonal education

Quite clearly, what we call "sports" predate Homer's era, for his descriptions suggest that the exercises concerned had already advanced considerably. But it was in Homer's day that the spirit and meaning of those sports were first described.

50. Jaeger W., op. cit., p. 6.

The importance of what we call the agonal or competitive spirit within the aristocratic and bellicose society of ancient times has been revealed to us. The will to win was not just a matter of obtaining a reward.⁵¹ It reflected the glory of victory and emphasised the value of that glory to the victor, that *kleos* which made both him and his relationship with the gods immortal. It was not by chance that athletic games took place in major sanctuaries dedicated to the main gods – Zeus, Poseidon or Apollo. Even when competitions came to be dominated by professionals, the agonal spirit remained to the very end of ancient history.

Another purpose of these games was to satisfy the “moral sense” of a society which regarded *arete* as the supreme goal. Triumph over other men to some extent placed the winner beyond human measurements and the human scale. Superiority based on strength and confirmed by victory had something of the divine about it.

“Old Peleus bade his son Achilles fight ever among the foremost and outvie his peers” (*Iliad*, Book XI, 783-84). Similarly, Hippolochus advised his son Glaucus “to fight ever among the foremost and outvie my peers” (*Iliad*, Book VI, 208). Hence we can agree with Henri Irénée Marrou that “the Homeric hero and hence the actual Greek person of flesh and blood was really only happy when he felt and proved himself to be the first in his category, a man apart, superior.”⁵² It was in this spirit that Sarpedon of Lycia said to his companion Glaucus, before entering battle: “therefore let us go forward and either win glory for ourselves, or yield it to another” (*Iliad*, Book XII, 328).

In ancient times, physical victory, either of an authentic kind in combat or in a more conventional and less dangerous manner in jousts, was the expression of supreme *arete*. No purpose would be served by detaching it from other values in an effort to determine its own value. It was later that a distinction began to be made between individual and social, physical and moral values. Back then, all such values were rolled into one, and manifested through physical triumph. This was the reason for triumphing, for one’s family and city. No distinction was made between body and soul, the latter depicted in ambiguous terms as the breath of the body, the shadow of the body or the twin of the body. Because body and soul did not have a separate existence, the human

51. Although rewards did play an important role: “The first prize he offered was for the chariot races – a woman skilled in all useful arts, and a three-legged cauldron that had ears for handles, and would hold twenty-two measures. This was for the man who came in first. For the second there was a six-year old mare, unbroken, and in foal to a he-ass; the third was to have a goodly cauldron that had never yet been on the fire; it was still bright as when it left the maker, and would hold four measures. The fourth prize was two talents of gold, and the fifth a two-handled urn as yet unsoiled by smoke” (Homer, *Iliad*, Book XXIII, lines 262 ff). The rewards were also worthwhile as public evidence of a victory; victory was insignificant unless “reputation” went with it, given that “the Homeric man estimated his own worth exclusively by the standards of the society to which he belonged” (Jaeger, *Paideia*, p. 9).

52. Marrou H.I. (1956), *A history of education in Antiquity*, Sheed & Ward, London.

being was inseparable from both its appearance and its acts. Physical exercises could not be related to a concept of education which did not exist at the time, and they were merely an initiation to the arts of religion or warfare. The perfect man was engaged in battle, and would either succumb or prevail. It was only later that physical education started to distinguish between body and soul, and to situate the body in relation to the soul.

The Greeks of Homer's time shifted into the sphere of physical exercise that sense of emulation which was the driving force of their lives, persuaded that "there is nothing that does any one so much credit all his life long as the showing himself a proper man with his hands and feet", as Ulysses was told by Laodamas, son of Alcinous (*Odyssey*, VIII, 145). The changes in fortune and disagreements which subsequently affected gymnastics can be understood only if we look back to its origins, which combined triumph, morality and physical courage.

But human nature is ambivalent, and we as men and women are capable of both the best and the worst; physical activity and sport as human institutions reflect this same capability and are full of ambivalence and contradiction.

Fernando Garcia Romero, researching classical sources, found a whole series of indications that certain activities conflicted with the sporting spirit which should theoretically have presided over agonistic athletes' participation, particularly in major games, including attempts to win by cheating.⁵³

It is possible to understand why irregularities occurred and continue to occur (although they are not always accepted). The great rewards enjoyed by winners (not only financial benefits, but also, and not the least of these rewards, popular adulation) have helped to make the hunger to win so great that athletes will sometimes do anything to prevail. Bribing opponents to let one win was a common practice, except possibly at Olympia, where the judges played a very active role.

The first case known with certainty is that of Eulopos⁵⁴ of Thessaly, who bribed the other boxers who entered a contest – Agenor of Arcadia, Prytanis of Kyzikos and Phormion of Halicarnassos – in the year 388 BC; both Eulopos and those who accepted the bribes were punished by fines, subsequently used to finance six bronze statues of Zeus. These statues were placed by the entrance to the stadium, shaming those penalised by publicising what they had done; triumph and punishment alike were exposed to the public, serving as a warning to all athletes passing by the statues that Olympic victory should not be obtained through money, but through lightness of foot and physical strength. In the same way as victory was public and led to celebrity, shame was also public and led to loss of *arete*.

53. García Romero F. (1992), *Los Juegos Olímpicos y el deporte en Grecia*, Sabadell.

54. Ibid.

This was not the only case of bribery. A greater scandal was that of Callippus, who paid his opponents to let him win. All-powerful Athens, his city, supported him and refused to pay the fine imposed, boycotting the Games. It was the Delphic oracle itself which had to resolve the dispute, by refusing to issue any oracles to Athens until the fine had been paid.

There is also a rather curious story about a child boxer: the child accepted a bribe of 3 000 drachma to let himself be beaten, but forgot to ask for payment in advance, and when the money failed to materialise, he had the effrontery to try to obtain it through the courts, and was obliged to confess that he had agreed to the bribe.

Far less innocent was the use made by Alcibiades⁵⁵ of his sporting victory during the Peloponnesian War in 415 BC. He tried to persuade the Athenians to let him be the strategist for the expedition of 60 ships which was to be sent to Sicily, for he was, according to Thucydides (6.15.2), "exceedingly ambitious of a command by which he hoped to reduce Sicily and Carthage, and personally to gain in wealth and reputation by means of his successes".

The personal ambitions of Alcibiades motivated him more than his love for his country. The speech he made to persuade his fellow citizens to agree to his wishes is of particular interest to us, since he uses as his first argument his spectacular triumph at Olympia,⁵⁶ presented as having been of benefit to his country, for, in his words, he had demonstrated to all its enemies that Athens had not collapsed as a result of the war, and in fact had made the city appear more powerful than it actually was. He said:

Athenians, I have a better right to command than others – I must begin with this as Nicias has attacked me – and at the same time I believe myself to be worthy of it. The things for which I am abused, bring fame to my ancestors and to myself, and to the country profit besides. The Hellenes, after expecting to see our city ruined by the war, concluded it to be even greater than it really is, by reason of the magnificence with which I represented it at the Olympic games, when I sent into the lists seven chariots, a number never before entered by any private person, and won the first prize, and was second and fourth, and took care to have everything else in a style worthy of my victory. Custom regards such displays as honourable, and they cannot be made without leaving behind them an impression of power. (Thucydides 6.16.12)

Alcibiades affirmed that the use of sporting successes for the purposes of propaganda was something that was "honourable" according to custom, and it

55. My thanks to Fernando García Romero for drawing my attention to this situation and supplying me with his excellent work in Spanish on Alcibiades at Olympia, which has served as my basis for my exposé (Cuesta S.T., Pinilla I.G. and García F.M., 2004, *Charisterion: Francisco Martín García Oblatum*, Universidad de Castilla, La Mancha).

56. Finley M.I. and Pleket H.W., *The Olympic Games: the first thousand years*, Chatto & Windus, London.

does seem that, in his case, such successes were a great help in the achievement of his political and military ambitions. It was not only Athens' enemies who were deceived by Alcibiades, but also the Athenians. Alcibiades' popularity through entering seven chariots in the Olympic Games and taking first, second and fourth place, and the immoderate fashion in which, more like a satrap than a citizen of Athens, he had celebrated his success at Olympia,⁵⁷ helped this unscrupulous man to get his way. The Athens assembly confirmed the dispatch of the expedition to Sicily, the disastrous failure of which ruined the city (Thucydides 6.15.3). Ultimately, Alcibiades provides us with one of the most spectacular examples of the exploitation of a win by a sportsman. Pseudo-Andocides (4.25) shrewdly observed, when speaking out against Alcibiades, "I imagine that Alcibiades will make no reply to this, but will talk instead of his victory at Olympia, and that he will seek to defend himself on any grounds rather than those on which he has been charged."

Thus we see that the exploitation of sport for political ends was not unusual in the Ancient Greek world. But it should be added that this was done not only by individual citizens, but also, possibly on a larger scale, by states themselves. The importance and political influence of a city or a region was in fact asserted partly through its sporting triumphs, particularly those achieved at Olympia. It is not therefore surprising that rivalry between cities in some cases led to victory being paid for, or to athletes from other states being "recruited" after having been "persuaded" to compete for large sums of money. However, this practice is a matter of states' political ethics, a subject worthy of special study but outside the scope of this paper.

Conclusion

When we analyse ethics in the Ancient Greek world, we find that we have to alter our initial approach. Habits have changed with the times, and the Olympic oath of modern society is very different from the original. But the fundamental problem never seems to go away: while competitive sport can be a way of attaining moral perfection, it can also provide a means of reaching ends which we can describe as anti-ethical.

There are undeniably many cases in which all kinds of methods – from cash inducements to political pressure – have been, and still are being, used for the sake of winning. The biggest difference between the Hellenic and present-day world is the use by modern athletes of doping substances unknown to the Greeks, although we may wonder whether, had they known about them, athletes without ethics would not have used them as their contemporary counterparts do.

57. As Alcibiades himself is reported by Thucydides as saying, "I took care to have everything else in a style worthy of my victory".

Too much generalisation, however, is as dangerous as doubting the morality of the majority of athletes. There are, as there always have been, cheats in sport. But there have always been and will continue to be large numbers of amateur and professional athletes, who train and compete nobly. They seek not only fame and recognition, but also perfection and personal excellence, and therefore adhere to ethical principles.

Sport: a model of anti-ethical practice

Eric Billet⁵⁸ and Eric Debarbieux⁵⁹

In memory of Samuel Hess

Introduction

The general aim of our presentation is to question the beguiling vision of the practice of sport and its ethics, showing that the sports contexts that occur in real life conflict with one of the chief values underlying sport and its perpetuation: non-violence. The practice of sport thus entails a fundamental contradiction. While sports activities go on in accordance with the rules, they are the scene of repeated acts of bullying, with lasting and painful consequences for the victims. We shall consider the circumstances in which the practice of sport breaks with the principle of non-violence, and can thus be described as an anti-ethical practice.

On the basis of a survey entailing eight lengthy interviews (a sample of lower secondary schoolchildren and their parents) and 686 questionnaires completed by fellow pupils, we shall set out our idea that collective sports contexts can involve bullying-type violence leading to a process of exclusion from sport of some children by their own peers. This analysis is the result of research on children not practising a sport and attending a lower secondary school in a prosperous catchment area in a city centre in Brittany, France. A thematic analysis of the interviews of a sample (four) of these non-practitioners revealed multiple cases of violence occurring in sports contexts.

We will first strive to characterise the violence perpetrated against this category of poorly regarded practitioners by their peers. We will then show that the reason for exclusion is repeated failure in sports contexts. The exclusion process is then focused on an attribute for which the children concerned are poorly regarded both by themselves and by their peers. Repeated episodes of bullying take place during the exclusion process.

Secondly, we will endeavour to shed light on institutional violence, which leads to exclusion in group sport contexts, and eventually to a dislike of sport among its victims. Analysis of the interviews and of changes in the cultural tastes of these schoolchildren indicates that competition – whether organised or informal – is the main cause of such bullying in the context of sport.

58. Graduate assistant, Victor Segalen Bordeaux 2 University, ERCEF Laboratory.

59. Professor, Victor Segalen Bordeaux 2 University; Director, ERCEF Laboratory.

Finally, we will consider violence against oneself arising out of sports situations. The sidelining initially suffered becomes accepted vis-à-vis the rest of the sports peer group. The attributes poorly regarded by others are perceived by the victimised children themselves to be irreversible and responsible for their poor sports performance. Their reactions to all areas of life are shaped by the distaste that they feel as a result. Such children then develop an ability to deal with this violence by altering their cultural tastes and investing in new practices in line with their new mindset.

Violence by peers

The survey regarded as practitioners of sport those who participated in a physical or sports activity at least once a week. This presentation is based on an analysis of lower secondary school pupils not engaging in sport. They turned out to be few in number. Only 29 children in the school, or 5.3% of the total, replied “no” to the question: “Do you practise or have you practised sport outside PE classes?” 17 girls and 12 boys described themselves as non-participants (seven first-year secondary pupils, six second-years, nine third-years, and seven fourth-years).

Non-participation indicated rejection of social comparison among the non-practitioners interviewed at the school. This explanation emerged and was confirmed as the interviews continued: in 75% of cases parents or the children themselves revealed their traumatic experience of sport. Béatrice (aged 12) was clumsy, Christophe (13) was overweight, and David (14) looked puny. Viewing these seemingly unavoidable difficulties in the context of the competitive nature of sport, these children all felt undervalued and regarded their inferiority as irreversible. David said:

You are with people who have either more or less ... those who have more experience of sport, and those with no experience of sport and who have difficulties are ... Inevitably, all those with difficulties in sport will never manage to achieve the objectives the others have, because they are always left out, so ... You don't make progress in sport by being left out.

As pointed out by this schoolboy, such inferiority results in sidelining. Isolation is felt especially strongly in sport, because the differences in the standards that led to exclusion are obvious: compared with more cerebral activities, disparities show up very starkly. Sports activity consists primarily of physical movement and can therefore be observed, unlike more intellectual disciplines (such as French or mathematics) where poor thinking can be concealed from everyone but the teacher. Christine Detrez has mentioned in this connection the critical eye that leads to stress, internalised as a result of constant pressure (2002: 112). When a child's motricity is adversely affected by negatively perceived physical features (for example, he or she is underweight or obese), poor sports performance may be regarded as

an inevitability. To the cruelty of the visible nature of differences is therefore added a feeling of injustice that children find painful.

The exclusion suffered by these children functions like the stigmatisation process analysed by Erving Goffman (1963). Failure in sports contexts turns the individual features of the children surveyed into "attributes" that mark the child out as different from others (other practitioners), and also less attractive. Goffmann's "stigma" arises from the attribute that causes the individual to feel great humiliation. Giving rise to internal suffering, this stigmatisation crystallises the tension between what the child would like to show others and what he or she actually conveys. For example, this is David's reply to an apparently ordinary question:

Question: "Karate is a sport which you would have liked to do, so as to...?"

(David cuts in) "No, it was a chore. It was a chore because I felt really undervalued compared with the others, because I really found it difficult, and ... as I had difficulties I didn't consider the training worth doing."

The accounts collected and their interpretations hint at the vital importance of self-esteem in individuals. Certain fundamental psychological works are virtually unknown, or have too quickly been forgotten by sociologists who are concerned to describe the formation and deformation of dispositions, but fail to indicate the dynamic process of which they are part. In this case, Abraham Maslow's writings (back in 1943) on human motivation and the central place he gives to the perpetual quest for self-esteem underlie our interpretation.

Being visible, the practice of sport does not give children an opportunity to save face (David was to say later, with reference to karate, "I was getting beaten up all the time") and makes even clearer the consequent disparagement of these children. The sociology of violence at school also considers the physical characteristics of younger pupils a risk factor. Smaller, weaker, shy and depressive pupils who lack self-confidence are victims more often (Voss and Mulligan 2000). In the context of sport, the individual is inevitably disparaged, his or her physical attributes being visible to all. These children are brought face to face with their failure to live up to the bodily norms of the social class to which they belong. These norms, which have become significantly more widespread and more of a constraint since the 1970s, require us all to be thin and, nowadays, to be muscular (Travaillot 1998). These are physical assets lacking in the children we surveyed.

Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning (1986) described the analysis of non-participation in sport as key to understanding society as a whole. Such an analysis concerns the keen impact of bodily appearance and any obvious departures from accepted norms. In every case, this affects children and the construction of their identities (Heinich 1999), just when they arrive at the important and potentially unstable period of adolescence. Things can well

get out of hand during this period, when the importance of a mechanism so well lubricated that it is silent becomes evident.

This unspectacular but repeated violence is linked to a position of dominance in which the dominated party is chosen because of either a real handicap or one imagined by the group. This type of violence, highlighted by the psychological work of Dan Olweus and his concept of bullying, subsequently refined (Blaya 2006), recalls the stressful long-term impact which such insidious and protracted violence has on victims. As David recalled when prompted by the question:

"Let's talk about how you spent break times at primary school: what did you do then?"

"Oh, I stayed on the fringes. I had fun with the girls ... in fact there were lots of girls who did sport. I was often on the fringes, on the touchline. I got the ball right in my face, I was a real whipping boy ... when I was young I was really left out, because sport was truly ... break times were always spent playing prison ball, or football ... but I didn't play hopscotch, or even marbles! Everything that represented sport, even if it involved minimum use of muscles, it was always no. I was sick and tired of it."

The resulting exclusion was not only made personal by opponents, but also by partners, who could also become aggressive when association with an incompetent player in the team impeded group performance.

Institutional violence

A contemporary fact seems to shed more light on the distaste aroused by some sports. It concerns competitive excesses, which are perceived by those surveyed to be increasing. Here, in short, are the views of parents and non-participating children on this subject. First of all, there is anthropological criticism: competition implies a winner and a loser, with all the symbolic violence that this implies (Jeu 1972: 11). This is followed by moral criticism of elitist sport which involves only the best in competition, and ignores or even excludes the weakest. Sport is also criticised on a social level: when competition is perceived as an end in itself, and victory as worthwhile for its own sake, the objective becomes to humiliate the others in order to rise to the top. The loser is discredited and the winner hailed, both judgments being excessive if applied not just to the player, but by extension to the individual him or herself. More prosaically, David describes this type of criticism and the somatic problems which dislike of the phenomena may lead to:

Sometimes there is a mean spirit in sport which I don't like. For example, there are people who are a bit ... in fact I have been turned off sport, because when I saw 10-year-olds who had just played a game telling their mothers, "I got a goal!" I felt slightly sick. I think people who boast about their prowess in sport

... Let people do sport, of course, but they shouldn't brag about it ... trophies and such like. I think all this is disgusting: some people win cups and others stay at the bottom of the heap. It shouldn't be like that, should it?

Criticism is also more conventionally economic when only victory matters in competitive sport (not just at high level). Sport is influenced by a capitalist logic in which the notion of participation has lost its moral grounding, and it is permeated by professionalism. The political sociologist of sport and former Physical Education (PE) lecturer Jean-Marie Brohm (1976: 147), adopts the Marxist paradigm to denounce the equivalence between the structure of sport and that of capitalist production: capitalist logic has incorporated sport into its production sphere. The leaders supply the capital, and sportsmen and sportswomen must give their performance in return. The economic stakes of high-level sport lead to excesses such as cheating and doping and are crystallised in competition. This criticism accordingly only concerns high-level sport with heavy media coverage (for example in France, football, rugby, cycling and athletics). These are the excesses referred to by some non-practitioners and critics of sport, one of whom is the mother of a girl called Amandine:

It would suit me if there was less stupidity in sport. A little less advertising, a little less ... A little less talk about money and more about sport. But real sport. Real sport with real values.

Here we perceive the complexity of the concept of non-participation in sport. Firstly, it does not reflect an absolute rejection of sport, but only distaste for one aspect of it: competition, and for some of its effects, such as its exclusion of the weakest and the attachment of excessive importance to the best. Only when sport is associated with these characteristics is rejection the reaction. Paradoxically, a beguiling vision of the practice of sport emerges from this complexity among non-practitioners: "true sport" is also felt to exist, one not distorted by competition and its effects. Thematic analysis shows that this concept of sport is accompanied by more virtuous values. "Pleasure", "sharing" and "freedom" are opposed to, and replace, "competition", "doping" and "dependence". When parents and children referred to sport which they regarded as suitable for youngsters, only individual sports were mentioned. Individual sports demand no relationship with partners. While team sports involve a mutual comparison of teammates in addition to competition with other teams, individual sports are limited, in this idealised vision, to a comparison only with opponents, if indeed any are present. The individual sports mentioned by interviewees are all accessible without opponents, and can therefore be practised without competing against others: David plans to go swimming and Christophe to start bodybuilding, while Béatrice has already taken up swimming. Although Amandine did not seem particularly attracted to individual sports, her mother hoped she would go in for all types of sport (swimming, cycling and walking). David

Plummer also notes that team sports (as opposed to individual sports) cause anxiety to many boys, and that it is not necessary to be a homosexual or the target of homophobic attitudes to understand the risk associated with team sports (2006: 129). The data resulting from the questionnaires confirm this analysis. The vast majority of non-practitioners who declared their desire to engage in sport in future chose individual sports that did not necessarily require an opponent (76.9%). This finding reminds us of the analysis made by Pierre Bourdieu (1980a), who stated that the upper classes give preference to sports that require equipment, have aesthetic qualities, involve no direct contact, and require education and noble gestures, rather than those involving virile contact and competition.

A distaste for sport cannot therefore be associated with sport in general, or with the nature of sport as a whole, in the opinion of the schoolchildren in our study. The importance of competition in these interviews makes us wonder about the paucity of sociological knowledge of this phenomenon, unlike, for example, the related concept of "performance", which has been the subject of far more sociological and philosophical work (Detrez 2002: 91).

Violence against oneself and possible solutions

Ultimately, and more specifically, the first experiences of sport turned out to be decisive on every occasion. Béatrice regarded herself as, and was considered to be, clumsy, even at primary school. Her mother takes up the story:

At a very early stage, she was told, "You are a clumsy girl." And she was, even when she was small. She was considered clumsy even by her family and friends, and at school up to the fifth year of primary school. In fact, I think it was in that year that her clumsiness became even more marked, and she tended to be pushed aside as a result. Her PE teacher found that she was clumsy in her first year at secondary school, after the subject had been discussed, and the doctor had noted on the medical certificate issued when she enrolled at lower secondary school that she should not be forced into the performance and competitive aspects, because her body was not that of an athlete ... anyway, she didn't have ... she has always been thin, she was happy in herself but was considered clumsy, and this continued into her first year at secondary school.

Because of this she avoided all sporting activity, particularly team sports, where she suffered by comparison with nimbler players. Christophe and David were handicapped by their morphology. One was too fat and the other too thin, so both children were left behind in sport by their classmates. On every occasion, comparison with others led to exclusion of the child, an exclusion both suffered and accepted by the child: the result was an effort to avoid all new painful experiences. This social disqualification, which was felt and became part of the child (Paugam 1991) following a traumatic sport past, is therefore to some extent the reason for the failure to participate in sport.

Violence against oneself takes the form of validation of this inferiority and acceptance of being sidelined in order not to have to experience again the disastrous effects of comparison with others. Plummer recounts the case of an individual who attributed a failure to take part in sport to a lack of closeness to others (2006: 128). Plummer links this lack of sociability on the part of individuals (who tend to be the targets of homophobic remarks) to their marginalisation and isolation from group activities. In the sort of language used by Bourdieu, the non-practitioners of sport in our sample are characterised by a lack of social capital, which is structurally linked to sporting capital, since the exclusion undergone by these children is rooted in their lack of performance compared with their partners or opponents. Finally, rejection of participation in sport is not so much for physical as for interpersonal reasons: it is a refusal to subject oneself to social comparison. This analysis ties in with the assertion by Pascal Chantelat, Michel Fodimbi and Jean Camy that sociological analysis of participation in sport is not just a matter of physical considerations (1996: 239). The violence suffered by these schoolchildren who have failed in sports contexts then turns into self-exclusion from sport.

Nevertheless, non-participation in sport is not seen as definitive, and distaste for sport does not concern all sports or all its forms: co-operation and individual sports are assessed positively. Newly formed egalitarian and individualistic dispositions are unfavourable to competition and extend to all areas of life. They involve readjustment of cultural tastes in line with the new dispositions. The disposition formed by rejection of social comparison – a structured structure – becomes a structuring structure with effects extending into all areas of life, as described by Bourdieu in connection with habitus (1980b: 88). These acquired dispositions result, *ipso facto*, in a rejection of competition in contexts such as the school and the family. Christophe's mother says:

And in my view his temperament is non-competitive: he hates being made to compete. He freezes. Even when school results arrive, and I say to him, "Your brother got such and such a mark", he just says, "I don't care about anyone else ...". He doesn't want to ... He doesn't want to be made to compete.

The rejection of a comparison with others is accompanied by the forming of two new dispositions. We shall call the first one "egalitarianism". This defines a way of thinking in which individuals have not the slightest difference in rights and value (whilst removing the pejorative connotation conveyed by the modern use of the term). We shall term the second disposition "individualism". Although tarnished by being used and defined differently according to discipline and the authors within each discipline, we shall employ this concept to describe a particular propensity. It describes an autonomous way of acting, manifested in our interviewees by their demanding the specific value of each individual irrespective of all social comparison. Having its source in a succession of painful social situations, this disposition seems to result from what Bourdieu calls a "cleft, tormented habitus bearing in the

form of tensions and contradictions the mark of the contradictory conditions of formation of which they are the product" (Bourdieu 1997: 64).

This distaste and these dispositions extend to all areas: individuals try to go in for cultural practices which do not involve social comparison, whilst compensating for the absence of sport, and which are therefore legitimate and fulfilling as well. A non-participant therefore follows a deliberate process, or a process imposed by parents, of constructing an identity consistent with non-sports dispositions; the stigmatised party cuts himself or herself off from the performance-oriented world of sport and interprets himself or herself differently (Goffman 1963: 20). This process of reconfiguring one's disposition goes together with the exclusion suffered and then accepted with respect to groups of sport-practising peers. It is reflected in a new form of socialisation characterised by a change in peer group, or at least abandonment of the disapproving group, and joining up with another culturally legitimate, or at least fulfilling, area. Every schoolchild interviewed (apart from Amandine) regards his or her cultural practices as compensating for the absence of sport. Thus, music, theatre and drawing are practised and presented as artistic practices perceived as intellectual and imaginative in opposition to the physical and regulated aspects of sport. This incorporation illustrates the power exerted by non-sports dispositions to ensure "the sort of submissiveness to order which produces a tendency to make a virtue out of necessity" (Bourdieu 1980b: 90); starting with an initially accepted non-participation in sport, non-participants eventually demand it. On this subject, Christophe says about the theatre:

Well, we do more than just move, we learn words, we learn things which you don't learn in sport ... In the theatre there is never an opposing team. We all pull together.

The great ability of those interviewed to practise self-analysis and the constant clarity of their remarks also show their ability to think for themselves. The latter appears to crystallise the efforts of these non-participants to try to understand and transcend their suffering. In this sense the analysis of non-participation sheds light on the rare cases of self-objectification when dispositions conflict (Berger and Luckmann 1986: 232; Lahire 2005: 394). This intellectualism also harks back to the choice of activities, in which the importance of the body is supplanted by more imaginative, expressive, intellectual or mnemonic activities (such as drawing or acting).

Finally, the curative nature of the reshaping of dispositions echoes the psychological concept of "resilience", described metaphorically as "the art of navigating through strong currents" (Cyrulnik 2001: 261). The structuring of new post-traumatic dispositions is the process employed by certain individuals who have been able to overcome obstacles arising during their lives, while others are unsuccessful in overcoming them, because conditions are different. Here art is the sole medication, the construction of a new identity and the formation

of new convictions in tune with one's own capacities. These are the routes also travelled by David when he briefly described his own resilience:

Now that I have grown up, I defend myself. I was such a perpetual victim when small that I made a protective shell for myself, I'm really someone who doesn't let others push him around. But ... in my view, people who find themselves being ill-treated because they are no good at sport are people who, as they grow up, have a certain experience of others. They say, "I'm the greatest, I've been running, and all that".

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to describe the widespread but genuine violence which can be seen in the daily practice of sport. I have analysed exclusion from sport as experienced by a sample of non-participating school-children. Our results will be refined by further analyses.

In the school surveyed, non-participation in sport proved highly dependent on the type of family, in that non-participants are themselves mostly direct descendants of non-participants. For example, 27.8% of schoolchildren who participate in sports do not have a participating mother, whereas 65.5% of non-participating children have a mother who does not participate either. These results are in line with the findings of the Ministry of Sport that having a participating parent increases the likelihood of participation by the child, with the effect produced by the father being even more significant (INSEE 2003). These results indicate a need for more research to determine the reason why some of the non-participants, not at all affected by violence, do not participate: whether it is because there is no family or school awareness of sports practices, there has been early parental influence directed at other areas of culture such as art, literature and science, or simply because of a contingent non-traumatic lack of interest that has come about in individuals' lives. If these findings are confirmed, the importance of the personal internalisation of non-sports dispositions would be further reduced.

Nevertheless, in 75% of interviews, parents and children said they wished to devote particular attention to children who had problems with sport, and other social problems in general, rather than encourage only the best. These remarks echo Lahire's initial question, which has subsequently turned out to be relevant, about the extent to which physical and sports education as taught at school might help to produce a dislike of sport as much as a liking for it among some pupils (2005: 316). An educational psychologist recalls in this connection that from day nursery and pre-school onwards, an absence of social skills sometimes leads to bullying and rejection by peers (Paquin and Drolet 2006: 16). Early attention to children's social relationships therefore appears fundamental to their socialisation, especially in PE, where interactions are most numerous because of the spatial configuration of lessons.

A paradox then emerges: the only institution where PE lessons are compulsory is the school, so it is the only place and form in which it is available to children. While this study stresses the importance of the first experiences of sport to the desire to continue, PE is taught less and less, so is decreasingly practised by children: between 1985 and 2000 the PE timetable in France was shortened by 30 minutes a week (French Ministry of Education, 2004). Initial and in-service training is constantly being reduced; over the last two years, 67% of teachers received no training on how to organise PE sessions (French Ministry of Education 2004: 3). Municipalities are playing an ever-increasing role, with the PE survey showing that between 1985 and 2000 the number of contributors increased by 20%. However, currently just over half the teachers in primary schools call on the services of sports trainers from a local club or officially appointed local physical and sports activities coaches.

This trend is being countered by a corporatist defence movement through the unions (see, for example, the address by Claire Pontais of the SNEP-FSU trade union to the colloquy on "Science and techniques of physical and sport activities and teacher training in primary and secondary education" held on 17 June 2005 in Lyon, France). This statement should be qualified to avoid taking sides; physical training for children is partly offsetting what it loses from the French Ministry of Education through what it gains from local authorities (an increasing number of which are employing coaches), and also from the French Ministry of Sport and private contributors (through clubs affiliated to approved federations, with official responsibilities or not). So the practice of sport outside the school framework continues to increase.

Ultimately, this analysis provides an opportunity to make public authorities and teachers aware of the need for high-quality participation in sport, provided it is available to all participants from their earliest years. In return, non-participation in sport shows sociologists that participation in sport requires the development of a disposition for sports sociability, or at least of resistance to the insults and harassment addressed intentionally – more in some cases than others – by peers.

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Might God be watching when we run?

Gilbert Andrieu⁶⁰

Sport and morality go together, but their relationship also opens the way to some fine debates. Moral standards mainly affecting others have provided added value.

Let us remember that the 20th century is characterised by the writings of Durkheim. We only have to read his treatise *Moral Education* to see that the thrust of his argument is the opposition between the individual and society:

It is altogether evident ... that beyond the individual, there is only a single psychic entity, one empirically observable moral being to which our wills can be linked: this is society. There is, then, nothing but society that can provide the objective for moral behaviour. (Durkheim 1992: 65; French version)

Time has proved him right, but have these moral standards not been used by those who did not wish to scrutinise their own consciences?

The history of sport has been associated with the history of morality since the end of the 19th century. What characterises this association, which favours character formation, is the relationship with the self disparaged by Durkheim. Sport moralises by reaching the individual in his or her deepest nature, and moral standards are not limited to observance of the rules or subordination of the individual to the group.

While the work of Pierre de Coubertin is a yardstick, as is, less often, that of Father Henri Didon, and even less often that of the Stoics, this work is frequently quoted to persuade people that sport always has lessons to teach us.

If Pierre de Coubertin relied on Antiquity, that was because he wished to defend, not sport as relaxation, as a spectacle or trade, or as a distinctive practice, but a type of person and, more generally, a type of human relationship in which mutual respect was to be fundamental. He wished not only to reach out to the individual, but also that the latter could serve as a model on a universal scale.

Stoicism in the writings of Pierre de Coubertin and Father Henri Didon

In 1889, Coubertin compared the education defended by Bishop Dupanloup with the education he had observed in England. He argued in favour of the precepts and maxims of the latter type of athletic education. Coubertin, in his

60. Retired university professor.

reforming role, stressed the moralising role of sport in a manner reminiscent of Stoicism:

Understood in this way, sport leads directly to this human ideal: the victory of the will. This constitutes its greatness and its philosophical value, this takes us back to Stoic doctrines in which posterity has found many errors and exaggerations, but whose nobility and purity it has never distributed. Gentlemen, the *Enchiridion* of Epictetus is a sports handbook; the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius are the thoughts of a sportsman, i.e. of a fighter. (Coubertin 1889: 168)

There is no need for Coubertin to lecture us about Stoicism since Zeno for us to detect in his writings a philosophy we may find surprising today.

The same influence is found in Didon, who took Cicero as a model, particularly his Rhetoric. Let us recall the words of the headmaster from Arcueil:

In his Rhetoric, Cicero eloquently defined strength: the ability to confront danger and endure pain. He who is incapable of suffering and looking danger in the face could be a writer, a literary man, a psychologist, or a gentle and docile official, but never a colonist, explorer, farmer, industrialist, merchant, one of those practical men for whom struggle is part of everyday existence and for whom danger and struggle are ever-present! (Didon 1898: 335)

In both men this athletic education appears the only one capable of serving the interests of the new men, of the societies being built on new foundations, especially industry and colonisation. Let us bear Coubertin's analysis in mind:

Willpower! That is what enriches sport and transforms it into a marvellous instrument of virility ... The sportsman is foreign to any utilitarian concern ... He can cultivate effort for effort's sake, seek out obstacles, set up obstacles as he goes along his own route, always aim a step higher than he has already reached. This is what the motto chosen for his school by Father Didon expresses so well ... It almost takes us beyond the area of sport and into the regions of philosophy. Such language is nothing new. It is the language of Stoics of all eras. (Coubertin 1900: 178)

Coubertin and Didon were by no means ignorant of current events and of the compromises made at every level. They knew that sport was threatened, and the motto adopted for his school by Didon, and used for the renewed games, still has a Stoic ring to it.

A particular philosophy

The sporting ethics proposed by Coubertin and Didon cannot be understood if one does not grasp the revolution started by the Stoics in Ancient Greece. For Emile Bréhier there is a real contrast with Plato's or Aristotle's philosophy. The God of the Stoics is no longer a being cut off from terrestrial

problems. There is a new relationship with man and the universe, described by Bréhier in the following terms:

The virtue of the wise man is neither the assimilation with God of which Plato dreamed nor the simple civic and political virtue depicted by Aristotle; it is acceptance of divine work and collaboration with this work thanks to the wise man's understanding of it. (Bréhier 1987: 265)

God is omnipresent. The transcendence of the Stoics is no longer the fruit of a learned theology, but of an effort that human beings must make through a more direct relationship with things. Perfection is no longer an aim in itself, it is a process, it has to be achieved through reason, but also through physical activity. Reasonable persons are those who establish a relationship between their representation of things and the inclination they may feel concerning them. They are led to make choices, and to participate in the advent of perfection. For Stoics, ethics means accepting as good only what can be achieved by an effort of will. The individual must examine his or her passions. Life is dominated by the informed choice of virtue, or of what conforms to universal nature. This will does not mean accepting one's destiny, but acting under the control of reason, safeguarding one's own life and that of one's fellow creatures, and fulfilling one's family or civic duties. Bréhier points out that "Stoic ethics has never left behind, from the initial stage of its original principles, the description of the active man; it seeks no good outside the deliberate disposition" (op. cit: 291).

In order to understand clearly the pioneers of the Olympic spirit, we can cite Epictetus who, in his *Enchiridion* (2004: 23), delivers us the essential aspects of the doctrine:

Remember that you are an actor in a drama, of such a kind as the author pleases to make it. If short, of a short one; if long, of a long one ... For this is your business, to act well the character assigned you; to choose it is another's ... In every affair consider what precedes and follows, and then undertake it. ... "You would conquer at the Olympic games." "Me too, by gods! To win at games is really pleasant!" But consider what precedes and follows, and then, if it is for your advantage, engage in the affair. (ibid: 30; French)

We could also quote Cicero:

This man, who has high and unusual qualities, this man with a great soul, who possesses real courage, who regards all human troubles as beneath him, this man, I say, whom we wish to form, whom we seek, must be sure of himself, sure about his future conduct, as he already is of his past conduct. (Cicero 2002: 37; French).

The buttress of religion

Coubertin and Didon could not have had the same approach to the deity and to submission to the perfect. What we find in the two defenders of the man of action is a shared sense of the act controlled by will. A man practises sport not for his own pleasure, but to develop himself in conformity with the needs of universal nature. They struggled, as long as they could, against an individualism which continued to increase throughout the century. From the very start, Coubertin differed from Bishop Dupanloup, and his athletic education from the education provided by the Jesuits. On his return from England, Coubertin openly compared the ideas of authority and respect defended by Dupanloup with those of liberty and independence dear to the English. The physical qualities developed by sport were placed at the service of authority, but the latter was viewed differently in England, where no one would dream of rebelling against a power which did not depend on human beings.

It is understandable that the religious buttress was more Christian for Didon. While himself a soldier of Christ, he always regarded the education of his Arcueil pupils as the preparation of future defenders of a truth that could have been the truth of a Marcus Aurelius, an Epictetus or a Cicero. His intention was to form a man of action, a man who did not seek the useful except to progress towards uprightness, and who could not be satisfied with a pleasure unrelated to an absolute good. He was a man of initiative, and it was important to him to learn to use liberty. For Didon, traditional education forms slaves ripe for revolt, rather than free and responsible citizens. He also had a conscience:

We shall never accept the insipid reign of a certain morality whose source, consequences and effectiveness are unknown. (Didon 1898: 181)

For him, the ideal to be aimed at could only transcend the senses, and he added:

Truth, beauty and justice: these are the major continents of the celestial world on which all young people must pitch their tent. (op. cit: 186)

However, to discover and inhabit these continents, the man of action has to be accustomed to enduring fatigue and physical ailments, to making every effort. Everything is linked. Like a monk, the new man must be drawn by the infinite, that is, by Jesus Christ:

The religious soul is condemned to a vigorous struggle. It is now a tireless athlete tightening its belt, grasping its sword and lance, and, like a fearless knight, waging war and subjugating all the enemies of its divine passion. (op. cit: 9)

He also stated:

The idea of God cannot be abolished in man, it can only be disfigured and travestied through wrong application ... The human being is an intelligent and free being who seeks God. (op. cit: 17)

How can we refrain from saying that the Olympic motto has a religious dimension and conveys an ideal constantly in the mind of a preaching monk?

Coubertin's words are perhaps less bellicose, but just as profound. Linked to historical remarks, they appear in a less religious context but are rich in lessons. Coubertin had already mentioned the question of Protestantism in 1898, after observing education according to Thomas Arnold's concept:

Communion in the Church of England differs fundamentally from Catholic communion: there is nothing forced about this action. (Coubertin 1898: 156)

This encounter with a religion that was not his own seems to have dominated the rest of his life. Such freedom did not come easily, and helped to cultivate a sense of responsibility while it was injected discreetly into a religious atmosphere, mainly evident on Sundays.

At first, Coubertin's action was directed at schools at a time when doctors were worrying about pushing pupils too hard intellectually, and compulsory military service was being introduced. His concern was to show the importance of many sports. When he was striving to reintroduce the Olympic Games, he raised the tone of the debate. He decided that it was time to form the new man, a universal man forged by sports, a man of action differing little from Didon's.

In the *Olympic Review*, Coubertin felt the need to define religion:

The true religion of the ancient athlete did not entail solemn sacrifices on the altar of Zeus: that was only a traditional gesture. It was the oath of loyalty and impartiality taken and, in particular, the efforts made to observe it strictly. Participants in the Games were to be purified in a way through the profession and practice of such virtues. In this way, the moral beauty and profound scope of physical culture were revealed. (Coubertin 1906: 466)

The aim was neither to mimic the past nor to indulge in theatricals, but to use in a new ritual the values formerly brought by ancient religion to athletic contests. Olympism is primarily a state of mind. In a lecture in Paris in 1929, he explained himself further. After apologising for creating a neologism, he said:

To shore up the frail edifice which I had just erected, I considered that the re-establishment of the Olympic Games – completely internationalised this time – was the only appropriate solution. Onto a fleeting Anglomania should be grafted the huge prestige of antiquity. (op. cit: 424)

He later added:

Like ancient athletics, modern athletics is a religion, a form of worship, a passionate blossoming that may range from mere participation to heroism. (op. cit: 428)

In other words, the Olympic spirit is an extension of athletic education, giving it an additional value which is simply the religious dimension of which we spoke with reference to the Stoics. This internationalisation of virtue was easier for Protestants than for Catholics, but what are we to make of the situation today, with globalisation of the Games bringing the innovator's ideal face to face with all religions? However, are these sports lessons not aimed primarily at human beings, who not only have to act and think, but also be capable of moral scrutiny through their consciences? Coubertin noted:

Nevertheless, examination of conscience – the only true means of moral improvement for man – possesses in sport a sort of test bed in which the necessary gestures would easily become a habit. (Coubertin 1913: 138)

One only has to reread *Les mémoires Olympiques* to understand Coubertin's efforts. In 1900, the sporting spirit existed only instinctively in certain people who engaged in sport. Shortly before the 1906 Games in Athens, Coubertin explained what he was fighting to achieve:

Having wished to renew, not the form, but the principle, of this age-old institution because I saw in it an educational dimension that had once again become necessary for my country and for humanity, I had to try to restore the powerful buttresses that had previously supported it: the intellectual buttress, the moral buttress and, to some extent, the religious buttress. (Coubertin 1931: 78)

We might consider that this says it all, that the century simply strengthened technical refinements and the democratisation of peoples, and that the buttresses have become secondary, except that they are widening the theatrical aspect of the Games.

Sports ethics and literature

It was with the 1924 Games in mind that Maurice Genevoix wrote his true masterpiece, *Vaincre à Olympie*. While ancient tragedies had cast light on a form of ethics in myth, Maurice Genevoix was able to highlight the ancient roots of Olympism, and particularly the close relationship existing between humans and gods.

The text has to be interpreted in religious terms. To understand it better, we need to leave the exercise ground behind us, as Sostratos did when he followed a stranger whose only reply to his question was,

Up there, child, up there first ... and higher perhaps if it so pleases the gods. (Genevoix 1924: 24)

Everything is in place from the beginning of the novel: the idea of progress, together with that of elevation, and the help of the gods, indicating that without them there is no certainty that full progress will take place. It should be noted that nothing is said about Olympism and the future victory of the

ephebe. It is barely present in outline as we leave behind the ephebe's loves and listen to a story that foreshadows his own.

Without further ado, the author leads us to the temple of Asclepius where, far from the sick, heroes stop in front of the statue of a former champion. This is where the true relationship begins between a mortal and the gods who have delegated Menestheus to make a future conqueror out of the ephebe. We have to read to the very end of the book to discover that Menestheus is none other than former victor Euthymos, and that Asclepius, the god of medicine, is the god watching over Sostratos:

None of the patients saw the face of Asclepius light up suddenly as the adolescent passed. For them he kept his fixed smile, his eyes remained mysterious and empty. But Sostratos himself saw his eyelids tremble and flutter, his eyes look down at his head and shine with grave tenderness, as the eyes of a father gleam when he looks at a worthy son. (op. cit: 253)

We also realise the nature of the summit towards which the old man and the adolescent are moving, a summit which cannot be material because it depends on the gods.

Maurice Genevoix stresses the difference between those who are sick and those earning Olympic immortality through victory. The sunlight glimpsed by these heroes is a light which is no longer that of the star, but coming from the god himself. Asclepius shows the adolescent his new guide, Milo of Croton. This encounter, like the novel as a whole, compels us to switch between the real and the imaginary. However, this imagined aspect was not all that imaginary for the Ancient Greeks, nor is it really now, in the 21st century. A double level of consciousness enables people to escape the real, that is, the world as their minds show it to them, to reach the summits of the spiritual world, sublimate the real, and start moving along the difficult road of transcendence.

Is it not clear how much this eternally possible progression should be that of all athletes desiring to win, trusting the gods to assist them rather than their proud selves or the various technical improvements to which Coubertin referred?

A little later, in 1948, Paul Martin published a short book crammed with lessons: *Le sport et l'homme*. Rational and spiritual reflections are combined, dealing with the psychology of Olympism as he had discovered it on the running track or during his meetings with the father of the modern Olympics. Some of his thoughts from the book are still relevant today:

Sport has been taken lightly in terms of play, distraction, amusement. That is why it was sometimes despised. (Martin 1948: 18)

A human being can never be likened to a machine. (op. cit: 20)

Olympism is the most effective remedy against the ravages of exaggerated mechanisation and of the exaltation of the law of minimum effort. (op. cit: 20)

Olympism cannot be just an educational work intended for a civilised world ...
Olympism must be a guiding light. (op. cit: 27)

Did Paul Martin fear that Olympism would disappear under the influence of technology, money not yet being a factor? Nevertheless, his psychology of Olympism tallies with that of Coubertin. Perhaps we should also note what Cardinal Mercier said during his inaugural speech at the Antwerp Olympic Games:

Exercises in the stadium are not vain and sterile activities, they are a school ...
Your sports will gain you, if you win, a crown of glory that will fade: look higher, discipline yourselves, keep tight control over your instincts, tame the human animal within, transfer your spirit of discipline, loyalty and restraint towards your brothers into your everyday lives, and your virtue will then certainly gain each of you a crown of glory that will never fade, because it will be your union, our union, for the glory of our God. (op. cit: 23)

For Paul Martin, sport could not be the development of animal strength, the unreasoning explosion of instinct, the glorification of success, pride and contempt for others; it could only be a school in which young people learned to improve themselves physically, and especially morally.

Conclusion

In 1910, Coubertin worked on the subject of sport and ethics. After stressing the impossibility of implementing Georges Hébert's formula on the physical duties of a military officer, he noted that the Ancients should not be regarded as paragons of ethics. It is true that Philostrates' *Gymnasticus* treatise is liable to lead to questions about the development of an ancient professionalism which is seldom mentioned. Bearing this reservation in mind, we can read Coubertin's analysis of the levers of perfection and subsequent description of the confusion between character and virtue:

The qualities of character have little to do with ethics; they do not fall within the ambit of conscience. These qualities are courage, energy, willpower, perseverance, stamina. They can be used for doing ill as well as for doing good. That is why the doctrine of raising moral standards directly through physical development is false and disquieting ... Muscular improvement does not in itself lead to cerebral or ethical improvement ... Sport is only an indirect aid to ethics. (Coubertin 1913: 104, 106)

In a small, rarely quoted book, he provides justification for an individual and collective ideal:

In the absence of a common faith which is impossible to achieve in the modern world ... we have appealed to the tolerance which brings benefits still widely praised, but which is sometimes alleged to have failed, resulting in indignation. But such failure was to be expected. Nothing solid is based on a negative. And tolerance is a negative virtue par excellence. The higher principle which should be invoked needs the breadth of tolerance, but without its usual coldness, as well as all the fruitfulness of faith, but without the narrowness or intransigence that it frequently displays. There is room for mutual respect, somewhere between tolerance and faith. (Coubertin 1905: 14)

How can one call oneself a Stoic and not appear old-fashioned? How can one not be swimming against the tide in a world which is industrialising and increasing human exploitation of other human beings, on the basis of the imperialism of Durkheim's wholly sociological approach?

Sport as imagined by Coubertin should be morality in action. This "applied morality" should enable human beings to go beyond their condition as mere citizens and rise to a sort of infinity which would supersede the Christian God. Sport should be both a means of redemption and a prop for communion. The ethics which was supposed to accompany sporting action could not be secular, by which I mean a set of rules imposed by society.

It is difficult to imagine that like Sostratos, modern athletes are aware of any relationship with the divine as they compete to win an event at the Olympic Games, but it is not unthinkable.

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Which agencies promote sports ethics?

Bernard Andrieu⁶¹

It is only thanks to its agents that the ethics of sport⁶² can now exist, both on sports fields and in the ethics committees of sports federations and institutions. The agency role of sport's stakeholders contrasts with the passive concept of ethics according to which the right reaction would be to await the application of rules and penalties. Through their acts, sportsmen and women can demonstrate ethical values that no institution could impose (on them), and this is what is at stake in terms of ethical commitments, manifestations and other innovations. Through their acts, sportsmen and women can challenge standards, criticise norms and foster the emergence of ethical norm-shaping as opposed to moral normalisation of behaviour. Embodying novel values they show their independence through autonomous action in the world of sport and by giving a new meaning to action.

Rather than focusing on a morality of sport⁶³ which would judge the value of acts, the approach in this article is to include personal accounts by those involved (based on a number of published books on subjects such as doping, violence and cheating), pinpointing ethical problems such as equity, inequality, justice, discrimination,⁶⁴ harassment, exploitation,⁶⁵ respect, dignity, exchange, game, rules and fair play. Since the Heysel tragedy, caused by hooligan violence,⁶⁶ breaches of rules in all areas of sport have been revealed: doping⁶⁷ in the Tour de France, football violence, sexual harassment by coaches of athletes, doping of its athletes by the former German Democratic Republic, exploitation of children by major brands in the manufacture and marketing of sports products, disputes with referees, racist insults between spectators and players and even among players, lack of fair play,⁶⁸ sales of under-age players, development of sporting lotteries, gender-based discrimination and so on.

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62. McNamee M. (2010), *The ethics of sports: a reader*. Those involved in sport can challenge standards, criticise norms and foster the emergence of ethical norm-shaping as opposed to moral normalisation of behaviour. Routledge, London.

63. Avanzini G. and Hocquepied F. (ed.) (2010), *Les cultures du sport et les pédagogies chrétiennes XIXe-XXe*, coll. Sciences de l'éducation, Don Bosco, Paris.

64. Heas S. (2010), *Les discriminations dans le sport*, PU, Nancy.

65. Ewanjé-Épée M. (2010), *Négriers du foot*, Rocher, Paris.

66. Bodin D. (2003), *L'Hooliganisme*, PUF, OSJ, Paris.

67. Mangan J.A. (ed.) (2005), *Doping in sport: global ethical issues*, Routledge, London.

68. Loland S. (2001), *Fair play in sport: a moral norm system*, Routledge, London.

Yet sport has been the vehicle, at least since Pierre de Coubertin, of universal values such as fair play, respect and human dignity, prevention of racism,⁶⁹ the right to one's image, awareness of rules, self-control, amateurism and the pleasure of sport.⁷⁰ The International Olympic Committee (IOC) is regarded as the guarantor of this universal ethics of sport, and federations such as the International Federation of Association Football (FIFA) have adopted codes of ethics after considering the following questions: should infringements of the rules be penalised without taking account of sport's role as an example and the educational ideology of spectator sport? Why has sport become a media stage for ethical conflicts? Is competition the opposite of the participation on which Coubertin based the Olympic ideal? How can compliance with the rules be enforced through education in clubs, federations and associations?

The fragility of ethical arguments

In 2005, in a special issue of *Ethique publique* on the sports ethics debate, focusing on doping, violence and entertainment, it was pointed out that "regulatory authorities and sport's own institutions are supposed to safeguard the purity of the practice of sport and the honesty of the sports system's stakeholders".⁷¹ That purity, or even the purification of sport through the elimination of abuse (for example by cheats, drug users, rapists, bullies, racists, intersex participants fired by testosterone, homophobes,⁷² hooligans), maintains the illusion of an ethical system waiting to be rediscovered.⁷³ Bodies have been abused to the point at which equity and health can be safeguarded somewhere close to the boundaries between the licit and the illicit, the acceptable and the unacceptable.

Ethical arguments are fragile in the face of "fair play" rules regarded as fundamental where the law prohibits certain practices such as doping.⁷⁴ The essentialist and teleological ethics of sport, even within the Olympic motto of "Citius, Altius, Fortius" (first uttered by Dominican Father Henri Didon after the first athletics championships held at his Albert-le-Grand school, on 7 March 1891) appears to reduce the ethics of sport to the ethics of the competition rules, whose utilitarian excesses go as far as maximisation

69. Kassimeris C., *Anti-racism in European football: fair play for all*, Lexington Books, Lanham MD, 2009.

70. Erdozain D. (2010), *The problem of pleasure: sport, recreation and the crisis of Victorian religion*, The Boydell Press, Woodbridge.

71. Laberge S., Liotard P. and Monzée J. (2005) "Introduction", *Ethique publique*, Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 3-7.

72. Ferez S. (2008), *Le corps homosexuel en jeu*, PU, Nancy.

73. Delion P., *Le corps retrouvé: franchir le tab ou du corps en psychiatrie*, Hermann, Paris, 2010.

74. Doré J.F. (2005), "Le géant aux pieds d'argile: de la fragilité des arguments éthiques de la réglementation anti-dopage", *Ethique publique*, Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 143-149.

and meliorism. Isabelle Queval has analysed the way in which achieving one's goal, or even exceeding it,⁷⁵ inevitably means a conflict between, on the one hand, evaluation of the exercise, the specialisation of movements and rational efficiency, and on the other hand, complete and balanced motricity, self-knowledge and body ecology.

Why, despite the great increase in the number of ethics committees whose function is mainly to penalise, is the ethics of sport⁷⁶ so little taught at university, at least in France? In English-speaking countries, the philosophy of sport⁷⁷ considered ethics long ago. We should like to set out here a number of reasons why it is difficult for the ethics of sport to exist as a subject in the epistemology of sport,⁷⁸ ranging from ideological criticism to examination of the various problems involving its subject, without taking account of the "ethical agency" role of sport's stakeholders.

Ethics needed where the sense of fair play has been lost

By handling the ball like Maradona years before him, Thierry Henry was able to provide William Gallas with the decisive pass during France's last World Cup qualifier, against Ireland on 18 November 2009. The handball went unseen and unpunished, no remorse was shown for what the referee failed to spot, the goal was not disallowed in the name of fair play, and its invalidity was not owned up to. So high were the sporting, economic and political stakes of the match that they overrode any considerations of fair play, despite these having been highlighted by FIFA in the context of the World Cup qualifying matches.

Henry's handling of the ball was interpreted as an initially automatic reflex and therefore an involuntary act, but one that subsequently became deliberate because he sent the ball where he wanted it to go. As an ethical person who had absorbed the rule to the point of changing his physical reaction, he should have stopped. Tennis player Mats Wilander displayed this individual ethical awareness, and said that he could not go on to win a match if a mistake had been made. So how was it that Henry's ethical conscience was not strong enough to drive him to go and explain what had happened to the referee? We may excuse his failure to react ethically by citing the high stakes, the tension of the match and the pressure exerted

75. Queval I., (2004), *S'accomplir ou se dépasser. Essais sur le sport contemporain*, Gallimard, Paris.

76. Bordeleau L.P. (1991), *Quelle éthique du sport?*, Liber., Montreal; Andrieu B. (ed.) (2001), *L'éthique des sports*, l'Age d'homme, Lausanne.

77. Eichberg H. (2010), *Bodily democracy: towards a philosophy of sport for all*, Routledge, London.

78. McFee G., *Ethics, knowledge and truth in sports research: an epistemology of sport*, Routledge, London, 2009.

by society. He was in a position between detachment from the match and observation of the match. But instead of admitting that his conscience was at fault, he blamed the referee for not noticing.

Once a rule has been broken, the existence of an external figure of authority in the shape of the referee means that the breach has to be viewed in a general legal context, rather than being a matter of personal ethical judgment. Everyone would feel free to break the rules if they were not applied. But in sport, in this case football, there is a profound ambiguity. A "handball" occurs only if the referee says it has occurred. The player's ethical values depend on the referee's decision. The player plays and the referee interprets the rules, and there is a gulf between the two. According to Henry, one might as well say that anything not noticed is allowed. There is a discrepancy between a wrong ethical judgment by a player and the likely legal penalty: the ethical error by Thierry Henry was that he knowingly cheated, but he is legally right to say that the referee did not blow his whistle. Henry's ethics thus seem to be purely utilitarian, and he relies on the rules of football to determine how his action should be interpreted.

Yet sports ethics should come into play when an illicit act is committed. Henry should therefore have admitted what he had done to the referee. He realised that his behaviour had been unethical after the match, but ethics is only meaningful in the heat of the action. In the light of ethics and the law, the rules are not applied by players, but by referees, whereas sports ethics should be based on the agent's own conscience.

FIFA holds Fair Play days every year. On that occasion, a number of individuals from the world of football is invited to speak. In 2009, speakers included Roda Antar, Alain Giresse, Miroslav Klose, Joseph Blatter and Raymond Domenech. French manager Domenech said: "Fair play is the finest value. It means that football, whatever its level, is played with respect from the very start: respect for opponents, teammates, referees, spectators, and consequently self-respect as well. This idea is essential for football." FIFA's fair play campaign, "My Game is Fair Play", constantly emphasises the particularly important role of fair play in football and the need to encourage it – especially among children and young people. "Children and teenagers need sound values such as solidarity, tolerance, respect and discipline, values which we uphold and convey in our sport. Football is a school for life," explained Blatter. "It does not teach us just to celebrate victories together, but also how to lose." Fair play has now become a financial matter,⁷⁹ shifting the ethical focus from the competition to its financing. The aims are greater financial equity in European competitions and long-term financial stability for European clubs. Certain measures are to be taken in this regard:

79. Dermitt-Richard. N., *L'économie du football européen. Vers le « fair-play financier » ?* Editions universitaires européennes, Sarrebruck, 2010.

- clubs reaching a certain turnover for a given period will be obliged to balance their books (clubs must not systematically spend more than they earn);
- guidelines will be issued on pay and transfer expenditure;
- indicators will be provided of the duration of clubs' indebtedness;
- clubs will be compelled to honour their commitments at all times.

Will fair play be sufficient if the ethical agency role of those involved on the pitch or in the boardroom is geared solely to their own interests? Can and should equity be enforced through a kind of pragmatic realism?

Ethics lag as sport faces criticism

In 1925 Georges Hébert, arguing along the same lines as Jean Giraudoux,⁸⁰ broadly anticipated criticism of sport in his book *L'éducation physique contre le sport*, although he suggested an ethical alternative, the "natural method". Sport needed to remain a means of educating young people, he said, "and not become an element of moral and physical destruction".⁸¹ At an early stage, he distanced himself from criticism of sport:

However, we shall refrain from doing what many people do when they attack it unthinkingly – and these are the people who are against all physical culture – and confusing the actual essence of sport with the way in which it is viewed or practised.⁸²

Criticism of the industrialisation of sport had already been foreshadowed by Hébert in 1912:

One wonders why sport is increasingly turning into entertainment, tightrope walking, i.e. the exploitation of idle curiosity ... Sport was trumpeted in France at first, and the standards of industrial sport have been applied to physical sport.

This distinction between the essence of sport and the ways in which it is used does raise the question of ethics in terms of an elaboration of action "by real teachers and pure sportsmen". Hébert defends the values of co-operation, mutual assistance and solidarity:

80. "There are all sorts of epidemics; the taste for sport is a health one" (Jean Giraudoux, *Le sport*, p. 9, Librairie Hachette, coll. Notes et maximes, 1928). "Let your body not be your skeleton's first grave" (*Le sport*, p. 16, Librairie Hachette, coll. Notes et maximes, 1928). "A doctor who is not a sportsman is a chemist with dirty instruments" (*Le sport*, p. 21, Librairie Hachette, coll. Notes et maximes, 1928).

81. Hébert G. (1925), *Le sport contre l'éducation physique*, Revue EPS/Vuibert, 1993 edition, Paris.

82. Ibid., p. 2.

In PE and sport lessons the main aim is to achieve collective results. Every pupil is encouraged to work for the group, and to contribute through his or her efforts to the value of the whole.

In Physical Education (PE) and sport the focus is on the body's weak points in an effort to re-establish a normal balance, correcting deformities so as to develop the body harmoniously. Sport produces a specialised and unsightly body. Equality is of no interest to society, hence sport's importance to society. According to Hébert:

In sport, the development of weak points and the correction of deformities are neglected, with the focus on pure technique and on performance. Rather than re-establishing the balance of functions and muscles, the general imbalance is accentuated.

Sport is dangerous!

Some sportsmen and women take the practice of their favourite sport to the point of obsession. These are the ones whom general common sense regards as "sports-mad" ... The sportsman comes close to being a monomaniac and cannot imagine an exercise being carried out in any other way than by being taken to extremes.

Sport defines the body and sculpts it in a certain way. Sportspersons have one-track minds. Individualism is encouraged by competitive sport. Hébert continues:

In sport, individualism is accentuated by the idea of finishing first and proving oneself best. Selfish feelings become stronger and are exacerbated as excesses are taken even further. Where pride is rewarded by success, over-excitement tends to produce vanity. The lauded champion is tempted to think that he or she is exceptional.

This creation of a model and an icon takes us further from the idea of communing with nature.

Is the ethics of sport in its anti-capitalist version an illusion produced by capital to secure a moral basis for control of the masses? According to Jean-Marie Brohm, Marc Perelman and Michel Caillat, contributors to *Quels sport?* (first published under the title *Quel corps?*), the attempt to inject ethics only represents an attempt to legitimise and normalise greater competition, greater violence by the packs which follow sport, and the "subordination of all sports practices to the law of the market, corruption, arrangements and scheming as a consequence of capitalist competition."⁸³

This ideological criticism of sport has turned into an ideology for criticism of sport (for instance the regular attacks and counter-attacks by Georges

83. Brohm J.M. (1993), *Les meutes sportives, critique de la domination*, L'Harmattan, Paris.

Vigarello and Jean-Marie Brohm⁸⁴), if we can believe the number of cases raised by this analyst ("the Jean-Marie Brohm effect"), relating to matters such as sexual harassment, rape, burnout, breaches of privacy, doping, racism, violence, hooliganism, sexism, bodily conformism, athlete selection and commercialisation of rights. The deserved denunciation of these cases has finally confirmed the argument that "the current crisis in sport has become endemic through the dialectical combination of three sets of factors:"⁸⁵ first, contradictions in the capitalist social system, second, combinations of these with those of class warfare and third, the challenge of an epistemology and a critical didactics of sport.

By affirming that an ethics of sport is possible on the basis of an analysis of the agent's physical practices and conscious and unconscious experiences, we are already indulging in criticism of "authoritarian approaches" and "legitimist approaches".⁸⁶ Yet the same Brohm, although he dealt with philosophical ethics rather than the ethics of sport, in his Levinasian conversion of the *Prétentaine* journal project, seeks "the internal process of a practical subject (policy, epistemics, desires...)".⁸⁷ Albeit alienated, accustomed, exploited, does the sports practitioner have no thought for the various uses to which his or her body is put? Must the process of subjectification which a specific phenomenological analysis of bodily experience would at least make possible be sought only in the incorporation of norms? To try to describe in the same way as Christian Pocello and Alain Loret – "followers of sports post-modernism" – the ethical alternatives of sensory or urban sports cultures would mean "praising both support based on ethnicity and identity and community allegiances".⁸⁸ The ethics of sport therefore cannot escape the criticism of sport, since any proposed way of eluding it would not be feasible. But what does this critical tendency offer us by way of ethics? Must we abolish sport and return to physical education, undertaking only participatory exercise without any competitive element?

Marc Perelman describes sport as "barbarous", referring to more than ethics, that is, sport's very essence:

In a few decades, sport has become the greatest worldwide mass phenomenon of the 20th century and will undoubtedly be the new, true religion of the 21st. Sport always derives its great and main strength from the way in which people flock to it, everyone joins in; sport gets huge crowds crammed into stadia, for example, or gathers masses in front of television screens (either at

84. Ibid., pp. 117-8.

85. Ibid., p. 68.

86. Ibid., p. 200.

87. Ibid., p. 545.

88. Brohm J.M. (1996), "Critique sans fin ou fin de la critique?", Escriva J.P. and Vaugrand H. (eds), *L'opium sportif. La critique du sport de l'extrême gauche à Quel Corps?*, L'Harmattan, Paris.

home or in city squares). After the event, crowds then pour out and disappear into the streets to celebrate victory, as if they themselves had won. Through its local, national and international structures, sport has gained the status of a global force. It possesses an authority that encompasses, hangs over and permeates the activities of a society where all is confusion. Sport has become the spearhead of an army in battle order. Those whom it holds in thrall are, strangely enough, crushed by it. Sport is the steamroller of decadent modernity, eliminating everything that gets in its way, and it is becoming the only project in a society which generally lacks projects.⁸⁹

The stadium itself is becoming a barbarous kind of architecture that sparks the frenzy of sport's spectators.⁹⁰ Football is an emotional menace (or plague)⁹¹ into which sport in general and the barbarous use made of stadia are assimilated, although athletics and rugby are among some sports which demonstrate the presence of values other than those denounced by this architectural criticism. Michel Caillat, founder of the Centre for Critical Analysis of Sport (CACs), emphasises the confusion between sport and physical activity, which makes it impossible to study physical exercise on the basis of the 1954 analyses of Jacques Ellul in *The Technological Society*, those of 1964 in *Sociologie du sport* by Georges Magnane, or those of Brohm. Sport is political, a concept and vision of the world with values that are neither neutral nor objective, with no possibility of sports ethics.

The limits of ethical catharsis

Norbert Elias' criticism runs counter to this argument and stresses on the contrary the civilising nature of sport. But if violence is returning to sport and the stands,⁹² does this not disprove Elias' pacification theory? Is the effect of liberating the body and easing tension through sport as a spectacle⁹³ no longer sufficient to keep passions under control cathartically? Copycat confrontation in sport, as René Girard also argues, helps to relax tensions in a biological disposition that may be "socially stimulated and shaped".⁹⁴ Elias and Dunning's book *Quest for Excitement. Sport and Leisure in the Civilising Process*, as Roger Chartier points out, rests on the distinction

89. Perelman M. (2008), *Le sport barbare. critique d'un fléau mondial*, Michalon, Paris.

90. Perelman M. (1998), *Le stade barbare: la fureur du spectacle sportif*, Mille et Une Nuits, Paris; Perelman M. (2010), *L'ère des stades, Genèse et structure d'un espace historique*, Infolio, Paris.

91. Brohm J.M. and Perelman M. (2006), *Le football une peste émotionnelle: la barbarie des stades*, Folio Gallimard, Paris.

92. Bodin D., Robène L. and Héas S. (2004), *Sport and violence in Europe*, Council of Europe Publishing, Strasbourg.

93. Abadie S. and Andrieu B. (2008), "Finir sur un coup de tête! La violence auto-calmanche du corps émotionnel", *International Review on Sport and Violence*, No. 1.

94. Elias N. and Dunning E. (1986), *Quest for excitement. Sport and leisure in the civilising process*, Blackwell, Oxford.

between relaxation of the control usually exerted over the emotions by the copycat nature of sport, and the internalisation of self-control mechanisms, including the fleeting relaxation of control over impulses exerted at the time.⁹⁵

The quest for pleasurable excitement,⁹⁶ which is a biological/cultural disposition for pleasure,⁹⁷ can be stimulated through learning, with control of impulses, *inter alia* through sport. Sport is said to have developed "in the same direction as the code of behaviour and sensitivities".⁹⁸ the increase in sensitivity speeds up the civilising process by ensuring "greater equality between combatants".⁹⁹ The link between ethics and sensitivity is thus located at the low point of the civilising process (the term "progress" is not used) in which the "sportification" of leisure pastimes and free time is moving towards the same end as the codification of sport. The behaviour and sensitivity code is the ethical yardstick to use for assessing the civilising process.

Pacification or, at all events, "a form of non-violent and non-military competition between states"¹⁰⁰ is becoming both an essential value of sport and an ethical criterion for assessing unsportsmanlike behaviour, such as any form of violence. The easing of stress and tension is necessary, otherwise a "decivilising movement" which "encourages the population to take pleasure in violence"¹⁰¹ occurs. The quest for pleasure has an emotional resonance, although this does not lead to a prescriptive ethics of sport; while there is a universal "need to eliminate routine",¹⁰² sport is always a social enclave, to the extent that its socialisation ethics defines a "secular religion"¹⁰³ whose profane values fuel collective identification as a means "of creating an identity for oneself in modern society, and giving a meaning to life".¹⁰⁴

However, as Dunning recognises, socialisation ethics have been insufficient to impart a civilised and civilising form to sport without, firstly, "a complex set of written rules, formally instituted and stipulating strict control of the use of physical force", secondly, "clearly defined sanctions of sport's own or penalties", and thirdly, "the institution of a specific role, namely that of a 'referee' who remains 'outside' and 'above' sport in order to control the game".¹⁰⁵ Whilst it is acknowledged that increased instrumental

95. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

96. Andrieu B. (2010), "Plaisir" in Attali M. and Saint-Martin J. (eds), *Dictionnaire culturel du sport*, Armand Colin, Paris, p. 521; Andrieu B. (2011), "L'érotisation du corps sportif", *Politique de l'image*, No. 4.

97. Caudwell J. and Wellard I. (2011), *Sport, pleasure and the erotic*, Routledge, London.

98. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

99. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

100. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

101. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

102. *Ibid.*, p. 305.

103. *Ibid.*, p. 307.

104. *Ibid.*, p. 306.

105. *Ibid.*, p. 317.

violence would reduce the part played by emotions in favour of technical rationality, the ethics of sport has not been incorporated into the habitus through transformation of internalised self-control into a conscious adherence to values.

In Elias' opinion, sport's function in society is to keep the passions under control. Hence the term "catharsis" in the Aristotelian sense, which means the freeing and easing of tensions through entertainment, in this case the watching of sport. Some sportsmen use sport to control their impulses. When a sportsman cracks, like Zidane at the moment of his headbutt,¹⁰⁶ he gives in to his impulse in order to get himself back under a better control. The sportsman's energy should be kept under control, so that he can use it for what is technically necessary and for his sporting performance. From the spectators' viewpoint, sport opens the door to doing things which they would not normally do in everyday life. Elias also says that televised sport allows the masses to be controlled. Capitalism will use sport as a means of social control, which is why it is so successful among participants and spectators alike.

Through catharsis, things that one does not do oneself can be experienced by proxy. Emotions which one only feels when looking at pictures enable an event to be experienced by proxy and can produce pleasure and well-being. This principle of experience by proxy works through identification. People identify with others. Copycat behaviour is also involved, because some will strive to copy the person concerned in every possible detail. The purpose of catharsis is to make social relationships peaceful. Sport provides one of the few opportunities for members of the public to gather together.

The ethics of sport and the building of civility are therefore linked. When the rules are observed, or our impulses kept in check, victory over an opponent and self-control can lead to acceptance of even greater difference. The ethical value of sport is that it keeps human beings peaceful. Sport must therefore be a non-violent and non-military contest. States will use sport to settle clashes between civilisations. Elias speaks of unwarlike practices (those which do not lead to death) and says that, through sport, nations can be finished off or wounded in virtual terms. Unsporting behaviour breaks these fundamental rules. Elias wishes to globalise sport so as to limit military conflicts. However, despite its peaceful basis, sport has so far failed to resolve the world's conflicts.

106. Andrieu B. and Abadie S. (2007), "Sur un coup de tête. Le sujet émotionnel dans la violence sportive", Bodin D., Heas S. and Robène L. (eds), *Sport et violence*, Europe.

Failure of a morality of sport in schools

In the field of the ethics of sport, the place of physical experience also depends on meaning, which is conveyed by the recounting of experiences connected with the body. Athletes and those around them question the human relationship with the body, and retrace their individual existence by interpreting symptoms, performances, and injuries. As pointed out by Nancy Midol and André Rauch, physical techniques are used for the anthropological description of ethics,¹⁰⁷ and Brohm called for an "Institute of Physical Practices" so that "we can start a systematic investigation of the physical foundations of our society and the physical archaeology of institutions".¹⁰⁸ The emergence of new physical practices¹⁰⁹ reflected in the journal *Quel corps?* has given rise to a new market of the physical body without ethics: bodily expressions, body languages, body therapies, body care. The transition from physical techniques to sport technique¹¹⁰ has already been studied by Vigarello, and subsequently by Luc Robène, who demonstrated the epistemological changes in participants' ethical choices.

107. In March 1984 a symposium on anthropology of physical techniques was attended by 150 academics concerned with the practice of sport, the arts, fashion, freedom of movement, therapeutic techniques and cosmetic surgery.

108. Brohm J.M. (1984), "Pourquoi un projet d'institut des pratiques corporelles", *Anthropologie des techniques du corps*, Revue Staps, pp. 37-41.

109. Feldenkrais M. (1967), *La conscience du corps*, Marabout, 1971 edition, Paris; Bertrand M. and Dumont M. (1970), *Expression corporelle*, Vrin, Paris; Dropsy J. (1973), *Vivre dans son corps*, Epi, Paris; Foster E. (1973), *Le centre solaire du corps*, Epi, Paris; Danilo A. and Stévenin P. (1974), *Le corps dans la vie quotidienne*, Epi, Paris; Berge Y. (1975), *Vivre son corps*, Seuil, Paris; Le Du J. (1976), *Le corps parlé*, Delarge, Paris; Tordjman G. (1976), *Le désir et le corps*, Le Hameau, Paris; Maisonneuve J. (1976), "Le corps et le corporéisme aujourd'hui", *Revue française de sociologie*, XVII; Bertherat T. (1976), *Le corps a ses raisons*, Seuil, Paris; Vayer P. (1976), *Le dialogue corporel*, Doin, Paris; Schützenberger A.A. (1977), *Le corps et le groupe*, Privat, Toulouse; During B. (1981), *La crise des pédagogies corporelles*, Scarabée, Paris; Pasini W. (ed.) (1981), *Eros et changement. Le corps en psychothérapie*, Payot, Paris; Meyer R. (1982), *Le corps aussi. De la psychanalyse à la somatoanalyse*, Maloine, Paris; Perrin E. (1985), *Cultes du corps*, P.M. Favre, Lausanne; Bernard M. (1986), *L'expressivité du corps*, Chiron, Paris; Descampa M.A. (1992), *Corps et psyché. Histoire des psychothérapies par le corps*, Epi, Paris; Guimon J. and Fredenrich-Muhlebach A. (1997), *Corps et psychothérapie. Les psychothérapies à médiation corporelle*, Médecine et Hygiène.

110. Collectif (1975), *Sports et développement humain*, Sociales, Paris; Andrieu G. (1990), *L'éducation physique au XXe siècle*, Bazina, Paris; Arnaud P. (ed.) (1981), *Le corps en mouvement*, Privat, Toulouse; Arnaud P. (1983), *Les savoirs du corps*, PU, Lyon; DeFrance J. (1984), *La fortification des corps. Essai d'histoire des pratiques d'exercice corporel*, Paris; EHESS thesis (1987), *L'excellence corporelle. La formation des activités physiques et sportives modernes (1770-1940)*, PU, Rennes; Gleyse J. (1995), *Archéologie de l'Education physique*, PUF, Paris; Pogam Y. le (1979), *Démocratisation du sport*, Delarge, Paris; Parlebas P. (1987), *Eléments de sociologie du sport*, PUF, Paris; Pociello C. (1981), *Sport et société*, Vigot, Paris; Rauch A. (1982), *Le corps en éducation physique*, PUF, Paris; (1983), *Le souci du corps*, PUF, Paris; Vigarello G. (1988), *Techniques d'hier et d'aujourd'hui. Une histoire culturelle du sport*, Laffont, EPS, Paris; Robène L. and Léziart Y. (2006), "Le corps technique en « histoires » ou histoire des techniques du corps", *L'homme en mouvement*, Vol. 1, Histoire et Anthropologie des techniques sportives, Chiron, Paris pp 34-109.

Daniel Denis, at the Ecole Normale Supérieure d'Éducation Physique et Sportive teacher training college, studied creative motricity in relation to the environment in 1972, and raised the question of the teaching of body ethics taught at his college. What body was shaped at school, what body was managed by the college?¹¹¹ While René Lourau (1933-2000) defended non-directivity, Fernand Deligny (1913-1996) proposed the diversion of action through movement.¹¹² Bertrand Durling was interested in the crisis affecting PE teaching methods: as already indicated by other researchers, the complexity of the dynamic object of PE had led to the dispersion of historians' work according to social, political and didactic paradigms.¹¹³ Pierre Arnaud distinguishes intelligent PE teaching methods designed to educate a knowledgeable body from intellectualist methods of teaching motricity which introduce conscience into motor learning.¹¹⁴ Jean le Boulch, the founder in 1961 of psychomotor education, relies on the learning of praxis to develop an intellectual representation of, and operative thinking about, the body in movement; it is on education through movement, from the very start of development of the body image, that the management of sport, health and dynamics should be based.¹¹⁵

René Scherer has shown how, at the ethical level, the prohibition on teachers touching students¹¹⁶ represents a deprivation of emotion: school society assumes "that there is a fixed gap between the child's and the adult's body".¹¹⁷ The prohibition governs the relationship; a gesture involving contact, even in the practice of sports activities, must be limited in terms of intensity and of

111. Denis D. (1974), *Le corps enseigné*, Universitaire, coll. Corps et culture, Paris; Denis D. and Pociello C. (eds) (2000), *A l'école de l'aventure. Vie sportive et idéologie de la conquête du monde 1890-1940*, PUS, Voiron.

112. Lourau R. (1969), *L'illusion pédagogique*, Epi; Deligny F. (1979), *Les détours de l'agir ou le moindre geste*, Hachette, Paris.

113. Uhlmann J. (1964), *La nature et l'éducation. L'idée de nature dans l'éducation physique et morale*, Vrin, Paris; Rioux G. and Cappuis R. (1968), *Les bases psychopédagogiques de l'éducation corporelle*, Vrin, Paris; Bertrand M. and Dumont M (1973), *L'expression corporelle à l'école*, coll. Psychopédagogie du sport, Vrin, Paris; Burgener L. (1973), *L'éducation corporelle selon Rousseau et Pestalozzi*, Vrin, Paris; Thibault J. (1977), *Les aventures du corps dans la pédagogie française*, Vrin, Paris; Durling B. (1981), *La crise des pédagogies corporelles*, Scarabée, Clamecy.

114. Arnaud P. (1983), *L'éducation physique: pédagogie de la conscience ou pédagogie de la motricité?*, *Les savoirs du corps. Education physique et éducation intellectuelle dans le système scolaire français*, PUL.

115. Boulch, J. Le (1961), *Esquisse d'une méthode rationnelle et expérimentale d'éducation physique, Education physique et esprit*; Boulch, J. Le (1971), *Vers une science du mouvement humain*, Paris, ESF, pp. 185-217; Boulch, J. Le (1984), *L'éducation psychomotrice à l'école élémentaire*, ESF, pp. 15-49; Boulch, J. Le (1998), *Le corps à l'école au XXI^e siècle*, PUF, pp 123-58.

116. Scherer R. (1974), "Noli tangere", Lapassade G. and Scherer R., *Le corps interdit. Essais sur l'éducation négative*, ESF, 1976.

117. Ibid., p. 100.

potential for sexuality, and is nowadays condemned as being paedophilic in nature. In Scherer's view, this could also have an affective dimension. The consequence of this lack of emotion from the teacher is a loss of drive, with the school taking an interest only in disembodied minds, abstract intellects and constrained motricity. While presented as a system of neutrality and reserve, a physical logic of domination/submission is still present in the barrack-like school. Thus "anti-bodies"¹¹⁸ should be denounced, and the practices of teachers taken on board. Claude Pujade-Renaud experimented with self-expression through movement between 1969 and 1971 at the Human Sciences Faculty of Paris VII University and the Teaching and Research Unit of the Faculty of Sport and Physical Education at Paris V University. She joined the self-expression through movement research group (GREC) set up by Jean-Bernard Bonange at the Toulouse IREPS (Regional Institute for Physical and Sport Education),¹¹⁹ and analysed the body in its expressive logic in class, encompassing both the body of the teacher and that of the pupil.¹²⁰

The school is becoming the place to study bodily socialisation in the playground, during gender and social mixing and in the assessment of capacities for sport. The playground is a good place for observing non-verbal language, from gesture to violence.¹²¹ Pascale Garnier observes: "No one can automatically know what influence representations have on bodies, how far these representations are incorporated into them and into models."¹²² The assessment of individuals' physical skills, particularly those of children, is based on a demarcation of the frontiers between the biological and the social, between the body and subjectivity. Through a social anthropology of childhood, Julie Delalande is studying bodily socialisation and school and social mixing.¹²³

The research cited above demonstrates the extent to which the ethics of sport at school have been unable to prevent the creation of body ethics which agents must develop by themselves in their polemical socialisation of practices.

118. Camus J. Le (1978), "La contre-offensive des anti-corps", *Revue française de pédagogie*, No. 42; Celma J. (1971), *Journal d'un éducateur*, Champ libre.

119. Bonange J.B. (1969), "L'activité et l'expression corporelle à l'IREPS", *Les Cahiers du GREC*, No. 1.

120. Pujade-Renaud C. (1974), *Expression corporelle. Langage du silence*, ESF, Paris; Pujade-Renaud C. (1976), *Voies non-verbales de la relation pédagogique* and *Danse et narcissisme en éducation*, ESF, Paris; Pujade-Renaud C. (1983a), *Le corps de l'enseignant dans la classe*, ESF, Paris; Pujade-Renaud C. (1983b), *Le corps de l'élève dans la classe*, ESF, Paris; Andrieu B. (ed.) (2001), *Le corps enseignant*, IUFM de Lorraine/Euredit.

121. Zimmermann D. (1982), *La cour de récréation, Observation et communication non-verbale en école maternelle*, ESF.

122. Garnier P. (1995), *Ce dont les enfants sont capables. Marcher XVIIIe, travailler XIXe, nager XXe*, Métaillié, Paris; Carra C. (2009), "Violences à l'école et 'effet-établissement'. Monographie d'une école 'Freinet' en éducation prioritaire", *Déviances et Société*, No. 33, pp. 149-172.

123. Delalande J. (2001), *La cour de récréation. Pour une anthropologie sociale de l'enfance*, PU de Rennes; Delalande J. (2003), *La récré expliquée aux parents*, L'Audibert.

The ethical agency of participants

Government of oneself by oneself reverses, in its links with others' relationships, the meaning of the institutional governmentality of schools, defining non-disciplinary technology as a self-government technique. How can one "govern oneself through actions of which one is oneself the objective, the field of application, the instrument and the instigator?"¹²⁴ Training as self-government has, since Aristotle, been the definition of ritual as the acquisition of virtue.¹²⁵ However, the medicalisation of performance changes exercise into a medical ritual: health checks, medical monitoring and scientific doping. Is an ethics of sport without bioscience now possible and desirable?

A new development is books written by referees¹²⁶ to recount the problems that they encounter. No longer is it someone from outside who wonders about the ethics of sport, but someone who can testify to the conditions in which referees do their work. There is a difference between refereeing rules and referees' actual experience. We should overlook neither the referee's viewpoint nor the player's, but there is often a conflict of interpretation indicating a discrepancy between the universal (or even objective) viewpoint and the subjective viewpoint. The referee's objective viewpoint is really a subjective viewpoint, but one regarded as universal because it possesses a sort of neutrality – and equality – on the strength of the function of arbiter. A referee is subject to pressure, intimidation and threats, so it may be difficult to make refereeing objective. The football referee Bruno Derrien, for instance, has noted that certain teams offered him the red carpet treatment, an indication that they were trying to exert at least a degree of pressure.

In reality, the referee represents the laws of the game. If a referee is attacked, he or she will to some extent be defended by the sport's federation; the referee's status protects the person. However, the problem of interpreting the rules reveals the subjective nature of refereeing at certain times (depending, for instance, on where the referee is when something happens). The referee does not apply the rules, but interprets them. In sport, there is no trace of what has happened, unless there is a video recording. Refereeing concerns behaviour, not material traces. Video back-up makes interpretation objective. Ethics demands respect for the referee's interpretation, irrespective of why a rule may have been broken. The referee takes no account of the reason for an act, but simply judges it. The act – the breach committed – may be voluntary or involuntary. Refereeing is not based on intention, but on outcome. Referees may also sometimes miss breaches (or the lack of one). They do not see everything; in football, it is as if any act away from the ball is not being watched.

124. Foucault M. (1981), *Subjectivité et vérité, Résumé des cours 1970-1982*, Julliard, Paris, p. 134.

125. Andrieu B. (1999), "Les rituels médicaux du sportif", *Corps et Culture*, No. 4.

126. Derrien B. (2009), *A bas l'arbitre*, Rocher, Paris.

One problem raised by a professional sportswoman, Isabelle Demongeot,¹²⁷ in her book *Service Volé*, concerns the boundaries of the relationship between player and coach, and the abuse of authority. Demongeot, who was completely dependent on her club and her trainer, was raped by the latter over a period of seven years. Several questions may be asked here, including whether a player/coach relationship can remain professional, as it should. We are talking about a professional life based among other things on the management of emotions and psychological impact, with a view to improved performance. Certain practitioners of sport almost live with their trainers, like French swimmer Laure Manaudou. This can lead to some relationships developing a personal rather than professional aspect. The same thing can happen when parents are too heavily involved in furthering their children's sporting careers, as Steffi Graf's father was. There is no special code of conduct for trainers, who must exercise their own consciences; there are no rules concerning how they should act towards their athletes. The degradation felt by tennis player Catherine Tanvier¹²⁸ speaks volumes about the experiences of sports practitioners as they approach the end of their careers.

Ethical differentiation has been around for a long time. At the Berlin Games, the Nazi state had a racist system in place. In the name of a political vision, athletes in the former German Democratic Republic, the former Soviet Union and China have been subject to manipulation, even extending to doping by the state.¹²⁹ Individual conscience was well-nigh non-existent, dominated as it was by the "ethics" of the nation. The sporting breakthroughs at an international level by the former German Democratic Republic between 1968 and 1972 gave high-level sport a dazzling burnish, based as it was on "socialist society" and on foreign policy. The foreign policy dimension (achieving recognition by the international community) overrode athletes' health. Political and sports leaders were aware of the close link between hormone abuse and sporting success. The features most open to ethical criticism were the absolute coercion applied, the withholding of accurate information from athletes, absence of consent and changes to athletes' sexual identity. Such actions violated human rights, as laid down in the European Convention adopted in Rome.

Brigitte Berendonk's book, *Doping-Dokumente, von der Forschung zum Betrug*,¹³⁰ published in 1991, changed the way in which the history of German sport was viewed. Heidi Krieger, the former shot putter, was given

127. Demongeot I. (2007), *Service Volé*, Michel Lafon, Paris; Tauziat N. (2000), *Les dessous du tennis féminin*, Omnibus, Paris.

128. Tanvier C. (2007), *Déclassée. De Roland Garros au RMI*, Panama, Paris.

129. Spitzer G. (2005), "Historical approach to doping in the German Democratic Republic: description and analysis of a system of state controls", *Steps* No. 70 (Fr. translation by Charles Pigeassou from Ger. translation of Gerhard Treutlein).

130. Berendonk B., *Doping-Dokumente: von der Forschung zum Betrug*, Springer, Berlin, 1991.

a copy by her mother, who told her: "You are in it." She had just ended her sporting career. She was then living in Berlin and going through a difficult period. She said that she "felt like a man". It was from the book that she learned of the existence of the doping system, of the "14.25" plan and of the "Heidi hormone" that bears her name. She discovered how her trainers had drugged her without her knowing. They had even administered to her for 29 weeks more than twice the amount of testosterone that a man would have produced naturally in the same amount of time.

It was not forcible manipulation and absence of consent that were prominent at the Mexico Olympics, where winning athletes went ahead with a display of black power on the podium.¹³¹ It was a question of athletes' personal ethics. Tommie Smith was a member of the Olympic Project for Human Rights; he explained that it was an organisation "of which I naturally became the spokesman, being an athlete and possessing international visibility". The athletes concerned rejected nationalist ethics, as Tommie Smith explained:

If I win, I am American, not a black American. But if I did something bad, then they would say I am a Negro. We are black and we are proud of being black. Black America will understand what we did tonight ... We are not good boys, good creatures that can be rewarded with peanuts. If people aren't interested in what Blacks think in normal times, let them not come and watch Blacks running in public ... White America only recognises us when we're champions.

High-level sportsmen are expected to embody the ethics of a nation when competing internationally. Smith and John Carlos thus broke a taboo by failing to remain apolitical. Smith said in June 2008:

I knew when I saw a pair of black gloves sticking out of my bag what I had to do: raise my gloved fist in a sign of power, head lowered in prayer, wearing no shoes to symbolise the poverty of Black Americans. I immediately went to see John Carlos and explained what I planned to do. "Do what you think is right", he told me. I explained that I would put only one glove on and asked him if he wanted to wear the other, but I did not tell him what to do. John took the glove as we moved towards the stage. When I raised my fist skywards, I didn't know whether John was doing the same, because I was in front of him. I only realised afterwards when I saw the pictures. And if we didn't raise the same hand, that was because the gloves were a pair! During the national anthem I prayed, alone, inwardly reflecting. But afterwards, I had to turn towards the audience. I suddenly realised the implications of my silent gesture. Had I done right or wrong? I had just done what no one wished to see. I realised that major problems lay ahead! And they were not long coming. I was immediately condemned by the International Olympic Committee, whose president, Avery

131. Hoffer R., *Something in the air: American passion and defiance in the 1968 Mexico City Olympics*, Free Press, New York, 2009, page 131.

Brundage, was American! I returned home to Texas, knowing that my athletics career was over. I was just 24 years old. My letterbox filled with death threats, but I've never regretted my gesture. In its own way, it changed the world.

President Avery Brundage said the gesture was a "deliberate and violent breach of the fundamental principles of the Olympic spirit" and immediately decided to have Smith and Carlos excluded from the Olympic Village and the US team. When the American Olympic Committee refused to apply this decision, Brundage resolved to have the whole US team excluded.

Sport is not a neutral ethical space, because it embodies values that shape the daily experience of human beings. It has long been seen as a sort of eraser of individual values, to be superseded by universal values. These values are considered to transcend personal situations (such as race, sex and social class), but sports participants now wish to embody their own values, such as sexual identity, the cultural values of their communities or the stories of their careers. Wanting to be allowed to run with able-bodied sportsmen, the South African Oscar Pistorius, with his carbon fibre artificial legs,¹³² took on an essential role in terms of sportspersons' ethical commitment when he queried the disability definitions.¹³³ A triple gold medallist at the 2008 Paralympic Games, he enjoyed a clear physical advantage thanks to his artificial legs, which helped him gain at least 10 seconds over a distance of 400 metres, in the opinion of US researchers. However, his case is more the concern of the field of bioethics, since it calls into question the very definition of a human being.¹³⁴ Mechanical support for joints, electrical devices to increase muscle stimulation, and prostheses add to a kind of "technological doping", like the swimsuits fully covered with polyurethane which improve flotation and offer less resistance to water. The disability concept could be used as a pretext. What with the issue of intersex raised by the case of the 2009 800-metre world champion Caster Semenya, as Alice Dreger points out,¹³⁵ it is becoming possible to renew the ethics of sport on the basis of its agents' experience, without regarding them solely in terms of genetic determinants.

Conclusion

If the ethics of sport were based on sport's practitioners and their actual physical experience, its implementation could be much more effective than proceeding by asking questions which, although the right ones, produce answers that do not stand up to an analysis of actual physical practices.

132. Pistorius O. (2009), *Blade Runner*, Virgin, London.

133. Gaillard J. and Andrieu B. (eds) (2010), *Vers la fin du handicap?*, PU, Nancy.

134. Marcellini A. et al. (2010), "La chose la plus rapide sans jambes. Oscar Pistorius ou la mise en spectacle des frontières de l'humain", *Politix*, No. 90:2.

135. Dreger A., "The sex of athletes: one issue, many variables", *New York Times*, 24 October 2009.

Sport's ethics are decided by society, although some sportspersons impose their own ethics. Some of their acts go well beyond the current conventions and limits of sport's moral standards. However, rather than weighing everything against an eternal spirit of sport, the ethical agency role changes the criteria we use for our judgments. Democracy tells us that personal ethics are a private matter and that, in the public sphere, our ethics must be restrained; we do not have the right to state our own position. But ethical globalisation through sport is in line with sport's claim to provide universal moral standards. The major federations use sport as a means of global education. Players' behaviour must therefore be exemplary.

In the face of economic forces, the ethical agency role means that experience takes over from mere consumption of care; empowerment is a method whereby individuals and groups can control their lives in a changing environment.¹³⁶ Everyone wishes to be in control of his or her own health, as the body, through eco-sport, becomes more environment-friendly through its interaction. In between what could be done and what should be done for himself or herself, the contemporary practitioner of sport engages in self-development in order to achieve physical autonomy. The observance¹³⁷ or otherwise of recommendations appears to offer secular emancipation, but subjects the practitioner of sport to ethical patterns of different systems, as we face up to sometimes contradictory moral precepts.

136. Rapport J. (1984), "Studies in Empowerment: introduction to the issues", *Prevention in Human Services*, No. 3, pp. 1-17.

137. Reach G. (2007), *Pourquoi se soigne-t-on? Enquête sur la rationalité morale de l'observance*, Le Bord de l'Eau, Bordeaux.

Chapter 2

New challenges to ethics in sport

Amber light for the yellow ball: when betting undermines tennis

*Bertrand Fincoeur*¹³⁸

Foreword

This article is based on research begun in April 2008 under the supervision of Professor Michaël Dantinne. After providing background information on the problem of rigged betting in tennis, it attempts to show that the practice demonstrates the way in which the tennis authorities operate, and especially their desire to maintain control over the organisation of the sport. Here, we only discuss the problem of match-fixing in men's tennis, since the cases discussed in the media and the few suspensions imposed up to now have all involved male players. However, as in the case of most criminal behaviour, we are entitled to wonder whether the women's circuit is not affected as well.

Professional tennis in the eye of the storm

Tennis has long belonged to the category of sports free from suspicion of lack of ethics. In a British study of 2001, 92% of those questioned thought that professional tennis players played their sport honestly and in a sporting spirit, while only 30% believed that the money in professional tennis might encourage cheating (McNamee 2007). Despite this public confidence, the image of tennis has been tarnished by various scandals in the last few years. Apart from doping cases (Cazuc 2007a), which provided a small amount of material for the newspaper columns up to then reserved for sports news, attention mainly focused from 2003 onwards, and then more intensely in 2007-08, on match-fixing associated with sports betting.

Broadly speaking, the technique is simple: bets are placed on a totally unexpected result (for example, the defeat of the favourite or an unlikely score-line) that will net the gambler extremely large winnings (Andreff 2006). There are two likely scenarios. In the first, the person placing the bet and the player are one and the same, and in such cases it is either the player or an accomplice who bets on the player's own match, which he deliberately loses in order to pocket a profit higher than the amount that could have been won on the court. In the second, the player is approached by an outside party or parties to lose the match, and in such cases we are more likely to speak of corruption. According to the traditional dichotomy employed, the

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person offering the bribe can be likened to someone investing in a bet, while the person taking the bribe is the player paid for failing to win and thereby ensuring that the person offering the bribe makes money.

Although it is hard to quantify with any degree of precision, the practice of rigged sports betting is undoubtedly a very real phenomenon. For example, according to a report produced in May 2008 by former British police officers at the request of the governing bodies of tennis (the International Tennis Federation, ITF, and the Association of Tennis Professionals, ATP), there were instances of suspect betting on 45 matches played between 2003 and 2008 (Gunn and Rees 2008). However, this figure seems to be well below the estimates provided by the players we met, who said the phenomenon was less marginal than it appeared and did not involve all players, top-ranked and lower-ranked, to the same extent. Players are in fact self-employed individuals with no fixed salary. Apart from endorsements, their main source of income is winnings from playing tennis (Cazuc 2007b). The idea of giving up these winnings for a higher income from betting allegedly drives some individuals to transgress the idealised values of sport. That, at any rate, is our hypothesis, which accords with what has been learnt from the anomie theory (Merton 1968).

Moreover, several players have been publicly named because of suspicions about their failure to perform. One example is that of former world No. 1 Yevgeny Kafelnikov, who was suspected of fixing a match at the Lyon Grand Prix in October 2003 on which the online bookmaker Betfair had taken bets of €130 000 that Fernando Vicente would win, at odds of 5 to 1, when he had not won a single match since June of that year. Vicente won easily. More recently, serious suspicions were raised concerning two matches played by Nikolay Davydenko. The first, on 2 August 2007, ended in the Russian retiring in the second round of the Sopot tournament in Poland in a match pitting him against the outsider Martin Vassallo-Arguello. On that occasion, Betfair had recorded a wholly unusual betting pattern: €7 million was wagered on the Argentinean's victory, ten times more than normal for a match of that type. The second suspect match took place at the 2007 St Petersburg tournament: Davydenko played Marin Čilić, ranked No. 102 on the ATP tour, and lost unexpectedly after a large number of double faults and a warning to the player for "lack of best effort", accompanied by a fine of US\$2 000. However, estimating the extent of the problem is a risky exercise. The unknown figure representing the difference between actual and known offences seems high, and the scant evidence available is hard to compile.

Detection and revelations

It is particularly difficult to detect cases of match-fixing. Even if sharp-eyed tennis players and certain informed observers are surprised by what is happening during a match, the question arises as to how to obtain evidence

about conduct considered suspect. There are in practice two principal ways of detecting or revealing fraud: monitoring and reporting by bookmakers of unusual flows of money, and obtaining confessions from sportsmen and sports-women, usually through statements to the press. So far, there have been no confessions in this regard from players or gamblers who have cheated.

Players and press

From 2003 onwards, the gradual increase in media coverage of scandals, or at the very least of this type of rumour, initially seemed to loosen a few tongues, and several players commented on the situation. For example, Julien Varlet claims to have been “aware of stories like this for several months. Everyone knows that the guy who’s more involved in this kind of thing than anyone else is Kafelnikov. Some players even say he’s earned more money by betting on the Internet than in his playing career.”¹³⁹

Allegations soon spread to the world of tennis in general. Andy Murray said:

Everyone is aware of match-fixing but it’s difficult to prove if someone has tanked a match or not tried because they can try their best until the last couple of games of each set and then make some mistakes, a couple of double faults, and that’s it. Some guys have to come to tournaments like this every single week and the first-round loser’s cheque is sort of €2 500 and they’ve got to pay for their airfares. It’s only a 10- or 12-year career so you have to make all your money while you’re still playing.¹⁴⁰

Some statements by players have nonetheless managed to confer legitimacy on the practice of rigged sports betting, to the extent that deliberately losing matches for financial gain is seen as “part of the job”. This is reminiscent of what has been written on the subject of doping (Brissonneau 2007; Lê-Germain and Leca 2005). Arranging a match for betting purposes may appear to be the end result of a form of vulnerability, with sports bets offering those involved a way of maximising financial reward from their activity. The temptation is great for players not among the top-ranked (that is, in positions that cannot guarantee them lucrative sponsorship contracts or a decent income from sport) to improve their monthly earnings by potentially more profitable practices. The question therefore arises as to how those involved regard their own behaviour. Is it approved or given legitimacy under the influence of a favourable form of secondary socialisation (Berger and Luckmann 1986) that tends to make them insensitive to the moral dimension, and therefore to ethical resistance, so they only see in this conduct one of a number of possible professional strategies? Or do players still regard these practices as clearly breaking the law or as manifestly deviant, thus making those who

139. *Le Parisien*, 15 October 2003.

140. www.myfreesport.fr consultation on 28 September 2009.

engage in them cheats who are assessed as such by their counterparts and accordingly condemned on moral, legal and sporting grounds? In this case, matches fixed for financial gain may be analysed as an innovative strategy (Merton 1968), since the deviance is part of a process hijacked to attain the objectives that have been set and are shared by the entire community, which can be simply summarised as the desire to make as much profit as possible from one's professional activity, that is to say the occupation by which one earns one's living (Dubar and Tripier 1998).

In any event, in the wake of the first media disclosures, many players from the professional circuit¹⁴¹ admitted they had been approached by unscrupulous gamblers and claimed they had rejected their offers. All these declarations were made in a context of ethical condemnation, so they do not indicate any loosening of standards. With few exceptions, details of the gamblers' identities or the way in which they made contact remain sketchy. The allegations made by the German daily newspaper *Die Welt* backed what our interviewees said by mentioning around 30 gamblers, especially Russians, Italians and Argentineans, who, it was claimed, had drawn attention to themselves on the professional circuit by arranging certain matches.

Online betting sites

In addition to players' statements, betting websites also currently play a role in bringing suspected match-fixing to the knowledge of the public or sports authorities. In advance of a match, bookmakers conduct an internal check on operations carried out from their website and thus provide a range of formal guarantees intended to limit the risks of cheating. These safeguards mainly reduce the opportunities for money laundering (Dantinne 2006). In order to thwart criminals seeking to remain undetected, bookmakers promote a policy of transparency through various means of identifying those placing bets. Although the personal information that has to be provided when an account is opened may be completely fictitious, the methods of moving money – through the deposit and withdrawal system – make any misuse of online betting complicated. Although it is possible to set up a bogus gambling account, the difficulty arises of how to collect the winnings. Deposits must, for example, be made using a credit card, whereas withdrawals (winnings) are made by transfer to a bank or credit card account, but with the requirement that the name of the gambling account holder be the same as that of the bank account holder.¹⁴² With the ban on professional tennis players and their staff betting on matches, the precautions taken by bookmakers theoretically force would-be lawbreakers to use frontmen.

141. Goldstein, Henman, Tursunov, Clément, Llodra, Daniel, Saretta, Djokovic, El Aynaoui, Elsenéer, Norman.

142. Bookmakers (for example, Bwin, Sportingbet, Unibet, and Betfair) all operate in this manner.

Moreover, after the event, as was the case at the above-mentioned tournament in Sopot, Poland, bookmakers now reserve the right to suspend their operations when there is a suspicion of match-fixing and, as the case may be, to refund gamblers their stakes. There nonetheless remains the question of the detection of these fraudulent activities and the threshold above which they are regarded as such. By contrast, where revelations of anomalies are concerned, it should be noted that bookmakers can warn the tennis authorities when suspect movements of money are observed relating to a match.

The position of the tennis authorities

Apart from the ethical issues raised for the general public, the practice of match-fixing highlights the way in which the tennis authorities operate, especially their desire to retain control over the sport and thus avoid the sort of takeover experienced by cycling in connection with cases of doping. This control by the tennis authorities, in this case the ATP and the ITF, is exercised in three ways: control of communication, leadership of monitoring and a monopoly on sanctions.

An analysis of the behaviour of the ATP, which is officially the association defending players' interests vis-à-vis tournament organisers, illustrates the institution's desire to remain the sole point of contact between the public and the profession. In this connection, two main behavioural registers have been employed, probably less in a desire to stop people speaking than to control who says what.

Faced with the embarrassing statements of some tennis players and the specific warnings given by bookmakers, the initial attitude of the tennis authorities, alternating between denial and silence, certainly raised questions.

In 2003, one week after betting on the match between Kafelnikov and Vicente at the Lyon Grand Prix had been suspended, the ATP's Executive Director initially considered it unlikely that players were involved in any match-fixing.¹⁴³ However, with increasing suspicion about fixed matches, the ATP was to shift its position, opting for embarrassed silence. Taking a similar line as it had to the doping allegations that had previously rocked the professional circuit, the ATP thus brought strong pressure to bear on players – by means of threats and/or sanctions – not to say anything about the subject (Cazuc 2007a).

With regard to doping, Boris Becker was, for example, the first player to be officially fined (US\$20 000) after expressing his doubts about an opponent's physical condition. In 2004, Christophe Rochus also admitted, with reference to statements he had made in 2001, that "at the time, the ATP

143. *La Libre*, 15 October 2003.

made it clear to me that we had no right to speak about doping in tennis."¹⁴⁴ Nicolas Escudé incurred the ATP's wrath when he stated in a daily newspaper in 2002 that

to say tennis today is clean you have to be living in a dream world. When you're playing on clay and after 50 shots the guy on the other side of the net is fresh and waiting for you to serve, while you're in agony, it's mind-blowing.¹⁴⁵

The association considered the player's words irresponsible and offensive, summoned him to be told that he should not publicly cast aspersions on tennis, and threatened him with financial sanctions or even suspension (Pautot 2003).

The situation regarding betting fraud does not seem to be any different: the many refusals of our requests to interview professional tennis players and the reasons given tend to confirm the policy of an organisation that has for some months refused to allow its members to say anything on this subject, showing that the ATP finds it hard to deal with uncontrolled media disclosure.

This is evidence of the sports organisations' relative complacency about their internal failures (Lüschen 2000) and of the resulting paradox, since by promoting a clean-up policy to salvage their sports' honour and retain key sponsors, who have little desire to see their brand linked to scandals, they are displaying conduct that, for exactly the same reasons, could be deliberately hushed up (Jennings and Sambrook 2000).

However, complete silence in the light of an increasing number of suspicious cases seems to have become an untenable position. So the sports authorities decided to react, and the ATP, through its president, declared all-out war on match-fixers.¹⁴⁶ From that moment on, the policy announced has reflected the sports authorities' wish to (re)assert their power, undermined by scandals. That power ranges from control over communication and leadership of monitoring to a monopoly on sanctions.

Monitoring leadership

Whereas the governing bodies of tennis initially seemed to have refuted or suppressed allegations that betting fraud was affecting their sport, there was a U-turn characterised by a desire to combat the evils sullyng the myth (Chantelat 2001). However, this ethical campaign goes hand in hand with the intention to retain power. It is with this in mind that we will analyse the lawsuit brought in 2008 by the organisers of the Roland Garros tournament against three bookmakers.

144. *Le Nouvel Observateur*, "Tennis et dopage: les trous du filet", No. 2049, 12 February 2004.

145. *Le Parisien*, 5 June 2002.

146. *La Libre*, 2 November 2007.

Before the 2008 French Open began, the French Tennis Federation (FFT) decided to take direct legal action against these companies, calling for a ban on online betting during the tournament. The action was dismissed. The arguments put forward by the FFT provided a symbolic demonstration of their desire to retain control over the event. The bookmakers, which had up to then collaborated by suspending a number of suspect bets of their own volition, made no secret of their lack of understanding regarding the FFT's approach. A director of Betfair expressed surprise that the action included the only bookmaker that was, in his opinion, completely transparent and shared all necessary information with the ITF and the ATP. He argued that his company, far from causing problems, helped to detect guilty parties.

The stance adopted by the ITF consequently seems part of a strategic approach designed to avoid the consequences of the internal management of other scandals. For example, the Festina affair in 1998 led to the re-organisation of the system for dealing with drug-taking in cycling. This was to the detriment of the sport's bodies, which had up to then had sole power to monitor and impose sanctions for these practices, and to the benefit of public and medical stakeholders, which then took on a major role in the management of the problem (Sallé et al. 2006). The Festina affair marked a loss of power for cycling sports bodies, proving as it did that the internal system of doping tests had failed, and calling into question the legitimacy of the sports world's exclusive role in combating this problem. The governing bodies of tennis, anxious not to go down the same road and be stripped of power by new bodies, appear to be keen to show that they have improved their organisation.

Monopoly on sanctions

Finally, the tennis governing bodies ensure they retain control by holding a monopoly on sanctions. However to date, and in comparative terms in view of the suspicions aired, it has to be said that few players have been inconvenienced as a result. In light of the basic sanctions theoretically provided for by the official ATP regulations, one can only express surprise at the leniency shown to the handful of Italian players who have been penalised, all of whom received punishments well below the prescribed minima (fines of US\$100 000 plus a sum equivalent to any winnings from bets or other operations influenced by the corrupt act, and ineligibility to participate in tournaments or matches authorised or organised by the ATP for a period of up to three years).

This also raises the question of the effectiveness of the monitoring and sanction system, which should comply with the criteria of proper provision of information (awareness of the applicable punishments), effectiveness (objective and subjective risks of being caught and tried) and proportionality. The sanction must seem severe when set against the advantages that might have

been gained from an illegal act, especially if that behaviour is regarded as the result of an opportunistic calculation that it is more profitable to break than to comply with the rules. If the emphasis is to be on deterrence, it is important to punish players involved in scandals fairly, firmly and quickly, in order to send a strong signal to any individuals tempted to do likewise. Sanctions would thus achieve the aim of both general prevention – a signal sent to the entire community of the threat faced if an offence is committed – and specific prevention, which focuses on the offender in order to avoid any repetition, which is accordingly the criterion by which success is judged (Villetaz 1998). In the context of match-fixing in tennis, it is therefore necessary for the consequences of breaking the rules to be known and for the pressure exerted on the target group to be continuous, without being excessive. If those involved perceive that a certain act equates to misbehaviour, the objective is that these individuals comply with the standards required under threat of sanction. Failure to exert continuous pressure through monitoring and then the actual imposition of sanctions will result in the system losing its effectiveness and will increase the sense of impunity. The subjective aspect of the risk must therefore become firmly established in the target group, but it must not be trivialised if the trap is to be avoided of a risk becoming so common that it no longer subjectively determines behaviour. It is along these lines that, in our opinion, the tennis authorities should be working if they are to avoid the consequences of a loss of credibility that would be much more harmful than a hypothetical loss of power.

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Defence and promotion of ethics in sport

EPAS¹⁴⁷

Introduction

Engagement in sport as a social activity reflects the values and baser aspects of the society in which it takes place. Governments, sports organisations, and individuals all have a responsibility to maintain a discussion on ethics in sport and promote sports practices that comply with ethical standards.

In view of their role in promoting informed participation in sport, states adopted guidelines for the development of sports policies in the 1992 European Sports Charter (revised in 2001), which was complemented by a Code of Sports Ethics.

At the 11th Conference of Ministers responsible for Sport, which was held in Greece, the cradle of philosophy and the birthplace of the concept of "ethics" (thanks to Aristotle), participants took a brief look at the origins of ethics in sport and their development and promotion, and there was a discussion of the current challenges in this area.

The factors underlying ethics in sport

It is possible to identify two principles to which most theories of sports ethics refer, and in respect of which there seems to be broad consensus: fairness and sporting excellence as a manifestation of human excellence.

The principle of fairness in sport includes an institutional dimension (absence of discrimination based on criteria other than performance, uniform application of rules, exclusion of arbitrary decisions, etc.) and a personal dimension in the form of a moral obligation to abide faithfully by the rules, in accordance with the principles of fair play.

However, the principle of fairness is not enough to give sport a moral value. It is also necessary to postulate that sporting excellence must be a manifestation of human excellence. Results and performances should derive from virtuous and praiseworthy development of individual talent. So even if the general environment is fair, performances achieved under the influence of fear, biomedical manipulations, or constraint cannot be considered a manifestation of human excellence.

147. Enlarged Partial Agreement on Sport (EPAS), Council of Europe, working document and preliminary elements for discussion on ethics in sport, theme I of the 11th Council of Europe Conference of ministers responsible for sport, Athens, Greece (10-12 December 2008).

The revised Code of Sports Ethics

The Code of Sports Ethics and the European Sports Charter constitute the basic documents of the sports policy of the Committee for the Development of Sport. The Code of Sports Ethics was adopted as an appendix to a Council of Europe Committee of Ministers recommendation to member states (Recommendation No. R (92) 14 rev) on 24 September 1992, and revised on 16 May 2001. It sets out principles and guidelines for governments, organisations and individuals with a view to the development of balanced sport policies and practices.

The adoption of codes of ethics under the auspices of the Council of Europe has foreshadowed or fostered developments in favour of ethics in sport:

- The Code of Sports Ethics has fostered the development of campaigns to promote fair play, and most states and national sports organisations have initiated activities of this kind.
- Numerous sports organisations have set up ethics committees and drawn up codes of ethics. These identify prohibited activities, which are punishable by disciplinary measures.
- Ambitious efforts have been made to combat doping, including the setting up of the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) and the adoption of the World Anti-Doping Code and the International Convention against Doping in Sport.
- Finally, the ethics debate has been given new perspective through discussion not only of ethics with regard to sporting activities, but also of the general management of the various sports bodies – in other words, good governance. A great deal of effort has been made in the world of sport to achieving this end, and governance was one of the themes of the 10th ministerial conference held in Budapest in 2004; the International Olympic Committee (IOC) is drawing up detailed rules on the application of good governance in sports organisations.

Despite these successes, the view can also be taken that the expectations raised by the Code of Sports Ethics have not yet been fully realised:

- Unlike the European Sports Charter, the Code of Sports Ethics has not yet given rise to the development of indicators or monitoring activities.
- The stated objectives in terms of education and the training of sports professionals, as well as young people, have not all been achieved to the same extent. In quite a number of countries, little has been done to teach critical reflection, decision-making, and ethical practices in the context of sport.

New challenges

Recent events in European sport have highlighted certain instances of deviant behaviour that can be seen as challenges to sports ethics and, as such, should be subject to action by the sports authorities and, in some cases, by state authorities.

It is necessary to identify the environment in which these practices take place and the parties involved. The ethical issues concerned, namely the nature of the gap between these deviant practices and the principles of ethics in sport, need to be precisely determined in order to suggest courses of action to state authorities and sports bodies.

Corruption, illegal betting and match-fixing

In the last few years, a large number of cases of corruption affecting numerous sports have been reported or come to trial in many European countries:

- Fixing/rigging of matches has been done to win bets or ensure desired results in the matches concerned.
- Officials have been bribed to obtain TV rights or marketing rights under specific terms and conditions.
- Officials have been bribed to obtain the right to host competitions.
- Unofficial payments have been made relating to player transfers.
- Bribes have been paid in relation to elections to the governing bodies of sports organisations.

These examples show that corruption can affect numerous aspects of professional sport. However, no conclusions can be drawn about the extent of this problem. It cannot be concluded that there is widespread corruption in sport, but the wide range of actual or alleged cases suggests that there may be many opportunities for it, and that the phenomenon should not be neglected.

Cases of corruption are sometimes linked to betting, and in the last few years there has been a considerable increase in online betting. States have adopted different positions on the regulation of lotteries and sports betting, as indicated by the communications and procedures between some European Union (EU) states and the European Commission on the question of state monopolies on sports betting. There are also big differences in their approach to online betting: while some states grant licences to online betting operators that work within a regulated framework, others quite simply prohibit Internet gambling. In a large number of states there is a legal vacuum in this area.

State authorities, like sports authorities, can take measures to recognise the existence of, condemn, and prevent illegal betting, match-fixing and corruption. The first step is to recognise the problem. Since they are based

on the willingness of the international sports movement to combat this phenomenon, anti-corruption measures cannot be enacted at national level. Discussions and research should make it possible to develop an understanding of the phenomenon and its manifestations, identify the many obstacles and promote preventive measures. Governments can help by initiating and supporting these discussions. In order for these preventive measures to reach a wide audience, they should be included in codes of ethics and textbooks.

Sports ethics should be included in the physical education curricula and in the vocational training of people involved in sport. States can strengthen the legal framework by ratifying the existing conventions against corruption drawn up by the United Nations and the Council of Europe. Even though corruption in sport takes several forms and is often hard to identify, many instances can be dealt with under the provisions of these conventions. Finally, the promotion of good governance, especially through measures to make sport and its funding more transparent, should be fostered in order to combat both corruption and money laundering through sport.

In sports organisations, independent ethics committees that bring together individuals from outside the organisation's traditional set-up may be a way of obtaining an independent assessment of breaches of ethics, without limiting the autonomy of the sports movement. The nature and severity of measures should depend on the level of risk to which each sport is exposed. It is pleasing to note that measures have already been adopted in some sports (horse racing, cricket, tennis and football, and in the Olympic movement).

Corruption and match-fixing run counter to the ethics of sport. The fixing of results does not respect the principle of fairness or impartiality, as the game is artificially thrown out of balance, and players and the public are deceived. In addition, such competitions are not a reflection of human excellence, with some players cheating and telling lies, thereby invalidating results. In the long term, this type of conduct is liable to tarnish the image of sport and the support that it enjoys. It is also a threat to legal sports lotteries, which provide a significant proportion of sports funding in some countries.

Genetic engineering

The development of genetic engineering is one of the new dangers in the doping sphere. The World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) considers that the biotechnological manipulation of human genes presents the biggest challenge yet. The techniques of somatic gene therapy can be employed in various sports. The modifications made have no effect on the genes passed on to the subject's children. As far as ethics are concerned, the aim of employing somatic gene therapies is to bring about an improvement in performance without effort or merit, and these techniques are clearly prohibited by the anti-doping rules.

Other genetic engineering technologies, especially germ cell transfer, enable talent to be created technologically by modifying the genome in such a way as to create predispositions in future generations. The ethical considerations relating to these technologies go beyond the issue of sports ethics. If these technologies were available to everyone and were aimed at improving health, success and happiness, they would be acceptable at the level of sports ethics, as they would have no adverse effect on fairness or excellence. However, ethicists who have analysed the possible use of these technologies say they also raise a number of problems such as elitism, inequality between those able to access them and those unable to do so and a contemptuous attitude to frailty and disabilities.

The use of technologies aimed at giving certain athletes an advantage must be combated as part of the anti-doping campaign. It is important for this work to be carried out on a harmonised basis by the sports movement and states. Through WADA such universal harmonisation is possible, but implementation of its global rules poses a problem. This is partly a matter of financial resources, and it is hoped that WADA and the international federations, as well as the international organisations involved in the fight against doping, will help to narrow any gaps. However, it is also a question of education and values, as the anti-doping campaign is based on ethical considerations that have not yet become firmly established in all sporting communities.

Sports medicine quickly approaches the boundaries of biomedical and general ethics when its aim is to improve performance. Certain technologies that raise ethical questions are now becoming widely available. Both ethical and political and legal responses will have to be legitimised by a broad public debate, or they might remain misunderstood and ignored. Sport, which is directly affected by such technological progress and reaches a large proportion of the population, can play a role and make a useful contribution to this debate.

Trafficking of young sportspersons

There are several reports about the trafficking of young athletes to play professional sport in Europe. The most common cases are those of young African footballers being duped by agents into paying large amounts of money to go to Europe for a trial with a major club. In many cases the agents turn out to be swindlers, who leave the young players homeless in European cities without valid documents, as a result of which they may end up on the streets or engaging in criminal activity.

Issues of sports ethics are raised here, but there are also more general ethical challenges stemming from globalisation. In an environment that presents opportunities for huge profits, with weak oversight and a lack of transparency, players' agents can operate without let or hindrance and try

to exploit young talented athletes from less well-off regions. This practice is incompatible with the ideal of sporting and human excellence which should be the driving force behind the nurturing of talents. The general ethics issue is linked to the cynical exploitation of individuals and families from the world's poorest regions. Human trafficking is an unintended consequence of globalisation. It is contrary to human rights and the principle of equity and equal opportunities for human beings from different parts of the world.

Organisations such as the International Federation for Association Football (FIFA) and the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) have developed and are implementing policies aimed at preventing human trafficking in football, and other organisations should follow suit. In this context, there need to be clear rules and deterrent sanctions, and co-operation must be strengthened between sports organisations and public authorities. The development of a legal framework for the activities of players' agents should also help eradicate this phenomenon.

Discrimination

In this context, discrimination refers to treatment of a person or a group of people based on characteristics unrelated to that required for excellence in a given sport. Discrimination can be either positive or negative. In Europe, discrimination based on ethnic origin or religion is generally against the law. Discrimination based on merit, such as rankings in sports competitions, is legal.

The question of eligibility rules and the organisation of categories present an ethical challenge to the sports movement. The aim of category systems is to eliminate or at least reduce inequalities between participants over which they have no control and for which they cannot be held responsible, to ensure that sports competitions compare the performances and skills required by the rules of the game. Nonetheless, the fairness criterion is not always applied consistently. Why are there gender categories in shooting, and why shouldn't there be height categories in basketball? Another challenge was recently posed by South African athlete Oscar Pistorius, whose legs have been amputated at the knee but whose artificial limbs compensate for his disability to an extent that enables him potentially to compete against able-bodied athletes. This kind of issue will continue to be raised and should be examined in discussions of sports ethics.

Another type of discrimination relates to access to grassroots participation in sport and to sports facilities and resources. It is all the more difficult to ensure this equality worldwide because of social, cultural and economic differences between populations, as well as the fact that the sole aim of the companies which invest in sport is to make a profit. The key issue is to provide everyone with fair access to sport. In most modern multicultural societies, the groups

at the greatest disadvantage – ethnic minorities and people with disabilities, as well as women – are underrepresented in sport. Sport is considered to be a social and human good necessary for health and capable of contributing to social integration, so this inequality of access to sport is profoundly unjust and should prompt corrective measures. When these are applied, account should be taken of the differences in terms of practices and levels between leisure sport and the high performance sport of elite athletes. Another aim should be to achieve proper representation on sports management bodies for the various groups that suffer from discrimination.

Conclusion

The defence and promotion of ethics in sport remains a topical issue. Above all, it is necessary to recognise a positive culture of sport, which should be promoted through communication and education. Physical and sports education should include learning how to make ethical choices. Only when this is done will it be possible for sport to continue to be considered a factor for individual development, and for the prevention of disease and of harmful or perverse conduct and habits.

The Code of Sports Ethics should accordingly retain its key position among intergovernmental recommendations in Europe. However, its mere adoption or proclamation is not enough. It must also be the subject of effective monitoring and implementation measures at national and international levels.

A standard-setting approach based on the development of national legislation does not seem to be the solution, so most of these questions need to be dealt with through dialogue among governments and sports bodies.

There are today many negative developments associated with a lack of ethics in sport, and these are tarnishing the image of sport and discrediting those involved in it. Such developments include match-fixing, illegal betting, breaches of the principles of good governance, the use of genetic engineering, breaches of children's rights and discrimination. The emergence and development of these phenomena will have to be monitored and analysed from the perspective of the Code of Sports Ethics, and work to combat them needs to be continued, in co-operation with the sports movement.

The top-level athlete's dilemma: to dope or not to dope?

*Eric Dugas*¹⁴⁸

Introduction

In our society, there is a profusion of social forms of physical activities, ranging from unorganised, freely chosen recreation to formal and institutionalised sport. Casual jogging on a Sunday morning is not therefore the same as training for a marathon. The transformation into “sport” of recreational physical activities turns the spotlight onto a particular form of physical endeavour: high-level sport. Outwardly, it is the most spectacular formal social form and enjoys the most media exposure. Individuals yearn for and dream of it, so they easily identify with champions (Ehrenberg 1991). Moreover, and to the despair of some people, a footballer like Zidane is better known and given more media coverage than someone who has won the Nobel Prize for medicine.

This view ascribes to sport every virtue, with the result that people willingly share the idea that engaging in sport contributes to individual well-being or produces a cathartic, peace-inducing and socialising effect both in the field of leisure pursuits and in education (Elias and Dunning 1986; Siedentop 1994). Its firm and enduring establishment in time and in social space sublimates the features of a society based on meritocracy and individualism: terms like “competition”, “rivalry” and “performance” are consistent with a society that glorifies “winners”. This desire to compete against others and win at all costs may help to shape an individual in accordance with the standards and values of society today (Collard 2004; Dugas 2008a).

However, this attitude may just as well give way to less salutary developments, since every medal, even every Olympic medal, has its reverse side. The body of a top competitor is severely tested in order to achieve top performances and beat opponents and/or records. High-level sport thus cannot avoid being seen in a darker light. Some people have no hesitation in claiming that the modern athlete is a mutant, in the sense that “the best athlete is the one who surpasses the limits of humanity, exploding them” (Redeker 2008: 21). This author believes we are witnessing a true “dehumanisation” of the athlete.

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It is in high-level sport that athletes show what they are worth, but some also go too far by taking drugs. Depending on the type of dynamic relationship the athlete has with the environment in which he or she participates, there is a great temptation to turn to unlawful drugs in order to win. Has the modern-day "Robocop" become a competition-winning machine that coldly and rationally calculates the relationship between the anticipated benefit and the risk incurred, in order to derive maximum gain from the situation? If so, what makes an athlete comply or fail to comply with the rules of the sportsperson's contract?

However, the question should not even be asked, so clear are the rules at the highest level of sports institutions and ethics. The Committee of Ministers,¹⁴⁹ in accordance with its right to make recommendations to governments under Article 15.b of the Statute of the Council of Europe, advocates the principle of "Fair play – the winning way" (2001). The first two objectives speak for themselves:

1. The basic principle of the Code of Sports Ethics is that ethical considerations leading to fair play are integral, and not optional elements, of all sports activity, sports policy and management, and apply to all levels of ability and commitment, including recreational as well as competitive sport.
2. The Code provides a sound ethical framework to combat the pressures in modern day society which appear to be undermining the traditional foundations of sport – foundations built on fair play and sportsmanship, and on the voluntary movement.

Are these principles actually implemented? Although they face many constraints and external pressures, should athletes be completely absolved of any blame?

Athletes and doping

The terms "moral" and "ethical" are commonly confused, since each is defined by reference to the other. Even from the etymological point of view, there is still utter confusion, since the words "ethics" (from the Greek *ethos*) and "moral" (from the Latin *mos* or *mores*) encompass both morals and ways of living and behaving.

However, as the philosopher André Comte-Sponville says, there are in fact two different situations that apply, to which he refers (by drawing on the

149. Council of Europe Committee of Ministers Recommendation No. R (92) 14 to member states on the revised Code of Sports Ethics (adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 24 September 1992 at the 480th meeting of the Ministers' Deputies, and revised at the 752nd meeting on 16 May 2001).

work of Deleuze and Conche) to draw a conceptual distinction. Whereas moral rules require that something be done as a matter of obedience, and lay down what is right and what is wrong, ethical principles recommend that we adapt our behaviour, reasoning about what is good and what is bad (2005). Moral rules thus constitute a normative and imperative discourse that answers the question "what should I do?" while ethics, albeit a normative discourse, proffers advice or "hypothetical imperatives" (in the Kantian terminology) in reply to the question "how should I live?"

In the context of our study, this ethical advice, which is conditional, could also (following Comte-Sponville) take this form: "If you want your competitors to be fair to you by not taking drugs, then be fair to them by not taking them either." As far as morals are concerned, they clearly require people to be fair to others by not taking drugs.

When athletes waver between good and bad

In this context, do the ethics of sport recommend that individuals ask themselves which relative values should be advocated vis-à-vis athletes and others? In other words, how can people live in harmony with themselves and others in a sporting situation based on equal opportunities at the start, but ultimately accept inequality at the end?

The ethics of sport pose a cruel dilemma, because when competitors take drugs they themselves and others are aware of this (Axel Kahn, January 2008, lecture at UFR STAPS, Paris Descartes University). All human activity is based on the incorporation of rules and standards that have individual and collective implications. While drug-taking in sport is rationally considered evil according to moral rules, the rules of ethics ask us in a relativist way about our choices and desires. Depending on their life-course and their experience of top-level participation in sports, athletes will waver between good and bad, depending on the anticipated "benefits", that is to say according to how they envisage living their lives. They can take drugs if they opt for a short but glorious life, in the same way as the gladiators of old used to risk their lives during the circus games, fully aware of the dangers that they were exposing themselves to (Kahn op. cit.). What is good or bad for athletes also depends on interdependence with others (principle of reciprocity), whose choices and the way in which they regard the athlete influence the latter's own desires. In a situation of interaction at a sports event, does taking drugs benefit the athlete concerned? Or, to put it another way, does crime pay? The question of distinguishing between good and bad thus arises in the outcome of the circular interaction among the participants and the implications of such a choice (whether or not to take drugs) laid down by sports institutions.

The prisoners' dilemma

In the context of top-level sport, the choice of whether or not to take drugs is a real "prisoners' dilemma", as described in the game theory developed, in a highly mathematical way, by John Von Neumann and Oskar Morgenstern (1967). The game of "prisoners' dilemma" can be explained as follows: the police question two individuals suspected of a crime they have committed together but have no conclusive proof. In order to have them convicted, the judge offers them a deal: if you admit your guilt, you will not receive the same punishment as you will receive if you deny it. The terms of the deal are presented to the prisoners (P1 and P2) separately: if you confess and the other suspect denies it, you will be given a lesser sentence for helping the authorities (one year in prison) and he will be sent to prison for ten years. The reverse is true. If you both deny it, you will each go to prison for three years because of a lack of evidence. Finally, if you both confess you will get six years. Everything depends on the behaviour of the other suspect. How will prisoner P1 anticipate what the other will do, knowing that the other prisoner will be in the same situation? Are they going to choose co-operation and trust one another (by denying their involvement, they will be given three years) or are they going to pursue their dominant strategy (trying to maximise their gain) and confess, even if it means they each receive six years' imprisonment?

It is easy to see that, paradoxically, their dominated strategy (denying the crime) is a more favourable outcome of the game as the joint dominant strategy leads to a sub-optimal situation (six years in prison). The game described has the two prisoners choose between their personal interest and the collective interest.

The athlete's doping dilemma

In professional sport, should an athlete refuse to take drugs, at the risk of losing, while another competitor is definitely doping and has a strong probability of winning? When one is a professional competitor whose professional life is based on performance and prize money, can one afford to prioritise participation and fair play?

To be clear, let us simulate in theory a prisoners' dilemma-type rivalry between two equally matched athletes, as illustrated by Figure 1. In each of the four boxes, the first figure in brackets corresponds to the prize on offer for Athlete 1 and the second to the prize for Athlete 2.

Figure 1: Strategic interaction between two athletes based on the classical prisoners' dilemma model

		Athlete 2 (A2)	
		Decision not to take drugs	Decision to take drugs
Athlete 1 (A1)	Decision not to take drugs	A1 and A2 share the honours, with no risk to their health $\{1, 1\}$	A2 wins everything and A1 wins nothing $\{-2, 2\}$
	Decision to take drugs	A1 wins everything and A2 wins nothing $\{2, -2\}$	A1 and A2 share the honours, with a risk to their health $\{-1^*, -1^*\}$

*Dominant strategy for each of the two athletes. Nash equilibrium.
Source: Eber 2004.

It is clear that the joint decision not to take drugs benefits both athletes (payoff +1). Moreover, if both take drugs they will no doubt find themselves in a preliminary situation in which they are on an equal footing, as if they had not taken drugs, but this time with their "health capital" taking a hit (payoff -1). Unfortunately, the dividends are more at the level of fair play and good health than that of the actual competition. This is because if one chooses to change his strategy (drugs) while the other maintains his (no drugs), the second pays a heavy price (payoff -2). As a result, when rational behaviour is displayed, the dominant strategy is always inclined towards taking drugs, whatever the opponent's choice. If you have any doubt about the other person's altruism, it is best to take drugs. This situation in theory evokes the Nash equilibrium, which identifies all strategy combinations, one for each player, so that no player regrets his/her choice after establishing that of the other players.

In light of the standards and values that our contemporary society conveys, it appears that doping is set to continue, unless the dominant strategy becomes the dominated strategy in the future.

Discussion

From the ethical point of view ("how should I live?"), it might seem that most athletes would prefer a life without drugs if they were certain that no other competitor was taking them. However, 50% to 80% of American athletes questioned in a survey would be prepared to cheat if offered the chance

to take illicit drugs guaranteeing them an Olympic medal (Baudry 1991). Moreover, they would do so even if they were told that their life expectancy would drop significantly, and that they might even be at risk of dying the following year.

Whatever the case may be, a number of “simple” (perhaps Utopian?) solutions are available to official bodies if there is a genuine desire to persuade athletes to reject doping (“co-operation strategy”) or at the very least make it subject to greater penalties or less attractive. In the short to medium term, the economic crisis should be exploited to bring about a drastic reduction in athletes’ earnings (the dream is not just an illusion!) and above all – and more realistically – a reduction in the number of competitions. The sports business contributes to this dependence on doping. Sport is a spectacle that actually needs to produce, in a uniform manner, its daily share of achievements, emotions, records, and ever more sophisticated and amazing bodily techniques.

With regard to earnings, some football experts, such as Patrick Braouezec (the President of a French football foundation), believe that “players’ salaries must be capped”. For him, “football is an educational sport” (Loret 2010). The question is how to resolve this dilemma between two very (perhaps too) contrasting points of view: the opinion held by some that football is educational and the dominant opinion held by others that it is a business. It can be seen as “an industry for the production of images of high commercial value” (op. cit.).

Openly targeting specific sports where drug tests, which are still too few and too unevenly spread (especially random checks, both in and out of competition), should be made more systematic. Sports involving races (cycling, athletics and swimming) and weightlifting perfectly illustrate these sporting practices, in which adaptation to the constraints of the physical environment requires considerable effort from athletes, both biomechanically and in terms of energy expenditure, as well as psychologically (their hope of winning). Moreover, in the case of these practices, repetition is a guarantee of performance and induces individuals to train even more so as to strive for greater heights, distance and strength. In this context, recourse to doping to keep up this work rate and recover from these repeated efforts becomes almost “self-evident” (Dugas 2008b).

Conclusion

Today’s society conveys norms and values that correspond to those of the world of sport: success at the expense of others and self-promotion take priority over sharing and selflessness. Physical activities involving competition will therefore focus on the search for excellence through high technology and scientific progress (especially in human and health sciences) in order to build on the successes of the active athlete.

It is true that socio-economic arguments and the hope of media exposure undeniably influence our values, choices, and desires. And in this context, when a top athlete answers the question "how should I live?", he or she will be inclined in the short term to take drugs whatever the consequences.

At the moment, although doping imparts a definite advantage, it is becoming necessary on the one hand to consider reducing the lure of profit (pay, bonuses, etc.) and, on the other, to emphasise the type of sanctions that would penalise athletes more than is now the case through systematic checks in certain sports (in game theory, the dominant would become the dominated strategy through the decision to co-operate).

It is up to sports and political institutions to change the rules of the game to avoid the classic outcome of the prisoners' dilemma. There would thus be a move from a winning to a losing strategy. Accordingly, the sporting ethics that guide top athletes' choices and desires would encourage them to choose a way of living that is more focused on well-being.

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Business and sport as allies for ethical reasons

Chantal Rouvrais-Charron, Nathalie Alexandre-Bourhis¹⁵⁰ and Marc Bourhis¹⁵¹

Each year, Research International's ethical values monitoring service publishes a "top ten" of the most ethical CAC 40 index companies. In a society that wants to be more moral under pressure from its stakeholders (the general public, shareholders, non-governmental organisations, etc.), "management principles" and "ethical charters" are emerging. Individuals are seeking greater solidarity and more ethical behaviour, in a resurgence of monotheistic religious values.

Consequently, the corporate responsibility approach chosen by some big companies is designed to persuade their stakeholders to subscribe to their values and objectives. In the face of competition, they are forced to make increasingly carefully considered decisions, and they try to make their actions meaningful. In general terms, sport, which is associated with real life and proximity to the public, conveys positive values that can be transferred to the company as it shapes its identity. Becoming known and promoting the firm thus involves communication through sports events and/or association with a specific sport. However, what relationship exists between sport and a company seeking a more ethical approach? Is it a marriage of convenience, that is, something perceived as compensation for a deeper societal ill worsened by disillusionment with political ideologies (Canto-Sperber 2001)? How can the company's values be efficiently integrated with the values of sport? These questions will provide a basis for our thoughts on the conditions for an alliance between a company and sport¹⁵² against the backdrop of sports ethics.

The experimental basis of our research has been:

- a documentary study of the present situation in sport;
- a netnographic study based on blogs and forums frequented by sports enthusiasts;
- an analysis of the corporate websites of large companies that are official partners of a team sport, such as rugby.

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152. The term "sport" is used here in its generic sense.

In a comprehensive and pragmatic approach, and from a marketing viewpoint, general observations, implications for companies and limitations of action are considered, in the light of a competitive and socio-cultural context. The aim will be, on the one hand, to highlight the issues involved for any company wanting an alliance with sport. On the other hand, it will be necessary to discuss the nature of the links between a company and sport in terms of ethics.

The contribution of sport's values to company identity

Apart from its role as a leisure pursuit, sport plays an important part in our lifestyles. Many individuals define themselves through a sport, whether its practice is real or imaginary (Cova and Louyot-Gallicher 2006). In this context, sport embodies one of the elements underlying our ideal life in society. It symbolises the search for good through excellence, in terms of enjoyment of the game and aesthetic and moral considerations. It is not a representation of reality, but a reflection of something imagined. Michel Fodimbi (2006) reminds us that sport, which emanates from "human nature", is transhistorical and transcultural, which is the main reason why it is so attractive to companies (Bayle and Mercier 2008).

When communicating their commitments and "core values", companies try to open up a dialogue with their consumers and employees. Moreover, sport often draws attention to the company's complexity and sophistication. Sport has it all, from team spirit to personal achievement. When a company subscribes to the founding values of sport, it becomes involved in three interdependent areas: corporate identity, communication and commercial aspects.

The managerial dimension

The values of corporate culture, such as "demonstrating solidarity", "excelling oneself" and "respecting others", are basic convictions about what should or should not be done, and what is or is not important. As these values are behavioural benchmarks and beacons, they need to be modified if one hopes to instil a new dynamic, both internally and externally. They are involved in the (re)construction of a company's uniqueness, in terms of the ways in which members of any social group think or act. This is what gives both life and originality to a social group. In addition, the life of a company entails constant interaction among factors such as its structure, culture and the personality of its staff. Without wishing to evangelise or engage in incantatory discourse, we can describe long-term values as being central to all activity, and excellent agents of identity transfer.

The analogy drawn between sport and the business world remains relevant, in that it is the strength of ties that unite individuals which is the source of group cohesion and performance. This resolutely socio-psychological approach to organisation highlights the importance of group behaviour. Whatever the nature of the company's partnership or link with the world of sport, staff mobilisation is a fact which affects the experience of both the organisation and the individual. For example, the involvement of the Bel Group in the Vendée Globe round-the-world yacht race in 2008 went well beyond a small increase in awareness of Laughing Cow cheese; the fact that a boat sailed in the group's colours generated real enthusiasm among its 11 500 employees. Activity programmes organised by the sales force were based on the theme of ocean racing, and people were given an opportunity to share experiences and interact with skipper Kito de Pavant. This had an impact not only on the 3 000 Bel Group managers, but also on young future executives, since all leading management colleges have a sailing section.

To be more precise, we can see the interdependence of the "I" of the individual, the "we" of society and the "ours" of the company. As with their consumer behaviour, employees are in search of meaning in the company, and call for greater empathy from their managers. By displaying their values in numerous brochures, codes of conduct, and institutional websites, companies proclaim their identity and strive to (re)construct their "soul".

The communication dimension

Communicating is mainly about sharing common beliefs (*doxa*) and focusing on the relationship between communicator and receiver. Advertisers must therefore take note of changes in consumer expectations and in civil society as a whole. It is therefore necessary to ensure that the meaning conveyed by the elements of an advertisement coincides with the enduring beliefs of the receiver (consumer/employee/citizen and any other stakeholder).

Corporate communication is where the subject of the message is the organisation itself: "Expressing its identity, it has to say what the company is, what it wants to do, what it can do and what it is doing" (Decaudin 2003: 254-55). In the context of our research, an analysis was carried out of four websites of large companies operating outside the sports sector (Table 1). Partnerships with rugby were chosen in light of the rugby mania that had France in its grip during the 2007 Rugby World Cup. Whether on television, on the radio, in the press, or on the web, the message was the same: "Rugby, at least, is a sport that has values".

Table 1: Analysis of corporate rugby partners’ websites

Company type and motto	Company’s stated values	Values shared with rugby and emphasised on the company website
Société Générale (bank) <i>We’re here to help you</i>	Bold, determined and committed bank	Team spirit Friendliness Commitment Respect
GMF (insurance company) <i>Assuredly human</i>	Sharing based on a spirit of solidarity	Sportsmanship Fighting spirit Friendliness Commitment Solidarity
Gedimat (group of independent distributors of builders’ supplies) <i>From foundations to finishing touches</i>	Quality customer service: proximity, wide scope, advice	High standards Fighting spirit Solidarity
EDF (Europe’s largest energy supplier) <i>Blue sky</i>	Ethics based on five values: respect for the individual, individual and collective performance, integrity, environmental friendliness, solidarity	Energy Team spirit Fighting spirit Solidarity

Whatever their line of business, the companies examined were keen to demonstrate that the values they champion match those of sport in general, and rugby in particular. Recurrent themes stemmed from a proactive commitment to humanistic values such as “respect for the individual”, “solidarity” in a context of greater social well-being, “fighting spirit” dependent on team spirit, and finally, “friendliness” to cement social relationships (by analogy with rugby’s “third half”).

The company’s identity thus merges with the ethical values it espouses. The communication objective is to make the company’s identity known, in keeping with the common expectations of its staff, its customers (current or potential), and by extension its entire socio-cultural environment. This is a way for the company to nurture its reputation as a social repository of certain moral values. Companies which have identified themselves with the world of sport thus facilitate their corporate and commercial communication strategy both internally and externally, while mobilising their stakeholders (Bayle and Mercier 2008).

The commercial dimension

Managerial and communication gains are fully compatible with making a commercial profit. First of all, a distinction has to be drawn between organisations that have business strictly related to sport, and those that are mere partners. While sports equipment manufacturers can offer goods as tokens of recognition of a sports clan, firms operating outside the field of sport will seek to promote their brand and their products as materials for social interaction. These firms will emphasise the fact that the perception of their brand results from a dual production of meaning. An attitude favourable to the company and its brand will above all come about through the attraction of new groups of customers (Katz-Bénichou 2004). A brand can thus become a standard-bearer of the sporting spirit. The support provided by a company for a sport in fact conveys the message that that company is a social institution involved in community life, and that its aim is not to promote products but to play a role in good citizenship (Tribou 2002). Moreover, the foundations of a positive image are firmly linked to confidence in a brand and the attachment of users to it. In order to return to its roots and renew its relations with its customers, the American brand Timberland gave itself a new image in 2008 through emotional content. The slogans of the latest campaign, "Make it better" and "Take it all on", aim to appeal to buyers and urge them to go beyond what they think themselves capable of. Timberland's support for the Shackleton Centenary Expedition to the frozen world of the South Pole goes precisely in this direction. Its aim is to strengthen its image of authenticity and closeness to nature. Consequently consumption, boosted by values, will be based both on human adventures and on voluntary membership of a community of like-minded individuals.

At the conclusion of these general observations on the implications of an alliance based on company and sports ethics, a very important question emerges: does the interdependence of these two entities not require increased monitoring of ethical practices in sport?

Companies and sport: an alliance subject to close supervision on both sides

As their meanings have much in common, the terms ethics and values need to be clarified. The aim of ethics is to furnish the standards underlying social acts (Rojot 1992). Ethics¹⁵³ do not claim to serve an ideal, but remain a means of responding to the interests of the largest number

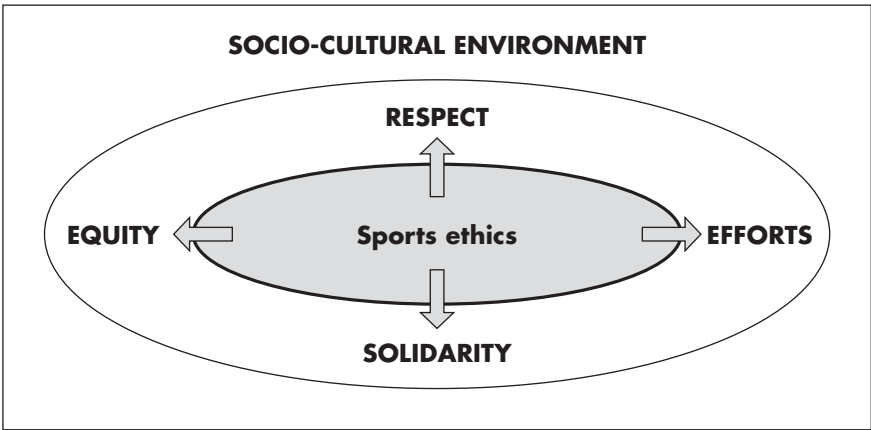
153. Ethical conduct, taken to mean compliance with a set of rules governing the relationships of the individuals of a sector with their economic and social partners, must be viewed through the general ethics of which it is the "professional arm". For example, "respect for the human being" is a value rooted in general ethics, whilst its implementation is a matter of ethical conduct.

of people. Values are beliefs bound up with cultural patterns and world views created and subjectively experienced by the members of a society, in the dual sense of the term, that is to say the community as such and the corporate world. The ethical dimension of sport, which is supported by many companies, is, more than elsewhere, under the spotlight of the socio-cultural world. Although it has been idealised, it must be preserved to give legitimacy both to sports organisations and to companies' ethical choices.

Sports ethics shared and idealised

According to Patrick Laure (2006), when it comes to assessing the meaning given to certain acts, situations or behaviours, the reference to sporting values now seems to pass for debate. In the collective imagination, these values represent ideal ways of thinking and life skills. Values that are highlighted by sport and function almost as an ideology are respect for oneself, one's opponent, and the rules; equal opportunities; excelling oneself; and solidarity (Figure 1).

Figure 1: The ethical relationships between civil society and the world of sport



The revival of interest in ethics is taking place in a post-modern context in which it is precisely the individual who is in search of new benchmarks subsequent to the loss of supervision by the state, the family and religion, and of the major role that employment used to play in social integration. Today, archetypal images again take centre stage in civil society (Lipovetsky 2006; Maffesoli 2004, 2007). Sport accordingly adopts the guise of a "hyper-real ersatz" compensating for the rejection of so-called modern beliefs, such as faith in progress and in globalisation.

This is nothing really new, since the foundations of the humanistic ethics of sport constitute a kind of global heritage, a shared common asset.

Compliance with them dictates the behaviour to be adopted, whether it be in a strictly sporting context or in corporate or everyday life. It is this behavioural relationship that recognises the strength of the universal ethics of sport. Whatever the time and setting, it plays the role of a moral guide. The ethical matrix seems to have supplanted the economic matrix.

The campaign to ensure ethical behaviour highlights the heavy burden borne by sport. However, declared adherence to the values of sport or a *posteriori* rationalisation of acts does not imply an absolute correlation between "thinking", "saying" and "doing".

The ambiguity of the interdependence of companies and sport

The domination of the economic approach has been shaken by the global economic crisis and seems to be under the control of the ethical approach. The preferred option is consequently to try to reconcile these approaches by claiming that an ethical policy creates economic value. Sporting ethics fit in with this type of compromise, which involves duties for each party, both companies and sport, and serves their own interests.

In order to analyse corporate behaviour, two dimensions can be identified: the attitude (emotional or rational) to the partnership's action, and the resulting behaviour (opportunistic or committed). If we take a comparative overview, we can distinguish between four different types of company profile (Table 2).

Table 2: Types of involvement entered into by companies that partner sport

Behaviour Attitude	Opportunistic behaviour	Committed behaviour
Emotional attitude	"The instinctive" The company acts on an impulse	"The idealistic" The commitment is total, without any self-interest
Rational attitude	"The supplier" The company benefits from a sports event to gain media coverage	"The partner" The loyalty is enduring even if it brings an economic gain for the company

The company referred to as the "supplier" adopts the approach that its sole responsibility is to maximise the creation of value (for example, Coca-Cola and the football World Cup). Taking a rational view, economic benefits are never sacrificed to ethical values. The "partners", which have entered

into a long-term commitment, are prepared to maintain their support but without disregarding the economic benefits that arise. In this connection, we may speak of “ethical rationality” as there is a trade-off. For example, Bel maintained its support for Kito de Pavant despite his yacht being dismasted during the 2008 Vendée Globe race. This type of partnership could be regarded as part of the brand’s DNA. As far as the “instinctive” behaviour profile is concerned, this kind of partnership is considered cheap compared to other communication expenditure, such as media advertising. For example, in a short-term commitment the Doux group (a poultry producer) supported ice hockey in Brest, France, while the rival companies of Gérard Bourgoing invested in the AJ Auxerre football club. Finally, the “idealistic” seems far from adopting a self-interested approach in its involvement with a sports discipline: its firm belief in fundamental values is more important, as in the case of the partnership between the Breton agrifood group Sill de Plouvien and sailing, a sport symbolic of both its geographical area and its maritime base. To sum up, it should be stressed that making their ethical commitment credible is both a challenge for companies and a crucial objective concerning their internal and external legitimacy. A new area of competition has emerged.

For their part, sport’s governing bodies have long enjoyed a certain amount of immunity. As sponsors and television broadcasters clearly desire to be associated with events whose “moral quality” is without question, they are forced to act to preserve the ethics of sport. The financial stakes involved make their clients/partners very important “influencers”.

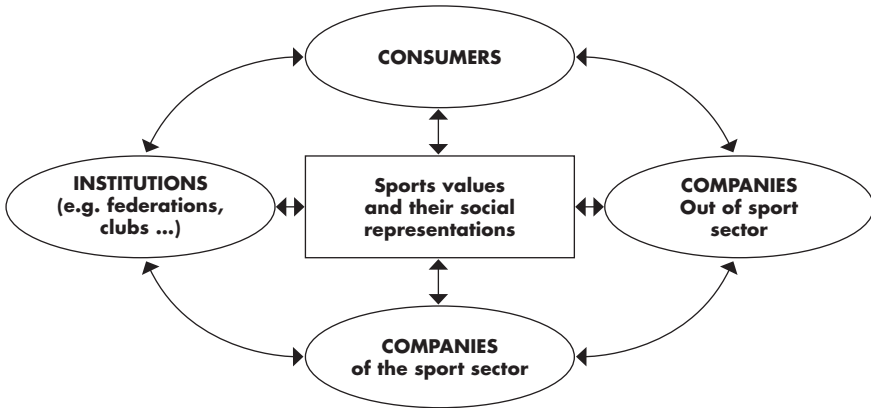
It may therefore be argued that sport and companies are linked together in an equivocal relationship, so the key issue for both parties is the preservation of sporting ethics. Herein lies one of the fundamental challenges that sport will have to take up in the years to come. There is a necessarily unstable balance between the interests of each of the parties. A line often has to be drawn between giving priority to one’s economic interests and one’s ethical values, and each party is responsible for its own line (Menestrel 2007).

A challenge to be taken up: the preservation of sports ethics

Generally, the aim of a moral act is to seek some form of linkage, which comprises the process of linking and the state of being linked. Thus, any party subscribing to sporting values contributes both to the their social perception and to their preservation (Figure 2).

In the dynamic trend towards joint construction of links by those involved in the world of sport, institutions (such as federations and clubs) remain the guardians of the temple of values, even if their social perceptions are

Figure 2: Dynamic movement linking those involved in the world of sport



sometimes modified in response to the development of society and to media pressure. Companies are involved in this kind of “hyper-connection” by simultaneously extolling and exploiting sporting values. The consumer/employee/athlete participates in this encounter based on enduring beliefs that embody the social bond, solidarity and citizenship.

The web of relations among the partners of the world of sport increases the obligation for sport’s governing bodies to protect their ethical principles, that is, combat such scandals as doping, bribery of officials or failure to abide by the rules of fair play. The external pressure on these bodies is fully in line with the stakeholder theory approach (Carroll 1999; Mercier 2001).

Given the risk of a decline in sporting ethics, there is a need to try to reconcile the economic dimension of sport with its educational and social dimensions. There must be co-regulation between the institutional players on the one hand and private companies on the other; none can achieve the objectives set without the others, that objective being to preserve the ethics of sport.

Conclusion

In our socio-cultural environment, there is a process of interdependence among economic, political, and social factors (Maffesoli 2004, 2007). With its values and spirit, sport attracts companies that perceive its managerial, communicative, and commercial aspects. A sports event is not just a game of sport that can be watched, but also a social game if its social recognition in terms of time and space extends beyond the confines of the stadium.

The aim for a company is not to transform from an “opportunistic chameleon” into a preacher of ethics. Without idealising sporting values, it is possible

to imagine the links between a company and sport as a fair compromise between their respective development processes and a pathway to greater collective social well-being.

Although it involves considerable media coverage and professionalism, and consequently money, sport must preserve the underlying values that give it its meaning and attractiveness. Even when broken down into units of media time, it is duty-bound to remain true to its history and faithful to its values. Appropriation of the values of sport must not become a large-scale marketing operation to sell products; this would be tantamount to exploiting the ethics of sport.

On the other hand, the big companies that are the partners of the world of sport are tending, under the pressure of the financial rating agencies and their stakeholders, to combine their identity dimension and their ethical dimension, and are accordingly alert to the acts of sport's governing bodies. As in the case of every contract, the alliance between companies and sport presupposes that each party will take on obligations, a primary condition for an enduring relationship.

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The ethics of responsibility in the management of high-level athletes (HLAs) in France

Sophie Javerlhac¹⁵⁴

Visitors to the French Ministry of Health and Sport website looking for information about the retraining of high-level athletes (HLAs) might feel reassured when they read about the clearly expressed desire to promote assistance for athletes in the context of the “twin-track scheme” (combining sport with vocational studies or training, a scheme known in French as the “double projet”). It is clearly stated that:

“Success in sport is inextricably linked to socio-occupational success. The Ministry is developing a policy of social support to enable HLAs to realise their full sporting potential while providing them with a guarantee of being able to undergo training and vocational integration corresponding to their abilities and aspirations.”¹⁵⁵

Let us try to assess the extent to which policies implemented reflect the substance of these declarations by considering their relevance.

Policy relevance

Everything seems to be provided for in terms of both legislation and support measures for the “twin-track scheme”. At first sight, the practical measures taken since the enactment of the “Mazeaud Law”¹⁵⁶ constitute a coherent policy. In the words of Mény and Thoenig:¹⁵⁷

- This is the result of decisions which to some degree are top-down, whether explicit (ministerial orders governing access to high-level status) or implicit (access to funding).
- It is part of a general action framework, in this case access to high-level status and sporting excellence.
- It is aimed at a group, that is, HLAs, whose situation, status and rights are affected by the policy implemented.
- It has specific aims, namely the production and promotion of an elite.

154. Maître de conférence en Staps, European University of Brittany, Rennes 2.

155. www.sports.gouv.fr/sports_1/sport-haut-niveau-sport-professionnel_69/sport-haut-niveau_373/index.html, accessed 31 May 2011.

156. The *loi Mazeaud* set up the national institute of sport (INSEP) and codified government for sport.

157. Mény Y. and Thoenig J-C. (1989), *Politiques publiques*, PUF, Paris.

Merely making these observations would mean ignoring the problems encountered both by HLAs and those involved on the ground in implementing the various provisions, whether it be the state secretary for sport, officials at the National Institute for Sport, Expertise and Performance (INSEP), or federation technical managers. At this level, the “tree of values” and the “tree of objectives” prove to be separate from one another.¹⁵⁸ The declared values in respect of training and ensuring the vocational integration of HLAs, who have represented France, are praiseworthy, but there are a number of elements that cast doubt on the relevance of government policies in this area.

HLA pensions: from announcements leading nowhere to future problems

The first is the question of pensions for HLAs. When, on 22 February 2007, State Secretary for Youth, Sport and Voluntary Organisations Jean-François Lamour put forward a draft law on pensions for HLAs, he grasped by the horns one of the crucial issues facing HLAs, namely access to a “normal” retirement pension. It is a simple fact that with the exception of professional athletes, who contribute to their retirement pension from the beginning of their career, most HLAs do not earn enough income to pay into a pension scheme. Their situation is complex and very different from that of the rest of the population. Some receive financial support in the form of personal assistance, while others do not, as this assistance is not available to everyone and its allocation is at the discretion of the national technical director of each federation. In fact, this differs from one federation to another and from one athlete to another, not to mention the considerable disparities that exist between men and women. In all cases, the assistance is only extra money, not a salary. In most sports with little media coverage and no sponsors, HLAs receive no money and are sometimes even financially insecure. It is indeed hard to imagine a Rowing World Cup winner who finished fourth at the last Olympic Games being unemployed. As the rower concerned says,

When you tell journalists you’re out of work and going to the Olympics, quite a few people are a bit shocked. (Top athlete)

In other sports, the clubs where they are registered make compensatory payments to them, but most of the time this is done in secret, with the result that their declared income is insufficient to make pension contributions. The situation is complicated further by the fact that the careers of the best HLAs often last until they are 30 or 35 years old. The passage in 2003 of the law reforming retirement pensions,¹⁵⁹ which provides for an extension of

158. Baslé M. (2008), *Economie, conseil et gestion publique. Suivi et évaluation des politiques publiques et des programmes*. Paris, Economica, p. 131.

159. www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=LEGITEXT000005635050&dateTexte=20090508, accessed 31 May 2011.

the contributions period to 41 years from 2012, only makes matters worse. An athlete who begins making contributions at the age of 30 or 35 will never qualify for a full pension. Is this normal given the expected investment or the constraints imposed on athletes? Or in view of the symbolic benefits from HLAs' successes or the internal and external political functions already mentioned? The draft law, which everyone was hoping for, and which was announced 18 months before the Beijing Olympics, has been taken no further, and this problem affects a large number of HLAs:

I identified nearly 700 in the study I carried out and sent to Jean-François Lamour, 700 athletes [out of all the HLAs] who are over 23 years of age and are making no contributions. (Training Officer at INSEP)

It is tempting to say that, conversely, in response to repeated complaints by representatives of professional football concerning the disparities with regard to taxation and social security contributions in European football, measures were taken¹⁶⁰ mainly involving implementation of image rights.¹⁶¹ This arrangement came at great cost to public finances and has incidentally been widely criticised because the estimated income shortfall of €26 million for 2009 comes out of the sports budget.¹⁶² This is an estimate, as the compensation paid to the French central agency for social security bodies ACOSS¹⁶³ was €32 million in 2008, or an increase of 113% over 2007.¹⁶⁴ It is therefore hard to believe that the sum for 2009 will be lower. Would it not have been better to allocate this sum to the financing of pensions of amateur HLAs than to tax exemptions for professional footballers' salaries? It is all about calculating the costs of opportunities and preferential choices made on the basis of the priorities established by the state in a more general framework of action and influence networks, leading to questions about the draft law on pensions:

They say they want to get things done, but that's as far as it goes, and we've no means of achieving our objectives afterwards ... it might well be asked whether, other than in their speeches, they have any real political intentions. It really makes you wonder, sometimes. (Official responsible for socio-occupational support at the State Sport Secretariat)

160. Besson, E. (2008). *Accroître la compétitivité des clubs de football français*. Rapport remis au premier ministre dans le cadre du Secrétariat d'Etat chargé de la prospective de l'évaluation des politiques publiques et du développement de l'économie numérique. <http://www.lfp.fr/telechargement/Accroitre%20la%20comp%C3%A9titivite%20du%20football%20fran%C3%A7ais%20Eric%20BESSON.pdf> (Consulté le 20/07/2010).

161. Collective image rights, exempting clubs from a proportion of social insurance contributions, as well as reform in 2008 of the regime applying to expatriates in France (Besson, 2008, p. 51).

162. www.droit-du-sport.org/actualites/actualites/222-droit-a-l-image.html, accessed 31 May 2011.

163. Agence centrale des organismes de sécurité sociale (Central agency for social security bodies).

164. Report produced on behalf of the Committee on Finance, General Economic Affairs, and Planning on the draft Finance Law for 2008 (No 189), Appendix No 43 on youth, sport, and voluntary organisations, tabled on 11 October 2007 by Gilles Carrez, Member of the National Assembly, www.assemblee-nationale.fr/13/budget/plf2008/b0276-a43asp, accessed 31 May 2011.

There is an initial discrepancy here between the desire to promote access to high-level sport, the formal expectations of various institutions in charge of access to it and the assistance provided to athletes. In many countries, this issue was resolved some time ago; hence the lukewarm reception from the various sports ministers present in Biarritz in November 2008 to Bernard Laporte's speech promoting the "twin-track scheme" principle. Although HLAs are not "state-supported athletes" in the strict sense in most countries, that is financed directly by the state to enable them simply to carry on their activities, a number of jobs are nonetheless reserved for them. This applies not only to the former eastern bloc countries, but also countries close to France such as Germany, where 700 HLAs are employed by the army, 150 by the police and 40 by the customs department.¹⁶⁵ The issue of retirement pensions thus ties in directly with that of the status of HLAs.

The status of HLAs

The second problem is the actual status of HLAs. By introducing a special HLA classification and defining really high-level athletes, promising youngsters, and training partners, the "charte du sport du haut niveau" (charter of high-level sport)¹⁶⁶ has provided greater clarity and stringency with regard to the obtaining and granting of the advantages accompanying this status. The public perception is that an HLA is someone who has no worries and is spared the problems that ordinary individuals may encounter. There are for example a number of generally accepted ideas concerning high-level sport, such as high incomes and facilitated vocational and social integration, with the achievement of sporting excellence seen as a "tremendous social springboard",¹⁶⁷ as a result of which the problems that some people encounter are relegated to the rank of "exceptions to the rule".¹⁶⁸ The media bolster this idea, publicising the successful second careers of the best-known HLAs after their retirement: David Douillet, Zinédine Zidane, Michel Platini, Bernard Hinault, Philippe Candeloro, etc. However, are they representative of all HLAs? Are they representative of those striving for access to the highest level? Are they representative of the previous generations, who earned much less money? Are they representative of amateur

165. From Information Report No. 3642 submitted by the National Assembly delegation for the European Union on the organisation and financing of sport in Europe, presented by Arlette Franco, Deputy, www.assemblee-nationale.fr/12/europe/rap-info/i3642asp, accessed 31 May 2011.

166. See Law of 16 July 1984 as amended, pages 25 and *passim*.

<http://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000000693187&dateTexte=19840717>.

167. Fleuriel S. and Schotté M. (2008), "La « reconversion » des athlètes français de Munich à Barcelone", Paper presented at the 2nd conference on the psychopathology of sport held in Bordeaux, 5 and 6 June 2008, p. 1, <http://sebastienfleurielfreefr/>, accessed 31 May 2011.

168. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

sports? Oddly enough, the situation of women is very rarely mentioned. It is a fact that HLAs possess official recognition that opens up various possibilities for them (such as flexible working hours and recruitment without written qualifications) and gives them advantages (such as personal financial assistance), but leaves them without a “genuine” status and without a fixed income that could strengthen their standing and facilitate their involvement in the “twin-track scheme”. The personal assistance provided is often derisory:

I get €6 000 in personal support a year. (Top athlete)

The federation gives me a bit more than before, probably between €7 000 and €8 000. (Top athlete)

In order to understand the problems encountered by athletes, it is necessary to appreciate the pressures associated with high-level sport, which admittedly differ from one sport to another depending on global competition and the nature of the effort put in, which calls for a greater or lesser investment in time by the HLAs concerned. Without valuing one sport over another, it should be pointed out that the fencers on the French team are subject to a daily training regime, while their counterparts on the rowing team very often have to be away from home to prepare for major competitions, and top judo athletes sometimes train as often as three times a day:

We face considerable pressure ... athletes in training camps face major constraints ... the team who've prepared for the Games have put in 200 days at training camps. A normal year would involve 140 to 150 days of training. (National Technical Director, Rowing)

While the models described by Franck Bouchetal et al.¹⁶⁹ (Table 1) prove relevant to understanding athletes' personal plans and the organisation of socio-occupational assistance in the federations, it has to be recognised that these models are constructed in the absolute, without actually taking account of the pressures inherent in global competition and the international organisation of each sport.

Some athletes are involved in world and European championships every year, whereas such events come round every four years for others. Time pressures are compounded by the internal logic of high-level sport, that is competition among athletes and the obligation to achieve results in order to be selected for international duty and, consequently, maintain HLA status. It is easy to understand that athletes are very often forced to invest all their energies and money in their sport alone, to the detriment of the “twin-track scheme”. The unofficial payments they receive at their clubs, the

169. Bouchetal Pellegrini F., Leseur V. and Debois N. (2006), *Carrière sportive Projet de vie*, INSEP, coll. Entraînement, Paris.

Table 1. Career extension strategies

Model of a short career Disciplines in which people peak at an early age, or short sporting career	Short sporting career			
	Studies	Access to employment	Employed situation	
Combination model Disciplines with a low or average training load and with support structures	Extended sporting career			
	Studies	Access to employment	Employed situation	
Model of professional sport Disciplines with a high training load and/or a professional sector	Extended sporting career			
	Studies broken off	Status of professional athlete	Retraining, access to employment	
Model of pseudo-professional sport Disciplines with a high training load without a professional sector	Extended sporting career			
	Studies broken off	Situation not clearly identified	Future uncertain	

Source: Bouchetal Pellegri et al. 2006: 34.

demonstrations they give in return for payment, and the competitions and invitational tournaments for which small fees are paid are all often engaged in because of a lack of money, so what time and energy do they have left for the vocational training side of the "twin-track scheme"? It is primarily their status, or rather their lack of status, that causes many HLAs to make these choices. It is nonetheless desirable that athletes be in control of their own future, aware of the implications and limits of their sporting careers, and the risks of injury or an unexpected end to their careers. But the sports federation culture in respect of vocational education/training and the "twin-track scheme", gradual acculturation via the peer group, money earned from club duties, and the lure of the supposedly easy and attractive life of the well-known and even worshipped HLAs, provide little incentive for participating in the "twin-track scheme":¹⁷⁰

Athletes are strongly urged to embark on a vocational training and integration scheme. This message is disseminated by the national technical directors. However, HLAs cannot be forced to do so, especially in the absence of any legal instrument laying down their obligations. How could one imagine the ministry being able to force swimmer Laure Manaudou to resume her studies? Fortunately, this type of case is still rare. (Head of the Office for High-Level Sports, Disciplines and National Institutions at the Sport Directorate of the State Sport Secretariat)

Although government policies offer numerous ways of promoting the training and vocational integration of HLAs, the lack of means of coercion and the absence of prospects with regard to status are causing the system as a whole to seize up. Only the grant of a status of "state athlete", as exists in Germany, could provide athletes with some peace of mind, even if this means backing it up with a proper plan for their education and career to ensure they obtain quality future employment. In this case the "professional sports model", which separates a sporting career from subsequent education and entry into the job market, could be perfectly well applied to most sports and HLAs. This does not seem to be "in keeping with the times", to the extent that, ironically, the Ministry of Health and Sport is one of the administrative authorities offering the lowest number of CIPs (vocational integration agreements):

Let me give you an extremely simple example. We're a sport secretariat attached to the Ministry of Health. Thought has been given to limiting contacts with our own ministry to enable the Ministry of Health to take on HLAs under a CIP ... Well, we've not yet had a positive response in our own administration to

170. Javerlhiac S. (2007), "Les freins à la (re)conversion des athlètes de haut niveau en France. Etude de cas de jeunes pongistes des équipes de France en rupture sportive". *Esporte e sociedade*, 3-7, 1-52, <http://www.lazer.eefd.ufrj.br/espsoc/pdf/es70i.pdf> (consulté le 21/07/2010).

recruiting any practising HLAs. You have to realise that we were the bad boys ourselves not that long ago. (Official responsible for socio-occupational support at the State Sport Secretariat)

“Parcours d’Excellence Sportive”: sporting excellence schemes

When it set up the *Parcours d’Excellence Sportive* (PES) sporting excellence schemes, the State Sport Secretariat’s intention was to promote the ability of a small elite to perform well. This measure is part of an approach aimed at presenting the state and political system in a favourable light through a social activity with “internal and external political functions”.¹⁷¹ While PES schemes are an ambitious political project, implementing them has proved awkward. Lack of detail about their construction, changes to the lists and the allocation of resources can only result, as things stand, in a more uncertain situation for a number of athletes. The schemes were set up in the framework of a pragmatic effort to work out how the introduction of a new approach to support for the “high level” category can lead to an effective policy which makes sparing use of public money, but their possible pernicious effects were ignored. Nonetheless, the key measure, the reduction in the number of HLAs by two thirds, within a timescale that has admittedly not yet been set, will yet again raise the question of the status of the HLAs and their income. Without returning to the analysis in the previous paragraph, it needs to be remembered that only the high-level category (Elite, Senior, Junior, and Retraining) enjoys the benefits associated with this status. Promising youngsters and training partners are not considered HLAs, and their status only affords them very limited rights, apart from special schooling arrangements for promising youngsters. The reason for reducing the number of HLAs is clear: the aim is to concentrate resources on a limited number of athletes to promote performance. Everyone involved clearly realises this:

Reducing the number of high-level athletes and refocusing resources ... is part of an approach to place much more emphasis on rationalising the resources allocated and the results obtained. (Official responsible for socio-occupational support at the State Sport Secretariat)

However, what is to happen to the others? The model emerging is one of early detection of athletes on whom resources are going to be concentrated. It replaces the traditional pyramid model (where the mass produces the elite). Two key problems arise.

The first is the acquisition and maintenance of HLA status. The criteria for granting it will be increasingly stringent, and the performances expected and predicted by federations will be subject to annual monitoring. The

171. Brohm J-M. (1976), *Sociologie politique du sport*. Nancy, PUN (1992 edn).

reduction in the number is clearly aimed at the “elite”, the largest group of HLAs, whose members enjoy the biggest benefits. For example, in the five federations we are currently studying, the HLAs can be divided into six categories, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Number of athletes per category and federation as of 15 April 2009

Federation	Promising youngsters	Juniors	Seniors	Elite	Re-training	Training partners	Total
ROWING	208	75	70	21			374
BASKETBALL	439	137	46		37		659
FENCING	211	71	36	25		5	348
GYMNASTICS	302	93	110	23	11		539
TABLE TENNIS	241	49	38	1	1	30	360

Source: Bureau du Sport de Haut Niveau des Filières et des Etablissements Nationaux (Office for high-level sports, disciplines and national institutions) in the Sports Directorate of the State Sports Secretariat.

Clearly, the number of “elite” HLAs is not very high. If resources are concentrated on this category, but the number is reduced by two-thirds, what will happen to the other categories? The question also arises of what assistance they will receive. Instruction 09-028 JS of 19 February 2009, on setting up PES schemes, emphasises on the one hand that “particular attention shall be paid to implementing the twin-track scheme” for HLAs. On the other hand, it notes that “the support provided by the state ... shall, in the context of the PES, also relate to the environment favourable for their plan aimed at ensuring their sporting, educational and vocational success.”¹⁷² In response to the question of whether “the twin-track scheme will receive specific grants under PES schemes”, the Head of the Bureau du Sport de Haut Niveau des Filières et des Etablissements Nationaux (Office for high-level sports, disciplines, and national institutions) in the Sport Directorate of the State Sport Secretariat said:

PES schemes (and even less the level below) are not funded as such, but via the agreements on objectives concluded with sports federations. This year, there is overall funding centring on action plans agreed between the ministry and the federation.

In other words, PES schemes introduce an innovative plan and a different policy for providing access to a high level, confirm the importance of the “twin-track scheme”, herald a reduction in the numbers on the lists, but do

172. www.ile-de-france.jeunesse-sports.gouv.fr/wp-content/uploads/2009/02/pes-instruction-09-028-du-19-02-09.pdf, accessed 31 May 2011.

not result in specific funding, line by line, on the basis of the PES registered. The PES is always subject to agreements on objectives, with the use of resources remaining at the discretion of the national technical directors of each federation and with no monitoring or, at the very least, no true "sanction". The same official explained:

Q. Is this grant made for a specific scheme or when a project has been completed?

A. A specific project.

Q. What happens when measures do not correspond to or are different from the schemes registered (sanctions/deductions from subsequent grants, impossibility of obtaining a new budget appropriation)?

A. It's possible to imagine going so far as to reduce the following year's grant.

The second problem is that of athletes who have helped through their personal efforts to intensify the competition they have introduced, or through the simple fact that they were training partners without having reached the "elite" category. What resources will be actually made available to them to ensure their funding, education and entry into the job market? Will all the resources be concentrated on the "elite" category, or is it possible to envisage a distinction being drawn between the small number of HLAs on whom resources will be concentrated, with the aim of increasing their sporting performance, and other athletes who will not belong to this category because of their poor results or an injury, and on whom resources could be concentrated for educational and retraining purposes?

The lack of clarity concerning PES schemes, the changes in the numbers on the lists and the granting of resources can, as things currently stand, only lead to financial insecurity for a number of athletes. The PES schemes reflect a pragmatic concern entailing speculation as to whether the introduction of a new policy to assist high-level athletes can lead to an effective and economical public funding policy, but neglect the adverse effects¹⁷³ that they might have. Specific details are also lacking with regard to the sharing of funding and the granting of new resources to this small elite. There is nothing to indicate in what proportion this redistribution will be carried out for the benefit of federations or HLAs. No mention is made of new aid or of a new status that might be given to the future sporting elite. As things stand at the moment, the PES schemes constitute a government policy, an action programme, the only aim of which would currently be to rationalise expenditure in light of a sports budget that appears to be stagnating.

173. The "effets pervers" referred to in Boudon R. (1977), *Effets pervers et ordre social*, PUF, coll. Quadrige, Paris.

Human rights, discrimination and extremism: new challenges to ethics in sport

*Carine Bloch*¹⁷⁴

Although it is undeniably an impediment to ethics in sport, racism, a central concern of the International League Against Racism and Antisemitism (LICRA) and the Football Against Racism in Europe (FARE) network, will not be discussed as such in this chapter. But current issues and problems arising from it will be. What will be considered here are the four issues that European sport must deal with if it wants to play the active citizenship role that devolves to it.

The rights of young African athletes

Increasing numbers of young African players are drawn to the major European leagues, because of the poor prospects of a future in sport in their countries of origin. These young people, who are sometimes pushed into emigration by families who see in them hope for social and economic advancement, are often manipulated by unscrupulous local or European agents. They leave for football trials in Europe while still minors, with a simple tourist visa in their pocket. If they do not make the grade, they usually find themselves left to their own devices, present in the country illegally, without money, and without any social security cover. There are now thousands of such youngsters flitting around Europe, moving from one country to another (mainly from west to east if they are unsuccessful). They are often unable to return to Africa with dignity and/or prefer to stay illegally in Europe rather than go back home and have to bear the “dishonour” of their family. In the best-case scenario a player will sign a contract with a professional team, but will nonetheless continue to face an uncertain future. These young people rarely know their rights, and sign contracts which may or may not be valid. Quite a number of clubs, whether professional or not, improperly cancel the contracts of these Africans citing minor injuries or alleging that the player has found it hard to adapt.

This situation was already described by the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) as alarming at the “Play Fair with Sport” conference in 2006. The situation will deteriorate if nothing is done. The success of a few African players, such as Samuel Eto’o or Didier Drogba, encourages young Africans to take this route, oblivious to the risks they run. The position of young African footballers is a feature of a sport that rejects more players than it ever takes on board.

174. Vice-President, LICRA; Chair, Sports Committee; Member, FARE Central Administration Group.

The trafficking of young African footballers to European clubs is one aspect of the campaign being conducted by FARE. This network of anti-racist associations in European football, which is a partner of UEFA and the International Federation of Association Football (FIFA), has asked LICRA to work on this issue. LICRA has been the network's French contact organisation since 2001, but the partnership has developed considerably since 2007, when it became a member of FARE's executive bureau, the network's decision-making body.

The 2010 World Cup in South Africa has provided an opportunity for closer co-operation on the subject with the international football authorities.

Policies implemented for young African footballers

Various international conferences have been held in the past two years to alert sporting and political circles, the media and the public, thus demonstrating a general awareness of this disgraceful situation. On 2 November 2006, the first international conference on the subject of young African footballers, organised by the association Culture Foot Solidaire in partnership with LICRA, was held at Enghien-les-Bains in France. It brought together a large number of parties from the world of football: institutions such as UEFA, the Union of Professional Football Clubs, voluntary networks such as FARE and former footballers like Salif Keita (first winner of the African Footballer of the Year award) and Aimé Jacquet (coach of the French team that won the 1998 World Cup).

On 19 and 20 May 2007, FARE's "Football, Diversity and Equality" conference, organised by LICRA in Paris, provided an opportunity to discuss the problem of the trafficking of African footballers. The conference was attended by about a hundred delegates (from NGOs, clubs, trade unions, etc.) from more than 20 different countries, as well as representatives of sports organisations such as the Fédération Française de Football and UEFA, and public bodies such as the European Parliament and the Council of Europe.

On 6 June 2008, FIFA hosted at its Zurich headquarters a working meeting on the protection of young African footballers. This brought together representatives of Culture Foot Solidaire, FIFA, the African and French football federations, FIFPro and French professional clubs, among others.

The association Mani Football Forever does solid groundwork on these issues; it is involved in Africa in organising workshops to raise awareness of this scourge and try to curb the exodus. It is also active in Europe, where it pursues a policy of support and vocational integration for young African players, with the aim of ensuring their retraining at the end of their football careers. Having had difficulty finding a reliable partner, LICRA has now been successfully working with Mani Football Forever and its president for over a year now, and has been able to plan long-term work together in both France and Africa. LICRA's legal department works all year round to help young victims with their administrative and legal transactions.

Finally, members of the European Parliament Ivo Belet, Jean-Luc Bennahmias, Adeline Hazan, Guy Bono and LICRA President Patrick Gaubert submitted to the European Parliament, on 28 March 2007, a written declaration on combating the trafficking and exploitation of children in football, with the aim of drawing the attention of sporting and political authorities to this disastrous situation.

In spite of this undeniable progress in terms of recognition of the problem, few projects and associations have managed to take practical action. Mani Football Forever, for example, now seems to be in the best position to conduct this campaign, as it carries out prevention work in Africa before players leave and subsequently helps with their integration in Europe.

However, without the support of the bodies concerned, the work under way lacks resources and sufficient impact. It is also extremely difficult to identify partners with ethically irreproachable credentials in Africa or Europe to help deal with these issues, given the abuses that have occurred in the past.

Recommendations and courses of action proposed by LICRA

Greater co-operation between Europe and Africa is required to pursue an effective prevention policy among families. Greater accountability for clubs is needed, with sanctions to be imposed by the football authorities on those who do not pursue a recruitment policy that protects these new immigrants, or who abuse the trust of these young players. If a player does not make the grade, there should be assistance available that is tailored to his requirements, taking account of appropriate criteria to enable some young people to stay in the country in decent living conditions while others are helped to return home in dignity. The responsibility for such arrangements should be borne by clubs, subject to monitoring by specialised associations. Mani Football Forever is calling for a solidarity fund to be financed by professional clubs to enable young players to return to their own country under acceptable conditions.

There should be stricter checks on those who are or claim to be players' agents, especially those working abroad. The practices of certain agents, intermediaries, and African or European people smugglers (full-blown clandestine networks) are illegal. Since they have no respect for their national legislation and are motivated solely by greed, these smugglers should be dealt with severely.

The European media needs to be involved, especially those outlets reaching a large number of Africans (for example, public TV and radio channels such as TV5, France 24 and Rfi in French-speaking countries). The media should provide a prevention service, passing on messages to young footballers and their families.

Women in European sport

At the Beijing Olympics, 7 of the 40 medals won by the French team (compared with 16 of 33 in Athens) were won by women. While France won a record number of medals, the low proportion of female medal winners cannot be overlooked. High-level women's sport was blamed, but its lack of success masks more serious facts.

In an analysis of the annual LICRA survey of racist incidents in sport, covering 589 French local authority areas, 29% of towns that replied to the questionnaire reported that there were obstacles to women's participation. Sport is one of those areas where there is no social discrimination for men; it is women's access to sport that is a source of concern.

Underlying this fact are family, cultural and even religious pressures. Too many girls still face difficulties in accessing sport. The strongest measures in support of women's sport have been seen in city neighbourhoods. When sport actively looks for girls to participate, success is assured. Sport is a great factor behind the emancipation of women and the enhancement of their self-esteem.

Since it was set up, FARE has endeavoured to facilitate women's access to football, for example through street tournaments held worldwide on the occasion of major international football events. The network's efforts in this area have intensified and diversified over the years. While women's access to sport remains a major worry, it is the proportion of women in decision-making bodies and the protection of women and their rights in sport following the 2008 Mondiali Antirazzisti that are now the focus of FARE's concerns.

High-level sport

The disturbing results of the study commissioned by French Sport Minister Roselyne Bachelot from the University of Bordeaux II speak for themselves: "Out of 356 athletes aged 13 to 23, 32% say that they have, or that they think they have, been confronted at least once with a form of sexual violence. In 2006, nearly 8% of athletes suffered sexual aggression while involved in sport" (source: portal of the Prime Minister and website of the Ministry of Youth and Sport). Inevitably, it is girls who are most affected.

Women dream less about sporting success in various disciplines, because earnings, media coverage and fame are not always the same as for their male counterparts, with one exception: the Olympic Games, which have been able to place athletes of both sexes on an equal footing with regard to financial rewards, image and fame.

If not enough women are involved, there is no pool from which to supply high-level sport. However, this is a vicious circle as the lack of stars and models to identify with will have an impact on all leisure and youth sports.

Representativeness

While it has to be recognised that some federations have large numbers of registered women athletes, some of them champions, it can only be regretted that there is a desperate lack of women in positions of responsibility. The same is true of bodies representing referees, trainers and players, so all decision-making bodies are affected. There are admittedly examples of female directors, presidents, referees and coaches, but they are few and far between. However, not only can women have their own ideas and views, especially on refereeing and women's sport, but also, as experience shows, the refereeing of men's matches by women generally leads to a drop in violence.

A proactive approach is essential

While the facts are self-evident, there is no lack of arguments to try to justify this anomaly.

For example, the difficulties involved are sometimes linked to social pressures outside sport.

It is claimed that it is sometimes more necessary to channel the energies of boys, who are more prone to violence, than to devote time to women's participation. Women are not exactly claiming the right to access sport, others say, while highly motivated boys have to be turned away.

But proactive approach in this area is essential, and a change of mindset is needed. The value of involvement should be conveyed, and examples cited, but that is not enough. What is required is a genuine campaign for change.

The Ipsos Public Affairs survey commissioned by LICRA in January 2009 to establish the French people's opinion about racism in professional football revealed that 50% of individuals interested in football said they have been deterred from going to stadiums because of racist incidents. This applied to 59% of the women professing an interest in football. It is essential to revive women's desire to go to sports events, and take their families with them, by making them feel safe there.

This will most probably be done through organised discussions of the obstacles at every level of the sports pyramid, as well as through financial and logistical assistance, places specially reserved for women, and even sanctions. The aim is on no account to have equality in terms of numbers or the level of men's and women's participation, but unless a determined effort is made, it will take decades before any change is discernible. Everything is interlinked; training female coaches and executives will help to get women playing sport. If there are more women on sports bodies, they will inevitably drive the debate on opening up opportunities and support for athletes, including issues specifically related to women.

Homophobia as an obstacle to ethics in sport

Homophobia is seen every week in European and French sport, with scandalous remarks made by prominent individuals encouraging a dangerous spread of homophobic prejudices on sports fields.

Homophobic abuse is spreading in sport

Every weekend in France, especially in football stadiums, players, executives and referees are called names like “pansy”, “poof” or “queer” by spectators, some of them fathers accompanied by their children, in an atmosphere of general indifference.

In the LICRA survey, 10% of the local authorities questioned said that they experienced problems stemming from some people’s rejection of other people’s sexual orientation. The scandalous remarks made by well-known personalities like Didier Deschamps and David Ginola have unfortunately encouraged the dangerous spread of homophobic prejudices on sports fields.

The Nicollin family, which has run the Montpellier Hérault Sport Club since 1974, is a sad example of the verbal abuse that may be used against homosexuals. After leaving a match in March 2007, Louis Nicollin, the club’s chairman, used the term “pédes” (“queers”) to describe his detractors on several occasions during a press conference. In October 2008, Laurent Nicollin, his son and acting chairman of the club, sent a text message saying “we’re going to f*** all those queers from Nîmes” to a leader of the Montpellier supporters on the eve of the local derby between the two teams. On 30 March 2009, this earned him a caution from the Montpellier public prosecutor for “public incitement to discrimination”.

The cases of Justin Fashanu, a Nottingham Forest player who committed suicide after false accusations of sexual assault on a minor, and Wilson Oliver, who had to abruptly end his career as a professional player, have led many athletes to keep silent about their homosexuality or only to come out after ending their careers. Former international footballer Olivier Rouyer said after leaving his job as coach of AS Nancy football club in 1994 that he had decided to go because he was “different” (that is, homosexual): “Football is an environment in which they don’t much like people who don’t conform.”

Nonetheless, the courage shown by some international athletes in declaring their homosexuality should be noted, among them Sheryl Swoopes (American basketball player), Amélie Mauresmo (French tennis player), Derrick Peterson (American sprinter), Mia Hundvin and Camilla Andersen (Norwegian and Danish handball players respectively) and Robert Dover (American dressage rider).

Progress in combating homophobia so as to guarantee ethical sport

The reason why a larger number of athletes are coming out than in the past is that the present situation is more favourable for them. In June 2008, the French Professional Football League (LFP) signed in partnership with Paris Foot Gay a charter against homophobia in football, thus making France the fourth European country to recognise and take action against homophobia. The description of this as progress nonetheless has to be qualified, since Paris Saint-Germain is still the only professional club to take an open stand against homophobia. Paris Foot Gay has invited all first and second division clubs to join the LFP in signing the charter.

On 7 January 2009, some big-name stars of English football allowed pictures of themselves to be used for a video aimed at combating homophobia in stadiums, to be shown at schools and on the Internet. The initiative for this came from Peter Tatchell, of gay human rights group OutRage! Players involved in the project included Cristiano Ronaldo, David Beckham, Michael Owen, Wayne Rooney, Rio Ferdinand, Peter Crouch, David James, John Terry, Frank Lampard and Theo Walcott. Tatchell said: "The plan is to feature big-name stars speaking out against homophobia, in order to make anti-gay chants look as stupid, ignorant and uncool as racist ones."

The subject is also stirring European associations into action, such as the European Gay and Lesbian Sports Federation, which was set up in The Hague in 1989 and now has its headquarters in Amsterdam. This association, which is a permanent member of the executive bureau of the FARE network, is attempting to combat homophobia through and in sport in Europe. Its work has met with a significant response in the last few years with the organisation of events like the EuroGames, a major European gay, lesbian and transsexual athletics meeting.

Vigilance in the face of extremism

Although extremist movements in the stands are better understood now, it is necessary to be more vigilant concerning the use of sport by certain fundamentalist organisations as a means of recruitment.

The politicisation of the stands in French professional football: the tyranny of supporters

The radicalisation and tyranny of certain groups of supporters mean that this sport faces real risks of serious disorder (like that which occurred at the PSG-Hapoel Tel Aviv match in 2006). Football is exploited in an organised if marginal way by violent and/or racist fringe groups for subversive purposes: racial attacks, stands reserved for whites, racist abuse, distribution of political documents, etc. It is indisputable that football serves as a

platform for a minority of extremists to express sectarian and/or racist ideas, whether it be in the stadium, when clubs travel to away games, or on the Internet. In addition, the importance assumed by some supporters' associations in the day-to-day activities of a professional club is not compatible with sound and dispassionate club management (for example in the management of ticket sales, or in cases of chairmen or security directors being forced out).

Although it is not really possible to speak of "hijacking" by any given small (extreme right-wing or sometimes extreme left-wing) political group, certain political affiliations are nonetheless evident in some French football stands. Supporters show their affinity for extreme right-wing ideology by giving Nazi salutes, drawing Celtic crosses on their seats, showing off their swastika tattoos, or distributing National Front documents. At the same time, we are witnessing the radicalisation of the attitudes of a minority of supporters closer to the far left and whose remarks are slipping from anti-Zionism into anti-Semitism, a phenomenon all the more dangerous as it is exacerbated by the situation in the Middle East.

There is no question of making generalisations here. We are talking about a minority, and football remains a force for reconciliation, with groups of supporters enabling different generations and individuals from all social backgrounds to intermingle. Although reprehensible acts have to be punished and sanctions systematically applied, stands at football stadiums must not be sanitised. The entertainment also comes from the stands, both for the media and for spectators themselves. As in the case of every sporting spectacle, supporters must be able to continue to prepare for and play a full part in the event, and create a lively atmosphere in the stands.

Nationalism in European sport

The desire to see one's country win international sports events generally takes precedence over racial considerations, but in France, ultranationalist resentment sometimes leads to the rejection of athletes whose physical characteristics or surnames do not correspond to the idea that some people have of a team made up of "Frenchmen born and bred". In 1996, and then again in 2006, National Front leader Jean-Marie Le Pen rejected national teams partly made up of "foreigners", casting doubt on the Frenchness of some of the players in the national football team who had either been naturalised or born abroad. In 2006, Georges Frêche, the socialist chairman of Languedoc-Roussillon regional council, adopted a similar position when he declared, "Nine members of this team are blacks. Logically, there should be three or four." Similarly, on the eve of the France-Togo match in the 2006 World Cup, Internet and football forums were used as mouthpieces by many individuals suspicious of a national team containing members of diverse origins.

It should be pointed out that nationalism, which undermines sports ethics, is not expressed in the same way in every European country. Well away from the situation in France, anti-Semitism and nationalism go hand in hand in the countries of eastern Europe. Spanning pogroms, Nazism and communism, the contemporary history of the majority of these countries has been dominated by occupation. Today, a desire for national unity and solidarity around shared values, without being able to refer to a past that is their own, generates in these countries a need to resort to nationalism to construct a common history. This national cohesion is brought about by turning against those who were the subject of persecution in the past, even though they make up a tiny proportion of the population today, namely their Jewish citizens.

As in society itself, sporting ethics are thus undermined in the stadiums of eastern Europe by exaggerated nationalist feelings, even in the stands. The gaps that have been left in the legislative armoury and prevent these excesses from being punished also constitute a problem.

The FARE network has, incidentally, intensified its work in the Balkans in the last few years and also welcomed into its central administration group two associations, Never Again and Ludia Proti Rasizmu, which combat racism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism in football stadiums in Poland and the Slovak Republic. However, as Euro 2012 in Ukraine and Poland draws nearer, the situation in these countries gives cause for concern. FARE and LICRA are exercising the utmost vigilance in this respect.

Fundamentalism in amateur sport

A firmer line must be taken against the recruitment of young people by extremists in the context of sport. Matches under the auspices of the French Football Federation used to be spared this problem, but this is now less and less the case. It is in fact the sport of futsal that is worst affected, along with other common neighbourhood sports (combat sports, bodybuilding, etc).

It is hard to quantify this phenomenon. Although no official report was made, 10% of municipalities informed LICRA about attempts to recruit people at sports facilities, or even attempts to involve individuals in their local authority area. The local authorities which have detected this kind of attempt are spread across the whole country and vary considerably in size.

The fundamentalist or sectarian approach is often the same:

- A group of young people are identified and their confidence is gained through a less formal or completely informal sport.
- The group is centred on the sport, and religious practice is incorporated.
- The targets are isolated and separated in their sporting and religious activities. It is not easy to identify attempts to convert and recruit people in the sphere of sport.

The key words are vigilance, presence and dialogue. Exchange of information with the police, the making of official complaints, an increased presence of municipal activity leaders and the introduction of new activities should be the principal measures taken by local authorities and federations to put a stop to this fundamentalist activism.

So what role should sport play? If it can help change individuals' thinking and enable people to express their views in countries with censorship, then so much the better. It must avoid providing a media stage for the enemies of human rights. It cannot allow itself to be used for actions contrary to human rights, and must do everything to prevent that happening. However, it cannot be asked to do more than this.

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Ethics and sports in Europe: the media challenge

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In Europe, the 20th century saw the advent of an open society with free movement of people, goods, services and ideas. The communications boom was central to this process, in which technical progress and the values of freedom and democracy helped to shape a new form of citizenship. As Dominique Wolton (2007) says, "It is in this respect that communication is one of the most important scientific and political issues of the early part of the 21st century." Through the entertainment provided and events organised, extensive media coverage, and the representations that it conveys, sport is itself becoming a vehicle supplying messages with multiple meanings (Wille 2009). Sport is viewed in the light of the presumed universality of its values, and if we focus mainly on ways in which it is diverted from its aims, such as conservatism, nationalism, elitism and the use of cultures as pretexts for conflicts and wars, then sport as a media product offers many different interpretations, and the messages sent out are not without effects in the public arena.

The inclusion of sport in the media and commercial world is evidence of a key development that has given rise to a great deal of scientific research. Much of this has its origins in repeated criticism of the nature of the relations between sport, the media and the business world. This criticism is based, on the one hand, on the fact that sport is dominated by financial objectives and, on the other hand, on condemnation of the power wielded by television over the world of sport, considered to be among the factors helping to dismantle the fundamental "essence" of sport. This ideology of sport is partly based on strategies designed to legitimise official policies, with governments allocating large sums of money and therefore demanding ever greater control of sport for health, moral or military reasons.

Moreover, when international competitions were first held, the intention was to give a public demonstration of the exemplary behaviour of a state that was making a name for itself. Newspapers from the mid-19th century onwards played a part in the emergence of spectator sport. It was popular newspapers that organised major sports events, always using the most advanced communication technology of the day to produce their reports (Wille 2003). With the development of television, the 1954 World Cup in Switzerland prompted the creation of Eurovision in June that year, the aim being to promote the exchange

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of television pictures and programmes. In 1960, the Rome Olympics were broadcast throughout Europe. Sports events with media coverage are not only a "European showcase" for products, cities, and countries, but also central to multiple interactions structured according to a wide range of objectives and constraints. Even if it embraces very different situations, the omnipresence of sport in the media finds its justification in a process of development and promotion of mutual interests, encompassing the links established between the sports movement, the business world, the authorities and the media. The question of ethics, sport and Europe leads us to consider first the way in which sport can be understood within the European Union (EU).

Sport's hybrid European status

Since its Walrave and Koch judgment in 1974, the European Court of Justice has regarded sport as subject to European Community law, because it is an economic activity. The European Commission thus deals with sport as part of the economic and commercial world, as shown by several cases concerning the free movement of labour (Lehtonen, Deliège, Kolpak) following the Bosman ruling. In the same context, since 1999 and the Prodi Commission, the EU has started a dialogue with sports organisations in order to "help them adapt to different management styles and meet the new requirements of free competition and accountability".

In response to the heterogeneous situation in sport, the EU sent the first political signal on the new importance attached to sport in the form of a reference to its values in its "Declaration on Sport", attached to the 1997 Treaty of Amsterdam. This declaration underlines the social dimension of sport, encourages the European institutions to listen to the sports organisations when they are deliberating on important matters concerning the world of sport, and recommends that special attention be given to amateur sport. Sport has accordingly been taken into account in numerous European Community policies. The first European conference on sport took place in Athens from 20 to 23 May 1999, and the European Council subsequently adopted the Helsinki Report on Sport on 11 December 1999. Policies and programmes related to sport have been aimed at health, the audiovisual sector, the promotion of social inclusion, the fight against discrimination, the environment, education, training, and youth, among others. In this connection, the European Commission published in 2003 a report entitled "The health status of the European Union – Narrowing the health gap", which emphasised measures to improve public health.

The concept of a sport with virtues of its own

When it declared 2004 the European Year of Education through Sport, the EU wanted to make clear its intention to play an important role in the promotion and restoration of sporting values, given the educational and

social potential of sport. Initially considered an economic activity, sport is now widely considered to have inherent values that could promote social integration, multicultural dialogue and preventive health. The Deuziem sports project initiated in 2001 in Amersfoort, Netherlands, uses sport as "a medium to connect with young people in difficulty, to help them reintegrate into the community and to prepare them for the world of work." Sport can help to combat discrimination, and issue 23 (2004) of the *Magazine of education and culture in Europe*, which was devoted to sport in the EU, pointed out that even in the 21st century, there are all too many sportsmen and sportswomen being exposed to unacceptable behaviour simply because of the colour of their skin or their nationality. Sport should therefore promote exemplary behaviour. Accordingly, the EU is working with a large number of sports organisations to support European initiatives against racism.

The European Commission's objective from now on is thus to promote sport in its social or societal dimension. Sport will henceforth be a key instrument for the development of a more tolerant and open society. It is a tool for conveying a message of friendship, unity, and mutual understanding. Agnes Schneeberger (2008) described the new challenges facing the European institutions: "We have made Europe, now we have to make Europeans." On 11 July 2007, the European Commission adopted the White Paper on Sport. Ján Figel, Commissioner for Education, Training, Culture and Youth, has reaffirmed the Commission's wish to "promote the use of sport as a tool in its development policy".

Constructing European citizenship

The European Year of Cultural Dialogue was 2008, and the declaration of 17 March that year on "Social Significance and Dialogue in Sport" reflects numerous initiatives taken to understand the construction of Europe from the point of view of cultural issues. A culture can only develop through contact with other cultures, and the challenge presented by interculturality is that of meeting and respecting others, which by definition implies interaction.

The Ljubljana round table from 15 to 16 May 2008 considered sport an element of intercultural dialogue and mainly discussed the issues of integration and intercultural exchange through participation in sports – in various educational establishments and voluntary organisations – and referred to issues relating to violence, racism and health. However, sport was once again reduced to its intrinsic virtuous potential, a view which takes no account of its diversity and presupposes that merely engaging in it enables a number of values to be absorbed. Sport in itself is not virtuous, but it can enable a number of rules for citizenship to be discovered or acquired, depending on the use to which it is put.

Discussions of ethics and sport in Europe cannot disregard the role played by sport as a media spectacle in the European public arena. If it is at the stadia that all identity-based excesses take place, what about the messages produced by the media? Looking beyond the recurrent question of the nature of relations between sport and the media, what role can sport play as a media spectacle in a European context of heterogeneous public spaces? Internationalisation and globalisation now raise the question of how events are reinterpreted by the broadcasting media in each individual country. Democracy needs physical and symbolic arenas to exist, and live sports coverage seems to offer a suitable arena. Thus examination of the question of ethics, sport and Europe must go beyond an instrumental approach to communication and an event-based approach to sport. This would allow us to consider its "effects" and view sport, at the centre of a system of inter-relationships, in a configuration that is perhaps emblematic of the dominant contemporary ideology, a vehicle of meanings and representations carried and constructed by the media.

The expression of many issues that very often go beyond mere sport as such gives rise to a number of representations of the cultures, history and current developments of the various European countries involved in competitions. In the context of a wide resonance, what are these messages that convey and construct ideologies and collective representations? How can an identity and a European unity be constructed, when the message being sent out by sport is shaped by its competitive context, based on a logic of confrontation?

Discussion of ethics, sport and Europe leads us to make a paradigm shift and focus on media responsibility. Do media-related issues and constraints allow a response to these new civic and democratic demands?

The responsibility borne by the media

The repeated criticisms of the press that permanently cast in a poor light the nature of the relations between sport, the media and the business world are decisive elements in the resurgence of an ethical debate about the sports press (Wille 2002). This discontent is mainly cyclical, resurfacing at times of crisis, such as when evidence of drug-taking emerges, corrupt practices or match-fixing come to light, or excesses are reported when exclusive rights are signed. The media often have an accusing finger pointed at them in such situations, since they are frequently regarded as responsible for these problems. The journalist thus becomes an accomplice, and often takes the blame.

There is, too, a structural legitimacy to this debate about ethics and professional conduct, a debate that is also a consequence of the questions asked by journalists themselves as their job changes. Access to sports events is limited nowadays, regulated by ever-expanding commercial considerations.

Freedom of action is subordinate to economic constraints. Exclusive rights, the way press conferences and interviews are organised, and tight deadlines result in journalists losing out on what they have historically helped to build up. This structural visibility also concerns the current perception of the purpose of sport. Today, traditional values acknowledged to guarantee sporting morality (such as equal opportunities leading to unequal results, universality, altruism and meritocracy of performance) seem to be spurned. Is the current situation really a manifestation of a new media morality as sport is led astray?

A world of constraints: high stakes and interests to be defended

The historical recontextualisation of journalistic and sporting practices and the changes in their relations clearly show us that these discussions arise repeatedly. Amateurism, which was extolled for nearly a century as a model of sporting morality, is obsolescent in the light of all that is at stake in sport today. However, did not the amateur and middle-class Olympic spirit conflict with professional sport for all classes? At the beginning of the century, the press not only created events instead of waiting for them to happen, but also promoted sport because it made a living from it. In this context, interaction between sport and the media is based on a relationship of connivance and complicity. It was also in the name of freedom of the press and a moral debate on television advertising that France's National Union of the regional daily press (SNPQR) opposed live broadcasts in the early 1960s. The moral debate masked the real issue involved, the deprivation of large financial rewards. The moral or ethical debate sometimes constitutes a line of argument to protect a number of interests, but it is also fuelled by a number of realities underlined by media practitioners themselves in terms of the confusion and excesses observed.

The first stumbling block is a not unacknowledged realisation that, specifically in the world of sport, mass media is, or can be to varying degrees at one and the same time the event organiser, full or partial partner of the event, and/or broadcaster or reporter. In this type of relationship, they share a "common interest" with the event organiser, with one complementing the other: victory is good for business, increases the number of spectators, and promotes newspaper sales. The media is more involved in glamorising and promoting sport (Wille 2003) in different ways than in providing information. It is enough to point out that this confusion of roles is nothing new. Since the beginning of the century, it has been journalists who have created and directed the modern sports movement. After a period in which they were automatically admitted into the stadium, economic considerations led to the emergence of exclusive rights, regulating access to live events in a different way, modifying journalistic practices and calling into question the rules of

independent journalism: what are the practices, what type of language is used, and what are the accepted rules when the media is both “judge and judged”? The objective complicity of the media and the world of sport brings us back to the question of professional legitimacy, which often generates a sense of belonging to the “family of sport”. This objective interest in the success of champions, the dynamic of the victory and the “show must go on” policy ignore the images or realities that hurt, or would result in disorder. Is there a “conspiracy of silence” specific to sport in operation here? This connivance necessary to access information raises the question of the status of that information. Is subservience also absolutely necessary in order to access information? What we have in this case is a reconsideration of the attitude of the sporting world, which controls access to information either for reasons to do with rights or on grounds of personal convenience. It is not uncommon for an athlete to boycott a journalist or publication because of the nature of an article or report, which generally also raises the question of the rights of journalists with no access to sports events, direct sources or athletes. The ball is in sport’s court as far as these anomalies are concerned. Can Europe impose new methods of regulation?

Professional practices subject to influence

In a media world that is very productive and heterogeneous as far as sport is concerned, its professional practices are key to many factors that influence journalists’ degree of autonomy in this area. Marchetti (2002) discussed the concept of “sub-fields of journalism”, raising the general question of the conditions for working as a journalist, a job which appears to be subject to restrictions that primarily arise from the respective positions of different media organisations in these specialised sub-regions. While a daily newspaper like *Le Monde* holds a dominant position in areas like politics, this does not apply to sport, where other dailies dominate, such as *L’Equipe*, the benchmark newspaper on the subject of sport. At the same time, however, the situation is changing where sport-related social issues (violence in stadiums, drug-taking, etc.) are concerned, with evening newspapers gaining in importance. These different situations in the media world lead one to differentiate between and define two degrees of autonomy in the case of sport, one functional and the other editorial (Raul 2007).

Freedom to provide information contrasts with freedom of expression. The various material, financial and human resources made available to cover an event, the time constraints (the deadline in the case of the print media), access to sources, and/or space available for the article (number of pages in the case of the print media) determine the degree of functional autonomy. However, while this degree of autonomy is directly dependent on the economic, commercial or editorial importance attached to the event by the media outlet concerned, it may also be contingent on the purchase of

rights, on goodwill, on mutual recognition or on mutual interests. This then raises the question of the degree of editorial autonomy in the context of the freedom of expression and independence of journalists, which may be affected by the economic interests linking them to the economic players and sports stakeholders.

Journalists and sport: contrasting values

The issue of the media world's involvement also raises the question of the heterogeneous nature of relations between the media and sport. In light of the complexity and diversity of journalistic practices, the various approaches more accurately reflect reality, if only because of the plethora of media and sporting practices. Is live commentating for hours on ice-skating, cycling or, indeed, a match professionally equivalent to reporting on it on the evening news? It is also important to consider the influence of new technologies on professional practice, such as how the use of the Internet is changing the way journalists work and their relations with their sources, and how the audience gathers and splits because of the technologies that are changing sports journalists' jobs.

Sports journalists face not only the difficulties caused by certain situations, but also issues associated with values. It is important to take into account the symmetry of sporting and journalistic behaviour. One can compare the universal aspects of the values of sports ethics – tolerance, acceptance of differences, team spirit, equality of rules, encouragement of effort, improvement of health, physical development, etc. – and the democratic aspects of the values of media ethics – information that brings release, equal opportunities, an imperative obligation to tell the truth, necessary and justified investigation, and citizens' rights – on the basis of three imperatives: the public's right to information, the search for the truth, and respect for human dignity.

The convergence of these two sets of values produces a clash of opinions: free service versus commercial price, private versus public interest, and internal community interest versus general interest. At the same time, is the logic of sport, based on the uncertainty of the outcome, compatible with the logic of high stakes, corporate logic, and the logic of profitability? This business-related problem affects not only the financial partners of the sports event, but also the media industry. A convergence of values seems difficult to achieve, given the commercial dimension of sport news, the connivance between the various stakeholders, and the excesses that result.

Conclusion

Does the sports journalist have a social responsibility? Sport maintains ambiguous and contradictory relations with social reality. It is also situated outside that reality, since it is governed by its own set of rules, within specific locations.

At the same time, however, sport is a very widespread social practice and "the successive transformations of sports have resulted in several types of analysis by sociologists and historians" (Defrance 1997). What is the role of journalists? Patrick Charaudeau (1997) points out that "the media do not broadcast what actually happens in society, but impose what they construct in the public space". Thus the sports journalist's social role may be decisive. Two schools of thought can be identified with regard to the new social responsibility of the media and journalists (Watine 1998). Some of those surveyed said that the press has always had a key role to play in the proper functioning of democracy and its principal institutions, while others expressed their belief that recent events confirm the view that the media has a new civic role to play, and that it is its responsibility to act in a much more practical way within its environment, even at times crossing the "red line" between the conception of the journalist as witness and that of the journalist as participant. Should the European perspective not be one of a fraternal society in which men and women from diverse cultures and with different convictions and views on life live side by side? The aim is therefore to build a society open to exchanges, not only of goods and services, but also of ideas. This prospect brings us again to the concept of "otherness", meaning recognition of other people with all their differences, thus constituting a founding principle of that universalist spirit which is a precondition for intercultural communication, in which the sports media has its role to play as a producer of meanings and representations in a heterogeneous European public space.

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Teaching boxing to mentally and physically disabled people: which practices for which ethics?

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The framework for this discussion is a social science thesis comparing boxing and capoeira taught to people with disabilities. The research focuses on two main areas: the ritualisation of practices and the socialisation of individuals. What these two concepts have in common is the control of emotions, especially those which give rise to violence. Socialisation means "the process of assimilating individuals into social groups" (Boudon and Bourricaud 2000: 527). Accordingly, "socialisation brings about an internalisation of norms, values, cognitive structures and practical knowledge" (ibid: 531). With regard to ritualisation, by which we mean the codification of motor and social relationships, the aim will be to compare the two ways in which this is done, so we shall analyse rules, codes, and relationships with violence. We shall therefore compare the ritualisation of violence and the socialisation of individuals through these two activities among persons with disabilities. The term "disabilities" is used in its commonly understood meaning, on the basis of which the French Boxing Federation (FFB) issues a registration document to any boxer in the "disability" ("handiboxe") category.

The aim of this comparative study is more qualitative than quantitative. On the one hand, the number of boxing lessons that cater for disabled people is not very large, and giving them undue prominence would be inappropriate. On the other hand, in order to find out what coaches and students are actually doing it is essential to be able to take a look at sessions as well as conduct interviews.

Our aim in this discussion will be to show the attitude of some boxing coaches to the ritualisation of violence in their work. We will see that there is an area of tension between some coaches and the FFB. While physical or motor disability seems to present organisational problems with regard to bouts between individuals, it is mainly mental disability that appears to cause misgivings.

For example, coaches seem to wonder about the relevance of bouts involving the mentally disabled. The focus is on the idea of development and self-fulfilment, as well as, according to the coaches, the fact that the disabled

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students attending the lessons do not come to compete, but because they want to be members of a group. In June 2008, the FFB, or rather the disabled boxing action group, organised the Gilbert Joie tournament, which brought together registered boxers regarded as disabled.

This paper will be divided into three parts. The first will be devoted to the coaches' point of view, the second to that of the FFB, and the third to that of several authors who write about sport for persons with disabilities.

The boxers we met

Our discussion is based on six clubs, at three of which we were able to observe classes in action. Although we will be discussing disabled boxing here we will also be referring to statements and facts gathered at savate (French boxing) clubs. While disabled boxing is a matter for the FFB, one of its principal instigators has introduced savate for the disabled ("hand-savate" in French), which he describes as "more akin to English boxing", because participants are in wheelchairs. He has also created a form of stick fighting adapted for people in a wheelchair ("handicanne", from "canne", meaning stick). These two disciplines are very closely related to one another, and it is not uncommon for a boxer to transfer from one to the other. Finally, while coaches teaching both forms of boxing admit these groups into their sessions, this is the first time that a governing body has decided to unify the sport and draw up official rules so that competitions may be held.

Let us now turn to the lessons given to the disabled. At Argenteuil, the savate club has catered to various individuals with a disability for the last eight years or so. The coaches have admitted them to the same lessons as able-bodied people, whatever adjustments this necessitates. We found a similar situation at Levallois, where a boxer with part of his right arm missing, which he himself calls his "hand", trains with others without any "discrimination". His trainer has even, with other coaches, started to give lessons to people with autism and Down's syndrome.

At Pont-Sainte-Maxence, people with physical disabilities have been admitted for the past eight years. The hall used has been designed so as to meet their needs; there are no steps anywhere, and a 5% slope and wide corridors enable wheelchairs to pass through. It doubles as a workout room and contains a lot of fitness apparatus. A special section has been created this year to cater for adults from residential centres and young teenagers during the school term, most of them wheelchair-bound.

The experiment at the Mureaux boxing club lasted four years, but has now come to an end. In this case, the course was only provided for adolescents in care institutions, and lessons for other children were given at different times. At Sarcelles, the savate teacher had for 20 years been giving lessons to young people in the same situation.

Finally, the Ring Grenoblois club caters to between two and seven disabled boxers, all of them training alongside able-bodied people, apart from Tuesdays and Thursdays. An FFB-approved instructor, himself suffering from a rare disease, gives lessons to individuals with a motor disorder as well as to able-bodied people.

In June 2008, the FFB organised its Gilbert Joie tournament, at the instigation of the disabled boxing action group. Official registration for disabled boxers was introduced in September that year. The fact that physically disabled people take part in competitions does not in principle present any difficulty, but questions arise regarding the organisation of bouts. For example, Giovanni, a coach at Pont-Sainte-Maxence, speaking about the various categories in general, said: "These difficulties concerning categories of boxers are compounded by the fact that a 13-year-old teenager may take on a 66-year-old woman." That particular case, during a class, proved competitive, "10-9 for Mauricette". A teacher interviewed said: "Competitions, okay, but now you have to ask about categories. First of all, there's the person's sex, then their weight and, finally, their disability." A disabled boxer from Levallois, who had already fought two bouts and was proud of the fact, acknowledged that he had difficulty in resisting the blows from his first opponent; he weighs 60 kilograms but his opponent was twice as heavy.

Where mental disabilities are concerned, the reactions differed. The coaches at Sarcelles and Les Mureaux oppose the inclusion of persons with mental disabilities. The Les Mureaux coach said:

It depends. What disability? If it's only a physical disability, yes. In the case of disabled people like mine, there have been no competitions. I don't know, other ways will have to be found. No competition between them ... I mean no.

At Levallois, the response was:

I think that the spirit of competition with this type ... that's not what they want. That's for people who want to win through. They want ... Well, competitions are not what it's about. Those children there don't need to take part in competitions. That's not the aim. That's not what they're looking for, not the point. I'm not looking to organise competitions. And what type of competitions could they be anyway? ... So no competitions. Competitions only get in the way.

Whereas the coaches we met could not grasp the merit of organising competitions for mentally disabled individuals, one of the action group's officials said during a discussion that the "professionals were even surprised to see them accept frustration as they did", by which he meant being hit, losing, being afraid.

At Levallois, they go so far as to prohibit any blow to the face, as "the trauma is in the head". The fear of receiving too heavy a blow to the face prevails over any form of education about touch, as in light-contact boxing. This desire to keep the tightest possible control over physical contact stems

from the assumption that “people with autism and Down’s syndrome have no sexual relations and are therefore very tense”. For this reason, it was said, they need to “let off steam”. The aim of this teaching, looking beyond the anecdotal aspect of that assumption, is thus to have students gain control over their body and their urges when dealing with the violence inside them.

At Argenteuil, the boxers are integrated with everyone else, whatever their disability. The boxers under discussion here merge invisibly into the group, as their disability no longer distinguishes them from the rest. The consequence of basing boxing on this inclusive approach is that, in contrast to the situation at Levallois, any blows are allowed, by both fighters. The people in charge are more concerned about other individuals than about the mentally disabled, who are integrated in the same way as everyone else, although they are sometimes given special attention, for example in deciding who they should box with. In spite of their different way of doing things, the justification remains that “they don’t need competition. That’s not what they want.”

The position of the disabled boxing action group within the FFB

We have seen in the first part of this paper the position taken by boxing coaches on the question of competition for disabled people, and we have noted that bouts between individuals present a problem with regard to the mentally disabled. The only club that differs is Ring Grenoblois, where some officials from the disabled boxing action group organised the first official disabled boxing competition in France. According to one of them, this was a true “French disabled boxing championship”.

The FFB embarked on this path because the French Disability Sports Federation (FFH) and the French Federation for Adapted Sport (FFSA) have never wanted to undertake such a project. A coach in Grenoble said: “Once we have a lot of officially registered boxers – and 150 would be a lot – they’ll be prepared to take over.” But Pont-Sainte-Maxence illustrates the laissez-faire approach of the FFH. When the club tried to get the section that it set up this year affiliated to the FFH, it was turned down. According to the coach, “This is because some clubs and associations try to secure grants even though they have no intention of admitting disabled people.”

The disabled boxing action group has therefore tried, according to its national administrator, to unify a practice adopted that is “isolated” but “present nationwide”. He is critical of the step taken by the FFB when nothing is currently being done to help the action group: “There are [regional] committee chairs who want to help and others who don’t.” Despite everything, he says, “We managed to unify.”

On what rules is disabled boxing based? The rules chosen are those of light-contact boxing, but with some adaptations and modifications. The rules of light-contact boxing relevant to the participants are:

- the opponent must not be harmed;
- the bout takes place face to face in a ring (the rules on the number of rounds and their duration are predefined for different age groups);
- only a touch delivered by a clenched fist with the top of the metacarpals and the first phalanges is counted;
- the boxer's targets are the face and the chest;
- the rules require the wearing of specific protective equipment: a gum shield, boxing gloves and a helmet.

These principal rules of light-contact boxing are the ones used in disabled boxing. However, if the disability prevents the blow from being delivered with any accuracy, boxers are allowed to use the palm of their hand. Turning one's back on one's opponent will not necessarily be penalised, again depending on the disability. Moreover, it is possible for an able-bodied and a disabled boxer to face one another in an official competition.

Boxers are mainly classified according to their disability (mental, physical upright, physical using a wheelchair), and not their weight or age. This is a reversal of the situation in traditional boxing and, as we have seen, this classification does not necessarily equalise contacts, as the boxer in Levallois, in particular, found. On the other hand, this choice proves perfectly appropriate for the two wheelchair-bound boxers in Pont-Sainte-Maxence.

The FFB clearly wants to give itself a different image. Having already opened its doors to women, it seems to want to go a step further and attract a wider audience. While the arrival of women in boxing was met with some misgivings (as shown by statements we often heard in informal conversations), the number of members has risen. According to Alexis Philonenko, in his book on the history of boxing, "In 1950, 8 000 registered boxers belonged to the French Boxing Federation, but in 1980 the figure barely exceeded 2 000. Far from moving into the future, boxing is dying" (Philonenko 2002: 18). In 2004-05, according to figures supplied by the FFB, 25 578 boxers were registered. Today, according to the director of Ring Grenoblois, there are 48 000. Even though this federation is still a small one, this is a massive increase. The appearance and promotion of women's boxing has not happened by chance.

The effect of introducing an official registration for disabled boxers is not only to swell the ranks, but also to show that it is possible for everyone to box. This strategy of making boxing available to all seems to be paying off today, and it is enough to visit the official website of the FFB to see how much this increase is welcomed. Finally, falling into line with the 2005 Law on Disability is enabling the FFB to present a more positive image of itself.

This strategy is paying off but seems to be concealing certain facts. Again, according to the two disabled boxing coaches in Grenoble, "The managers in Paris simply ask if you think that's all they've got to do." It is clear that, while the action group has achieved something, it remains fairly isolated within the federation.

Sport for all, competition for all and the social purpose of sport

We will not be reviewing literature here. Rather, the aim will be to draw attention to the opinions of certain authors that, in our opinion, have struck a chord with those organising disabled boxing, and at the same time to contradict the "absolute" character of some of their statements.

Auguste Listello, Roger Crenn and Pierre Clerc said back in 1964 (p. 9):

We once again maintain that physical education should not be reserved for able-bodied individuals (whether champions or not). Everyone (unless there is a medical contraindication), whether female or male, a child, an adolescent or an adult, has a right to participate in it, whether they be able-bodied, physically impaired or have a hearing, visual or mental deficiency, if they are capable of living in society, and for them care will be taken to choose only those activities that do not present any danger.

Does not the fact that participation must not pose any danger mean that boxing, an activity regarded as very dangerous, will fall into disrepute? As Norbert Elias has pointed out, habits and customs are changing to some extent. We cannot help thinking that competition, even involving boxing against counterparts, is desirable despite the prejudiced view that people with mental disabilities "don't go all the way".

Gilles Bui-Xan and Michel Brunet (1999: 286) also noted:

Physical and sporting activities are themselves the issue, as they are a good indicator of acknowledgment of this notion of educability. They are both a guarantee and the culmination of a new respect for mentally disabled people, who are accordingly not only capable of being educated, but also of working, and therefore of appreciating leisure.

While the response provided here clearly places the emphasis on education, the fact remains that competition has educational virtues. Serge Bluteau (in Bui-Xan and Brunet 1999: 54) complements the above when he says:

I do not think it is desirable in a sprinting race, for example, to have an individual for whom the rules are generally clear and meaningful, and who possesses good physical and motor capabilities competing against another individual who not only may already have much weaker general physical capabilities than the first, but does not necessarily grasp the meaning of some concepts which are "obvious" to us.

Given this, how would it be possible to explain a 14-year-old teenager being able to compete against a 66-year-old woman? Bluteau continues: "However, if we take a broader social and institutional view and go on to analyse the aims and desirable content of adapted sport, we are again led to stress and highlight the irreplaceable role played by participation in sport" (ibid: 240). On competition, he says, "Nothing proves that it is desirable for individuals never to be able to assess themselves or compare themselves with others" (ibid: 237). While we can only endorse this view, what can be said about the statements made in Levallois, where there is only one concern, which is "not to upset" people with autism or Down's syndrome? Bluteau even goes so far as to criticise the way in which some sports meetings not based on any equalising elements are organised. What, therefore, should we think of the inclusive training at Argenteuil, where students regarded as having an impairment spar with able-bodied individuals, and never compete with someone in their own category or participate in an official competition? This may even enable them to forget that they have all too often been regarded as different from others, abnormal.

The teacher at Les Mureaux made the following remarks about the organisation of his lessons for teenagers:

I was really pleased with their work, because it was ... what I did with them. I got them working: I allowed them to assess one another and hardly intervened at all. So, apart from their boxing technique, which was fairly rudimentary for them, but good enough for me, it was all right. If they understood touching without being touched, and touching without hitting, then I had already got all that I wanted ... and they were not only able to judge but to do so extremely well.

This self-assessment effort preceded their integration into the able-bodied group: "I had them work with the able-bodied members. They had been completely assimilated by the club. No one paid any attention to them any more." Although they stayed with each other at the beginning, this teacher wanted to integrate them into the able-bodied group.

Anne Marcellini described things differently. According to her, "The only effective way to destigmatise them is to remove them from the disabled category and put them into the elite group of those who have risen above their disability and effectively normalised their situation" (Marcellini 2005: 68). This applies to wheelchair-bound individuals in basketball clubs. Mounir, in Argenteuil, certainly comes close to achieving this normalisation, as his disability is no longer noticed.

This question also exercised the teacher in Sarcelles: "So the disabled person has won his challenge and can tell himself he has really managed to merge in with the rest and not be noticed any more." This sentence clearly

echoes the thoughts of Anne Marcellini. It is perhaps no coincidence that the director of the disabled boxing action group drew inspiration from the writings of Serge Mesure and Anne Marcellini before launching the disabled boxing project.

Conclusion: conflict as a means of construction?

We have drawn attention to a number of conflicts, which Georg Simmel explains thus: "There is in fact a movement to provide protection against the dualism that divides, and a life that will lead to some kind of unity, even if this is brought about through the destruction of one of the parties" (1992: 19). This last aspect is unlikely, since we are talking about communication and links between different boxers and different, even conflicting, points of view. By disagreeing, they acknowledge one another. Conversely, the fact that the FFH and the FFSA refuse to take up a specific position and become involved in any way is not an insignificant sign.

The fact that no support is provided and efforts are even being obstructed shows there is a latent conflict between the individual initiatives that have resulted in a specific FFB and FFH registration. We could make many assumptions, but this does not seem appropriate in the absence of a really coherent response from the institution. We also wish to point out that we have tried to contact the FFH and the FFSA on several occasions, but have so far received no reply from them.

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Conclusion

Safeguarding the integrity of sport: the case for an international body

André Noël Chaker¹⁷⁷

The ethics and integrity of sport

The integrity of sport: the sports ethics iceberg still beneath the surface

A vital subject for discussion by sports officials and researchers at the Council of Europe Conference on Ethics and Sport in Europe was the current situation regarding the ethics and governance of sport. It seems to me that the ethical rules and standards relating to sport have reached a significant crossroads in their development. For over 30 years, our main ethical concerns have related to doping and spectator violence. Both of these issues have benefited from the signing of international conventions and, in 2000, the question of doping was entrusted to the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA), a specialised supervisory body. Unfortunately, the signing of conventions, drafting of regulations and setting up of an organisation have not eliminated these two constant threats to sport, but they have made them more evident and their control more credible.

Ethical problems worm their way into modern sport in ways which sports officials and civil servants would never have imagined in days gone by. If sports ethics can be broadly defined as a set of principles based on honesty and the pursuit of sporting excellence, it quickly becomes clear that the ethical difficulties facing sport nowadays go beyond the traditional problems of doping and violence. It could be said, using a rather chilly metaphor, that sport's ethical challenges lie at different levels of an iceberg (Figure 1). The most conventional and visible threats to sport are the tip of the iceberg above the surface (doping and violence), while the great mass of ethical problems affecting modern sport lie underwater. They concern the integrity and governance of sport in general. Figure 1 also depicts sport as a sailing boat seeking a safe passage through perilous waters. This image illustrates the fact that major risks to modern sport are often not clearly visible.

177. Director, new activities development and international issues, Veikkaus Oy, Finnish national lottery.

Figure 1: The iceberg of sports ethics



**The integrity of sport and match-fixing:
the next major ethical challenge**

Sport's integrity can be defined in terms of its ethical welfare and independence. Failure to respect this integrity leaves a dark cloud hanging over the world of sport which may prove even more damaging than doping, and more difficult to combat in practice. The financial gains that can be made through sport, augmented by the development of information technologies, have made it an increasingly attractive target for people wanting to exert improper influence on it. It is more important than ever for the sporting movement and governments worldwide to take action and protect sport against all improper manipulation and outside influence.

The most pressing and dangerous threat looming over the integrity of sport is the manipulation of results. This is when the result of a match is pre-determined for the benefit of outside interests. Two rules are thereby broken: firstly the rules of sport, and secondly (in most countries) the law. Match-fixing happens everywhere and has repercussions for sport as a whole. Across the globe, at all levels and in many different sports, fixers offer bribes to individuals or groups, and make physical threats towards athletes and their families.

Such attempts to exert dishonest influence on sport are especially alarming because of their links with organised crime. Some shady circles resort to match-fixing in order to launder money. At first glance, the match result may seem unsurprising: the team that was favourite won, just as was expected. In reality, the losing team's goalkeeper might have taken a bribe or been threatened to ensure that the predictable result did come about. Thus unusually large sums of money are covertly laundered to give them a more legitimate origin. This problem is made all the more difficult to tackle by the fact that the manipulations are orchestrated by organised crime groups.

Understandably, exposing and putting a stop to these kinds of dealings is a difficult and dangerous task.

Match-fixing, however, is not a recent trend. It was early in the last century (1919) that the baseball World Series was rigged by eight Chicago White Sox players. Branded the "Black Sox Scandal", the incident is remembered as a sorry example of this phenomenon. Ever since, there have been frequent revelations of either wholly or partially fixed matches. Perhaps the most notorious scandal of recent years involved Italy's top professional football league Serie A, in 2006, and led to Juventus being stripped of two championship titles. We could list many other well-known examples here, whereby various sports around the world have been similarly tainted. Those, however, would only be the tip of the iceberg. For the most part, sports organisations struggle to combat this problem successfully, as they simply do not have the tools or means to do it alone.

Sports governance and revenue

Good governance in sport depends on competent governments and active sports organisations

Sports governance depends on the effectiveness of the networks of public bodies in charge of sport, sports organisations, and the common and independent procedures laid down by specific legislation and policies as well as by private regulations to promote efficient, ethical, democratic and responsible sport activities.¹⁷⁸ Sports governance, then, is linked to sports ethics in many respects and encompasses the issues relating to the integrity of sport. It is vital that sport's stakeholders consistently assess and reinforce the quality of sports governance. An update is vital of the Council of Europe's studies of legislation relating to sport and sports governance. Only regular detailed and comparative analyses of sports legislation and sports governance procedures in the various European states and sports organisations will make it possible to improve sports governance and address the many legal and ethical challenges facing it.

In terms of the connection between sport's integrity and governance, it is noted that a number of European states have made efforts to tackle the problem by regulating all the crimes which occur in sport. Violence against individuals, theft, money laundering, trafficking in human beings and illegal betting are all issues that states have been dealing with more systematically. Sports organisations have also started to take steps within their own area of responsibility. Many of these initiatives have been set in motion in conjunction with national and other regulated lotteries around the world.

178. Chaker A-N. (2004), *Good governance in sport – a European survey*, Council of Europe Publishing, Strasbourg.

The majority of action taken over the past three years to safeguard the integrity of sport has concerned the international football scene. The European Lotteries association has drawn up a Code of Conduct on Sports Betting, and has also, together with the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA), set up a system enabling the profession to monitor illegal betting. The co-operation established between the World Lottery Association and the International Federation of Association Football (FIFA) represents an important milestone. The early warning system launched by FIFA will be an invaluable monitoring tool for any irregularities found in the different types of betting worldwide. Commendably, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) used the same kind of early warning system as FIFA for the Beijing Olympic Games. The battle for the integrity of sport must, from now on, be extended to all sporting disciplines affected and to all relevant levels.

The integrity of sport, the basis of sport's economic well-being

Lotteries, sports betting companies, casinos and slot-machine operators represent a huge and fast-growing global economic sector, together generating around US\$350 billion in revenue every year and playing a significant role in the economic well-being of sport. A substantial proportion of the revenue generated by numerous national lotteries goes towards financing sport. In Finland alone, a country of 5 million people, more than €100 million of national lottery (Veikkaus) funds are donated to sport each year. In Europe, sports organisations, including national Olympic committees, draw about 50% of their budgets from public funds, a large proportion of which come from national lotteries.

Private Internet operators represent a tiny part of the sector, barely 5% or 6% of the entire gambling industry. The majority of revenue comes from conventional retail sales made within states' national borders. Sports betting brings in less than 10% of the revenue made from a typical national lottery in Europe. The sums given to sport as a good cause, however, correspond theoretically to much more than this 10%. A national lottery generally gives 35% of its revenue to good causes. The equivalent figure for private operators is less than 4% of revenue. A national lottery is, therefore, a means of funding good causes that goes far beyond private operators' figures. In the EU alone, the sums provided to good causes exceeded €15 billion in 2008. Many countries' national Olympic committees could not function without national lottery funding.

Top-level sport, as we all know, accounts for a small part of overall sporting activity. The money generated by lotteries constitutes the main source of funding for the mass sport that is the backbone of the sporting world. Sport is a vital force within society, viewed by all states as a source of social cohesion and public well-being. Lotteries provide a large share of the funding for this social conception of sport. Private operators, certainly, can talk about a "fair return"

for sports clubs, but national lotteries are essential to all sport right down to the ordinary people who benefit from their funding, upon whom the sporting world depends. Without mass sport, professional sport would not exist.

The case for an international body

Given the challenges involved in upholding the integrity of sport, the following conclusions can be drawn:

- Safeguarding the integrity of sport is a global issue, which requires a concerted international effort.
- It is a task that goes beyond sports organisations' limited powers.
- In the event of any problem, sports betting companies can efficiently sound the alarm, but lack the capacity to intervene.
- Governments and law enforcement authorities, of course, do have the capacity to intervene at local level, but need international information and resources from the sporting world in order to tackle this problem efficiently.

In view of these conclusions, there are several options available to sport's key stakeholders.

Broadening WADA's scope

This would entail the creation of a department within WADA to lead the fight against match-fixing worldwide. The department would benefit from WADA's experience of effective co-operation with states and sports organisations in addressing this additional ethical challenge facing world sport. This option would be the most cost-effective one, but WADA's current profile and remit are perhaps not geared to dealing with the kinds of offences and levels of crime associated with match-fixing.

Establishing a network of anti-corruption organisations

Many specialist bodies outside the world of sport could contribute their expertise. Transparency International, the United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute, Interpol and the Council of Europe (Conventions on Corruption) are all well-placed to strengthen, and provide their expertise to, the fight not only against crime in sport in general, but also more particularly against match-fixing. In any case, these organisations will need to have, either individually or collectively, specialist competence regarding sport, and will have to receive the support of sports organisations and lotteries, if they are to make real progress.

Setting up an international body

The extent of the criminal activities increasingly present in sport would seem to justify consideration of the setting up of an international body with the

main task of keeping crime out of sport. This may be a politically and financially less appealing option, but a body of this kind would be able to devote itself more exclusively and reliably to the prevention of crime in sport.

The international community could also consider giving a single body responsibility for co-ordinating several initiatives against crime in sport. Trafficking of minors, corruption among officials and match-fixing could come within the remit of one group of crime prevention experts, who would work with and enter into agreements with sports organisations and lotteries.

Considering the outstanding efforts made by the Council of Europe to combat doping and violence, it would seem natural for the Enlarged Partial Agreement on Sport to draft a recommendation to all Council of Europe member states urging them to step up the battle for ethical sport which is free from crime, and to consider what resources should be devoted to safeguarding the future of sport.

Recommendations for an ethical physical activity programme with underserved youth

Rodrigo Pardo¹⁷⁹

Introduction

In the field of physical activity and sport it is very important to link research and practice. In this regard, this chapter presents practical information that can be useful for those who are involved in education, and particularly for physical activity and sport professionals who work with underserved youth and want to make a difference in kids' lives in an ethical way.

The study

The recommendations that are presented here are the result of a study conducted on underserved secondary students. Specifically, the purpose of this study was to examine the impact of a responsibility-based physical activity programme on this population.

A 10-week physical activity programme based on the Responsibility Model was implemented at three schools with similar characteristics located in Getafe (Spain), Los Angeles (United States) and L'Aquila (Italy). The 51 student participants (40 male and 11 female) ranged from 15 to 19 years of age, and belonged to 11 different nationalities.

The programme was looked at as a qualitative multiple case study. Data collection included the use of field notes, journal entries, questionnaires and post-programme interviews with the students and teachers of the schools.

Precedents

A literature review verified that the majority of the studies that implemented a physical activity programme based on the Responsibility Model involved more people than just the teacher. These people are usually graduate students or university assistant students. The situation is therefore closer to that of a laboratory experiment than to the reality in schools, where a sole teacher has to face a whole class on his or her own.

On the other hand, there have been a few studies that implemented a responsibility-based physical activity programme with a sole teacher. These

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results of such studies, closer to the situation in schools, are more applicable to physical education (PE) teachers.

The present study took its cue from the latter cases and during its practical phase the programme was conducted by a sole teacher. Hence, the recommendations that are presented here could be beneficial to those who want to put into practice a physical activity programme by themselves.

Practical recommendations

After implementing a physical activity programme based on the Responsibility Model with underserved youth in three different countries, common features for success were identified:

Know your students: If you want the students to respect you, you must know who they are, how they are and what things they like. You have to be concerned with their situation at school (for example, their grades) and outside it (for example, number of siblings, favourite music or sport team).

Appreciate the capacities of your students: Everybody has something positive to contribute, even those students who are difficult. The field notes of the teacher can be a useful source.

Be genuine: To promote personal and social attributes entails an ethical commitment by the educator. It is important to firmly believe in what you teach and for your actions to be consistent with such beliefs since you are a constant reference point for your students.

Be patient and persistent: Often your work will not elicit a positive change in the attitudes of your students. There will be days when you love your profession and others when you would like to dedicate yourself to something else. The only way is to persevere and to try to continue giving the best of yourself, believing in the importance of the work you are doing.

Their opinion counts: It is necessary for students to feel that their opinions are important to you. You do not have to build a fence between you and your students; in fact, creating an environment where all feel they are on the same team is important. However, it is necessary to remember that you are not their friend; you remain their teacher.

Give them options: If you allow your students to enjoy a certain degree of freedom to decide on the content or activities in their programme, their motivation to participate can be positively affected.

Offer leadership opportunities: Although some students are more comfortable in leadership positions than others, everyone should be offered the opportunity to be a leader. If a student does not perform well as a leader it does not mean that he or she will continue to make the same mistakes the following day. It is necessary to learn how to be a leader, and this type of

programming can be a good place for this learning to occur. Leadership is something that needs practice.

Be flexible: When you work with young people it is essential to have the ability to adapt to the unexpected situations that can occur during class. It does not matter that you have prepared a “perfect session”. In fact, during the programme studied, it was rare that a session was implemented as planned: circumstances always changed, making adjustments necessary.

Do not give too much importance to negative attitudes: Many of your students will demand your attention; the problem is that sometimes they do it in an inappropriate way. You must show them that there are positive ways to obtain your attention. Often it can be more effective to ignore certain attitudes rather than become alarmed whenever something unusual happens. You must ask yourself a simple question: what is the level of chaos you are willing to tolerate?

Establish the limits: The teacher must lay down a “line” and let know the students know that to cross that line has its consequences. Very often, adolescents require certain limits because they live in environments where “everything is ok”. In order to get the best out of them, the teacher has present himself or herself as an adult, albeit one who cares for them.

Increase the possibilities of success: If you want your students to have a positive experience when they get involved in physical activity and sports, it is necessary to offer activities that promote their participation. Therefore, it is essential to carefully select the content and teaching strategies to avoid those activities that pose unachievable challenges, thus leading to student demotivation.

Security is a must: It is important to maintain an environment that is physically and emotionally safe. Facilities have to be in usable condition and the equipment should not pose any risks (for example, using safety softballs to play baseball).

Limit the number of students: Don Hellison, the creator of the Responsibility Model, argues that the number of participants should not exceed 20. This is not a “magic number” because, as this study has shown, you can work with 26 students and promote positive outcomes. In a school setting most of the time you cannot decide how many students will be enrolled in your class, but if you have a choice, 20 seems to be a good number.

Reflection is the first step on the road to change: As the proverb goes, “Once bitten, twice shy.” If you offer your students opportunities to reflect, perhaps you can avoid some of these “bites”. At the end of each session during this study, the students had to fill out a personal journal reflecting on what they did and how they behaved.

Create your own “recipe book”: Throughout this study a number of strategies and methods were set out which were deemed useful in conducting a physical activity programme with underserved youth. Nevertheless, this does not mean that all of them work in every context. It is important to discover what is effective according to your teaching style and the characteristics of your students; more importantly, one should explore new strategies that have yet to be documented. As we saw during this study, not everything works.

Conclusion

Normally, when you want to implement a physical activity programme that pursues an improvement in technical skills or preparation for a competition, the most important thing is that the programme is designed properly and can achieve the objectives set out within a period of time.

However, if the programme seeks to promote the personal and social responsibility of its participants, it is not only programme design that is important, but also the characteristics of the person running it. This paper has offered a number of recommendations for an ethical physical activity programme, specifically with underserved youth.

To conclude, I would like to quote Professor Tom Martinek of the University of North Carolina, USA, who has been working in the field of positive youth development for the last 30 years. I still remember a presentation I attended a few years ago, when he said that there are three keys to the success of sport youth programmes: relationships, relationships and relationships.

In memory of the people I met in L'Aquila, who are struggling to survive following the earthquake.

Ethics in sport – current and future challenges

*Sigmund Loland*¹⁸⁰

Introduction

Sport has a significant impact on modern society. In most European countries, more than half of the population claims to exercise and take part in sport at least once a week. A majority of children and youth take part in sport via school or voluntary clubs. The public interest in elite sport is immense. Events such as the World Cup in football, or the Olympic Games, are of global interest and top international TV ratings.

The individual and social significance of sport should not be underestimated. Sport can influence fitness and health in positive ways, and can be a sphere of moral education, the development of community values and social integration. It can also help identity construction at local, national and international levels. However, sport can also be a source of problems. Children and youth sport can be cynical and socially exclusive, fitness and exercise cultures may exacerbate problematic body ideals, and elite sport sometimes struggles with high injury rates, aggression and doping.

An ethics of sport implies systematic and critical reflection upon the norms and values of sport. A system of sports ethics should not only articulate and define key norms and values, but also illuminate the tensions arising in practice and suggest proposals to deal with them.

In the following, a tentative outline is given of the key norms and values of sport, and brief discussions are presented on what are seen as significant ethical challenges to sport in contemporary European societies. The emphasis will be on organised, competitive sport at various levels, that is, on activities dealing with the training for and performance in sport competitions. The field of fitness and exercise has less emphasis on formal competition and is driven by other norms and values, such as health and appearance. Hence the ethical challenges are somewhat different.

Norms and values of competitive sport

There are several theories of the normative basis of competitive sport, from Ancient Greek Olympic philosophy in which sport was part of a religious cult, via the British ideology of amateurism of the 19th century and Pierre de Coubertin's Olympic ideology from the late 19th century, to academic

180. Professor and Rector, The Norwegian School of Sport Sciences.

works in sport philosophy from the post-war period (Morgan 2009). The norms and values presented here are found in one version or the other in most normative theories of sport. More specifically, two sporting ideals will be highlighted: fairness, and sporting excellence as human excellence.

In the sporting context, fairness means at least two things (Rawls 1971; Loland 2002). At the institutional level, fairness means providing all competitors with an equal opportunity to perform. For instance, eligibility rules should be based on performance potential alone (and not on race, ethnicity, nationality, socio-economic class or other aspects irrelevant to performance). Within competitions, external conditions should be identical for all or at least as similar as possible. Rules should be universally applied without partiality of any kind. Fairness is a structural characteristic of competitions without which evaluation of performance would be difficult or even meaningless.

At the individual level, fairness is a moral obligation to play by the rules. Its justification is twofold. First, a general adherence to the rules is a necessity for competitions to take place at all. The core rules, what are sometimes called the constitutive rules (Searle 1969), define what counts as a performance in a sport. Without a common interpretation of the rules and a general adherence to them, there can be no sport. Secondly, if rule violations are to “pay off” violators depend upon other competitors keep to the rules. Rule violators are so-called free riders who depend upon the rule adherence of others to earn an advantage. They enjoy the benefits of co-operation without doing their fair share. Intentional rule violation, or cheating, is a paradigmatic example of unfairness.

Fairness is a necessary but not sufficient condition for good sport. The ideal does not answer questions about the basic meaning and justification of the activity. Why should sport be realised at all? What is its *raison d'être*?

A variety of answers can be given depending upon the historical, social and cultural context in which sport is realised. At the structural level, however, competitive sport is about the evaluation and ranking of participants according to athletic performance. In sports ethics there is the common view that sporting excellence has to be linked in one way or the other to broader ethical ideals. Sporting excellence should be an expression of human excellence (Loland 2002).

Indeed, human excellence is not a necessary outcome as sport can be practised in problematic ways. Strong performances can be the result of human degradation, fear and biomedical manipulation. It is possible to win an Olympic gold medal through unethical conduct. To be of moral value and to be considered an expression of human excellence, certain criteria apply.

In collectivist traditions, the individual is interwoven with the community and is responsible to the community in direct ways. In modern Western

society the value of individualism is stronger and persons are considered to a larger extent as responsible for their own actions and performances. Even so, ideals of human excellence are still broadly accepted. A common view seems to be that athletic performances ought to be the result of an admirable and virtuous development of talent (Murray 2007).

This is connected to general ideals found in perfectionist philosophy with origins in Aristotle. To a certain extent competitive sport is structured around absolute perfectionism (ranking of athletes according to objective measures) but its message at its best is one of relative perfectionism (admiration of athletes in terms of their virtuous realisation of talent).

In sum, it can be said that fairness and human excellence constitute a tentative, normative framework within which current challenges to sports ethics can be discussed and evaluated. I will proceed by looking at match-fixing, the trafficking of young athletes, discrimination and the possibilities of genetic doping.

Match-fixing, corruption and illegal betting

Match-fixing occurs when a match is played to a completely or partially predetermined result. The competition is not real. The rationale behind match-fixing varies. Sometimes matches are lost for strategic reasons. For instance, to a football team a match may have no sporting significance in the larger context of a series in which the result is already determined, and the team may make no effort to win. This may be a problem for fairness and the quality of competitions, but no significant moral challenge to sport. A far more serious problem is when the outcome is predetermined due to corruption and an external quest for profit.

Match-fixing and corruption in sport can take many forms and involve anything from paying off a referee or player in one particular competition to more subtle manipulation of a series of results (Hill 2008).

Usually, match-fixing arises as a result of (illegal) sports gambling. Sports gambling has a long and to a certain extent troubled history, though today it incorporates an official and public version in the form of state-run lotteries. In most European countries, these are core sources of finance for sport and sports facilities. Ethical issues related to the legal forms of sports gambling will not be discussed here. The main ethical challenge is the existence of illegal betting linked to money laundering and criminal activities.

How do match-fixing, corruption and illegal betting relate to the ideals of fairness and human excellence in sport?

These practices are obvious and direct threats to the ideal of fairness. Fixed and corrupted matches give unreal and false outcomes. Most players, the sporting community and the general public are deceived.

Fairness provides a framework for the development of human excellence. This core value of sport is threatened as well. Innocent athletes may still demonstrate human excellence, but match-fixing, corruption and illegal betting mean that at least some of the key sporting agents are involved in deception. Match-fixing corrupts not only the results but individuals as well.

A deeply problematic long-term consequence of match-fixing and corruption is that such practices, representing the very antithesis of sport, undermine trust in sport among the general public. If the problem is not controlled, the public image of sport and support for it may deteriorate. Legal sport lotteries may lose markets and the very financing of sports activities and facilities will come under fire.

Countering this ethical problem requires efficient policies. Commercial and professional elite sport offer possibilities for high profits while control systems are relatively lax. Having developed in the last few decades from an amateur system, elite sport is characterised by a relatively low degree of economic transparency and control.

There is a strong need for national and international authorities and sports organisations to establish stricter rules and better control systems, including full transparency where financial transactions among key agents are concerned. Competence and best-practice models can perhaps be learned from the anti-doping movement, and from national and international expertise in related areas, for instance from Transparency International.

Trafficking of young athletes

Human trafficking refers to practices including the recruitment, transportation, harbouring or receipt of people for the purposes of forced labour (including bonded labour or debt bondage) or outright slavery. In the recruitment process, the means employed are coercion, deception, fraud and even abduction. Human trafficking is associated with sexual exploitation and prostitution, forced labour and slavery, and even the removal of organs. Child trafficking includes among other things forced prostitution, illicit international adoption, forced marriage or recruitment as child soldiers, beggars or athletes (such as football players and child camel jockeys).

There are several reports of trafficking of young athletes into European professional sport. The most common cases are young African soccer players being tricked by agents into paying significant amounts of money to go to Europe for trials with clubs. In many cases the so-called agents work on false premises and young athletes are abandoned in European cities without valid documents. Many of these youngsters end up homeless and/or involved in criminal activity.

The general ethical challenge is obvious. Human trafficking deals with the cynical exploitation of young individuals and their families from less

fortunate areas of the world. The discussion is one of a more general scheme of global fairness and human rights.

The policy implications of the problem of human trafficking are multiple. Recruitment practices, even in well-established sport clubs, are relatively lax and lack transparency. They may even stoop to straightforward exploitation. Organisations such as the International Federation of Association Football (FIFA) and the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) have developed policies to prevent human trafficking, and other sports bodies ought to follow their lead. The fact that trafficking of young athletes seems in many cases to be linked to organised crime, drugs and prostitution warrants extensive co-operation between sport and national and international authorities.

Discrimination

In this context, discrimination refers to the prejudicial treatment of a person or a group of people based on certain characteristics. Discrimination can be positive behaviour directed towards a certain group, or negative behaviour directed against a certain group. Discrimination on grounds such as biological sex, ethnic background or religion is illegal in most Western societies.

At the structural level, fairness in sport implies giving all participants an equal opportunity to perform. In a wider interpretation of the norm, fairness in sport means that all individuals and groups in society ought to be given an equal opportunity to take part in and enjoy the benefits of sport if they so wish. Discrimination in sport usually takes the form of denying or limiting participation to individuals or groups based on non-relevant differences such as sex, race, socio-economic status, ethnicity, disability or sexual orientation.

There are two kinds of challenges here. The first is to be found within the sports system itself. One particular challenge is linked to eligibility and classification systems. In fair classification, attempts are made to eliminate or at least compensate for inequalities between participants upon which they exert little or no control and for which they cannot be held responsible (Loland 2002). In combat sports there are weight classes, in most sports there is sex classification. Inequalities in body size and sex should not determine the outcome of competitions dealing with the virtuous development of talent. The idea of equality of opportunity, however, is not applied in consistent ways. Why are there no height classes in basketball and volleyball? And why is there sex classification in shooting and archery? If sport is supposed to be a model sphere of fairness in society, perhaps this should be changed?

The other challenge of discrimination is external and has more extensive social implications: discrimination when it comes to access to sports activity and sports facilities and resources. The critical question is how to secure fair access to sport for all. In most Western societies the lower socio-economic segments, ethnic minorities and people with disabilities are underrepresented

in sports participation. From a global perspective, there are vast inequalities in the structural, financial, technological and scientific resources invested in sport among different nations and regions.

If sport is considered a social and human good leading to improved health and social integration, this is deeply unfair and limits the development of human excellence. Locally, nationally and internationally, there is a need for solidarity and redistribution of competence and resources. Sports-for-all organisations may provide best-practice models in this respect.

Genetic engineering

Since the late 1960s the use of performance-enhancing drugs has been met with concern and gradually stronger responses. Although global anti-doping at the practice level still faces serious challenges, the global World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) Code and the WADA guidelines apply to all organised competitive sport. In most international events there are extensive testing regimes. Anti-doping seems to be making good progress.

The justification of the ban on doping is found in the WADA criteria for methods and substances to be considered for inclusion on the list of prohibited substances. These criteria are:

- scientific evidence or experience demonstrates that the method or substance has the potential to enhance, or enhances, sport performance;
- medical evidence or experience suggests that the use of the substance or method represents an actual or potential health risk to the athlete;
- the use of the substance or the method violates the spirit of sport.¹⁸¹

If a substance or method meets two out of these three criteria, it should be considered for the prohibited substance list. The two first criteria are matters of scientific testing and facts. The third criterion is normative. WADA defines “the spirit of sport” with references to a series of values which include fairness and human excellence.

I will not spend time on the traditional doping debate but concentrate on new and challenging developments within biotechnology. WADA defines gene doping or genetic engineering (the manipulation with biotechnological means of the genes of an organism) as perhaps its greatest future challenge. Various techniques of somatic gene transfer can be used to enhance performance in a variety of sports in terms of endurance, strength and speed. The more radical perspective of germ line gene transfer and the construction “from scratch” (so to speak) of athletic talent is to a larger extent only a theoretical possibility.

181. Article 4.3, WADA Code, www.wada-ama.org/rtecontent/document/code_v3.pdf, accessed 31 May 2001.

The logic of gene doping is similar to that of traditional doping. Athletes and support systems use such means with the intent of obtaining an exclusive advantage over those who do not. The differences lie in the way genetic technology works and in its effects, which can be much more far-reaching than that obtaining through traditional doping.

What are the challenges of somatic gene transfer techniques when it comes to fairness and the ideal of human excellence? As with traditional doping, gene doping is banned due its potential harmful effects, its tendency to favour competitors with resources and expertise, and the undermining of the ideal of sporting excellence as the virtuous development of natural talent.

The case of germ line gene technology is more complex. Theoretically speaking, a child born with a technologically well designed talent for a sport could be given the full freedom and responsibility of his or her talent development and lead a meaningful sporting life of fairness and human excellence. Perhaps even the health risks could be reduced.

But the possibility of germ line gene technology leads to extensive moral dilemmas that go far beyond the realm of sports ethics. The social, political, economic and ethical implications of the possibility of designing individual genetic makeup are extensive. A more pragmatic approach in sport, however, may ease some of the ethical tensions. In the general public and to a certain extent among sport academics, the understanding of the possibilities of genetic technology is an exaggerated and simplistic one. As with most other forms of skilled human behaviour, an athletic performance is an extremely complex product of gene-environment interactions from the moment of conception to the moment of performance. Genetic predispositions are nothing but a starting point. There is no direct, linear relationship between what is considered the most fortunate genetic predisposition, and winning. Perhaps then sport is not so vulnerable when it comes to radical genetic intervention after all. What matters in sport is developing the phenotype, rather than the unpredictable design of the genotype.

Conclusion

I have given a brief sketch of a normative foundation for sports ethics and presented brief discussions on a selection of ethical challenges facing sport today.

Current sport is contested terrain. It can nurture positive values in the individual and society, but it can also be destructive. Competitive sport is an area of a key tension between cynicism and self-interest and the ideals of individual and institutional fairness and human excellence. The promotion of sport values depends upon educational and preventive measures as well as rules, restrictions and sanction systems.

The WADA concept of global harmonisation and co-ordination of anti-doping activities may serve as an example of best practices in this respect. In WADA, public authorities and sports organisations are united in one global, harmonised effort to battle doping. Could this be a possible model against match-fixing, corruption and discrimination in sport as well? Can we come up with a global agency for good governance in sport?

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Appendices

Resolution 1 on ethics in sport

(Adopted by the 11th Council of Europe Conference of Ministers responsible for Sport, Athens, Greece, 10-12 December 2008)

The European Ministers responsible for Sport, meeting in Athens for their 11th Conference:

- Wishing to see sport develop in the spirit of the European Sports Charter and the Code of Sports Ethics;
- Aware of the pressures which the race for success, commercialisation, the need for stars and exposure to the mass media, brings to bear on sport;
- Convinced of the need to provide sportsmen and women with a system of values which will enable them to make responsible choices when facing such pressures;
- Convinced that including the principles set out in the Code in physical education curricula and in the policies of sports organisations will favourably influence the attitudes of athletes and the general public to sport.

With regard to the promotion of ethics in sport

- Reiterate their support for the Code of Sports Ethics and the implementation of its principles and values through regulations, guidelines and policies concerning physical education and sport;
- Note with satisfaction the development of systems of effective oversight and sanctions by the sport movement and its plans to implement good governance in sport;
- Consider that the issue of fair play between teams competing in the same competitions requires good governance principles to be addressed by sports bodies;
- Support educational activities so as to promote the message of ethics in sport;
- Invite the EPAS:
 - to continue to disseminate its work on ethics in sport;
 - to identify and promote educational and preventive measures for strengthening sports ethics and to support increased resources for that purpose;
 - to draft an update of Code of Sports Ethics so as to ensure strong support for the standards and values of sport and offer responses to the new

challenges to ethics in sport as mentioned hereafter and others such as sexual harassment in sport and misuse of nutritional supplements;

- to develop operational indicators to supplement the Code of Sports Ethics and continue to work on a monitoring mechanism to advise its member states on promoting ethics in sport.

With regard to the new challenges to ethics in sport: match-fixing, corruption, illegal betting

- Acknowledge that there is a problem of corruption, match fixing and illegal betting in sport and invite sports organisations to investigate the situation and, where appropriate, identify the problems;
- Promote best practices developed by sports organisations in order to foster transparency and establish stricter rules and better control systems for financial transactions;
- Support discussions and research, in co-operation with the sport movement and relevant NGOs and specialised agencies, on measures to prevent, deter and sanction corruption in sport;
- Support education, training and guidance so as to reach a wide audience in the sport movement;
- Encourage to enforce existing laws and, where appropriate, ratify existing Council of Europe conventions on corruption (CETS Nos. 173, 174 and 191);
- Support sports organisations in their efforts to increase transparency;
- Recommend involving independent experts in ethics bodies responsible for dealing with cases and issues where ethical integrity in sport is at stake;
- Invite the EPAS, along with other concerned bodies and organisations:
 - to promote best practices to tackle the challenges to sports ethics posed notably by match fixing, corruption, illegal betting;
 - in co-operation with its Consultative Committee, to continue the work on possible ways to enhance co-operation (between government and the sport movement) on combating corruption;
 - to draw up a new draft recommendation to states on corruption, match fixing and illegal betting which could form the basis of a possible new convention on these subjects to help achieve increased integrity controls and a 'fair return' to sport for grassroots funding as regards betting.

With regard to the new challenges to ethics in sport: genetic engineering

- Reiterate their opposition to the use of genetic engineering to enhance performance in sport, which amounts to doping, and confirm their determination to take harmonised measures to combat the spread of the techniques concerned;

- Invite the authorities in charge of sport and the sport movement to contribute to a wide debate in society on the ethical consequences of the use of biotechnologies;
- Invite the EPAS:
 - to promote and disseminate best practices in combating the use of genetic engineering for purposes which are contrary to sports ethics.

With regard to the new challenges to ethics in sport: trafficking of young sports people

- Note with satisfaction the steps taken by the international, European and national federations and public authorities in adopting rules to prevent and sanction the trafficking of players;
- Agree that the development of young sportsmen and women, and the health of sport as a whole, is improved by a stable training and education period in which young sportsmen and women are not incited to move abroad too early – with possible negative consequences both for their careers and for the European sports training system as a whole;
- Invite the EPAS to build on initiatives taken by international federations and the EU in order to possibly promote quality standards regulating the activity of players' agents;
- Underline that, when the activities concerned constitute violations of existing provisions on combating human trafficking, they must also be prosecuted by the relevant authorities.

With regard to the new challenges to ethics in sport: discrimination

- Invite the EPAS:
 - to hold exchanges of views with the sport movement on rules governing eligibility and the organisation of categories in the light of the principles of ethics in sport;
 - to disseminate examples of best practices in promoting diversity through sport and combating discrimination (including the issue of integration of disabled persons which could be addressed in co-operation with CAHPAH¹⁸²);
 - in co-operation with the sport movement and the Standing Committee of the Convention on Spectator Violence, to continue promoting and monitoring Recommendation Rec(2001)6 on the prevention of racism, xenophobia and racial intolerance in sport.

182. European Co-ordination Forum for the Council of Europe Disability Action Plan 2006-2015.

Recommendation CM/Rec(2010)9 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on the revised Code of Sports Ethics

**(Adopted by the Committee of Ministers
on 16 June 2010 at the 1088th meeting
of the Ministers' Deputies)**

The Committee of Ministers, under the terms of Article 15.b of the Statute of the Council of Europe,

Considering that the aim of the Council of Europe is to achieve a greater unity between its members for the purpose of safeguarding and realising the ideals and principles which are their common heritage and facilitating their economic and social progress;

Wishing to see sport develop in the spirit of the European Sports Charter;

Aware of the pressures which the race for success, commercialisation, the need for sports "stars" and exposure to the mass media bring to bear on sport;

Convinced of the need to provide athletes with a system of values which will enable them to make responsible choices when facing such pressures;

Convinced that including the principles set out in the Code of Sports Ethics in physical education and sports curricula and in the sports policies of states and non-governmental organisations will favourably influence the attitudes of athletes and the general public to sport;

Considering that there is a need to update Recommendation (92) 14 revised of the Committee of Ministers to member states on the revised Code of Sports Ethics (adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 24 September 1992 at the 480th meeting of the Ministers' Deputies and revised for the first time at their 752nd meeting on 16 May 2001) in the light of Resolution No. 1 on Ethics in Sport, adopted at the 11th Council of Europe Conference of Ministers responsible for Sport in Athens in December 2008,

Recommends that the governments of member states:

- give their full support to the Code of Sports Ethics, as it appears in the appendix to this recommendation;
- take steps to ensure a wide dissemination of the Code of Sports Ethics to sports organisations and promote its dissemination among all appropriate target groups, particularly those working with young persons;

- encourage the authorities responsible for school and out-of-school education to introduce the principles set out in the Code of Sports Ethics into physical education and sports curricula;
- encourage regional, national and international sports organisations to take account of the principles of the Code of Sports Ethics in their activities on the basis of co-operation between public authorities and the sports movement;

Calls on the Secretary General to transmit this recommendation to:

- a. the governments of States Parties to the European Cultural Convention of the Council of Europe (ETS No. 18);
- b. international organisations and international sports organisations.

Appendix to Recommendation CM/Rec(2010)9

Code of Sports Ethics

“Fair play – the winning way”

Objectives

1. The Code of Sports Ethics has solid historical and philosophical foundations. It has two underlying principles: fairness and sport as an arena for individual self-fulfilment. Fairness refers to practising a sport while faithfully respecting the rules of competition, and to providing everyone with an equal chance of taking part in sport. Sport should be practised according to fair play, be free of discrimination and be an activity for all. Moreover, sport should be an arena for self-fulfilment in which everyone is given the opportunity for self-development and self-control according to their potential and interests. In this way, sport can become an important ethical and cultural factor in society.
2. Proceeding from the principle that the ethical considerations that underpin fair play are not an optional element but an essential component to all sporting activities, the purpose of the Code of Sports Ethics is to provide resolute backing for the rules and for the highest values of sport and to respond to the new challenges raised with regard to sports ethics which apply to all levels of proficiency and commitment in sports activities, including recreational as well as competitive sports. In this spirit, sports ethics must fully espouse the equal participation of women, girls, men and boys in all individual and/or team sports without gender-based discrimination.
3. In a context where sport – characterised by fair play, sportsmanship and voluntary involvement – is subject to the pressures of modern society, the Code of Sports Ethics sets out to:

- a. identify and promote educational and preventive measures intended to reinforce best practice. One of the main issues is therefore the promotion of fair play among children and young people;
 - b. bring ethical principles to the organisation and practice of sport which will allow the challenges facing sports ethics to be analysed and met.
4. In so doing, the code promotes the dissemination of examples of good practice for promoting diversity through sport and combating discrimination of all kinds in sport. It promotes the right of children and young people to participate and enjoy their involvement in sport, while also emphasising the responsibilities of institutions and adults to promote sports ethics and fair play and to ensure that these rights are respected.

Definition of sports ethics

5. Sports ethics is a positive concept that guides human action. Sport is a social and cultural activity which, practised fairly, enriches society and friendship between nations. Sport is also recognised as an activity which, if played fairly, offers the individual the opportunity for self-knowledge, self-expression and fulfilment, personal achievement, skill acquisition and demonstration of ability, social interaction, enjoyment, good health and well-being. Sport promotes involvement and responsibility in society and the environment with its wide range of clubs and leaders working voluntarily. In addition, responsible involvement in some activities can help to promote sensitivity to the environment.
6. Fair play is defined as much more than playing within the rules. It incorporates the concepts of friendship, respect for others and sportsmanship. Sports ethics is defined as a way of thinking, not just a way of behaving. It incorporates issues concerned with the elimination of cheating, the use of unfair strategies whilst respecting the rules, doping, misuse of nutritional supplements, violence (both physical and verbal), sexual harassment and abuse of children, young people and women, trafficking in young sportspeople, discrimination, exploitation, unequal opportunities, excessive commercialisation and corruption.

Responsibility for sports ethics

7. Participation by children and young people in sport takes place within a wider social environment. Society and the individual will not benefit fully from the potential advantages of sport unless sports ethics cease to be a secondary concept and become a major objective. Sports ethics must be given the highest priority by all those who, directly or indirectly, influence and promote sporting experiences for children and young people. These include:
- 7.1. governments, at all levels, including agencies working with governments. Those involved in formal education have a particular responsibility;

- 7.2. sports and sports-related organisations, including sports federations and governing bodies, physical education associations, coaching agencies and institutes, medical and pharmacological professions and the media. These organisations are invited to continue working on possible measures for enhancing complementary co-operation between the public authorities and the sports movement, particularly in fighting corruption. The commercial sector, including sports goods manufacturers, retailers and marketing agencies, also has a responsibility to contribute to the promotion of sports ethics and fair play;
 - 7.3. individuals, including parents, teachers, coaches, referees, officials, sports leaders, administrators, journalists, doctors and pharmacists, top-level athletes who serve as role models, and persons who work on a voluntary or professional basis. As spectators, individuals may also have responsibilities complementary to those of active sport-people, such as promoting and disseminating best practices.
8. Each of these institutions and individuals has a responsibility and a role to play. This Code of Sports Ethics is addressed to them. It will only be effective if all involved in sport are prepared to take on the responsibilities identified in the code.

Governments

9. Governments have the following responsibilities:
- 9.1. to encourage the adoption of high ethical standards in all areas of society where sport is present, to improve controls with regard to integrity and ethics in funding of amateur and leisure sport;
 - 9.2. to stimulate and support those organisations and individuals who have demonstrated ethical principles in their sports-related activities;
 - 9.3. to co-operate in promoting and monitoring the implementation of the Code of Sports Ethics;
 - 9.4. to encourage physical education and sports teachers and instructors to give the promotion of sports ethics a central place in school curricula and refer to the positive contribution of sport to humankind and society;
 - 9.5. to commit to preserving the integrity of sport, under threat especially from match fixing, trafficking in young sportspeople and illegal betting;
 - 9.6. to support as far as possible all initiatives aimed at promoting sports ethics, particularly among young people, and encouraging institutions to make sports ethics a central priority;
 - 9.7. to continue, in co-operation with the sports movement, the Monitoring Group of the Anti-Doping Convention (ETS No. 135)

and the Standing Committee of the European Convention on Spectator Violence and Misbehaviour at Sports Events and in particular at Football Matches (ETS No. 120), the promotion and monitoring of Recommendation Rec(2001)6 on the prevention of racism, xenophobia and racial intolerance in sport;

- 9.8. to encourage research both nationally and internationally in order to improve our understanding of the complex issues surrounding young people's involvement in sport, and to identify the extent of poor behaviour and the opportunities for promoting sports ethics;
- 9.9. to stress the importance of the complementary relationship between physical and psychological health;
- 9.10. to share knowledge with regard to emotional health and provide training in handling the emotions associated with participation in sport;
- 9.11. to combat the use of genetic engineering for purposes contrary to sports ethics.

Sport and sport-related organisations

10. Sports and sports-related organisations have the following responsibilities:

Concerning the framework and context of sports ethics:

- 10.1. to publish clear guidelines on what is considered to be ethical or unethical behaviour and ensure that, at all levels of participation and involvement, consistent and appropriate incentives and/or sanctions are applied;
- 10.2. to ensure that all decisions are made in accordance with a code of ethics for their sport which reflects the Code of Sports Ethics;
- 10.3. to raise awareness of the concept of sports ethics within their sphere of influence by means of campaigns, awards, educational material and training opportunities. Such initiatives should be closely monitored and their impact evaluated;
- 10.4. to develop training provision in the fields of emotional and relational intelligence, which contributes both to personal development and to the quality of interpersonal relations;
- 10.5. to establish systems which reward sports ethics and personal levels of achievement in addition to competitive success;
- 10.6. to consider and formulate rules governing the right to participate in competitions and the organisation of categories in competitions in the light of the principles of sports ethics;
- 10.7. to assist and support the media in highlighting the contribution made by sports ethics to education and society;

Concerning work with young people:

- 10.8. to ensure that the structure of competition acknowledges the special requirements of growing children and young people and provides the opportunity for graded levels of involvement from recreation to high-level competition;
- 10.9. to encourage modification of the rules to meet the special needs of young people and put the emphasis not only on success in competition but also on sports ethics;
- 10.10. to ensure that safeguards are in place within the context of an overall framework of support and protection for children, young people and women, both to protect them from sexual harassment and abuse and to prevent the exploitation of children, particularly those who demonstrate precocious ability;
- 10.11. to ensure that all those within or associated with a sports organisation who have responsibility for children and young people are qualified at an appropriate level to guide, train and educate them, and in particular that they understand the physiological and psychological changes associated with the child's process of development and that they are familiar with and take into account the emotional and relational functioning of human beings.

Individuals

11. Individuals have the following responsibilities:

Concerning personal behaviour:

- 11.1. to behave in a way which sets a good example and presents a positive role model for children and young people; to refrain in all circumstances from rewarding unfair play, demonstrating it personally or condoning it in others; and to take appropriate sanctions against such behaviour;
- 11.2. to ensure that their own level of training and qualification is appropriate to the needs of the child at the different stages of sporting commitment;

Concerning work with young people:

- 11.3. to make the health, safety and welfare of the child or young sportsperson the first priority and ensure that such considerations come before all else (reputation of the school, club, coach or parent);
- 11.4. to extend the initiatives taken by the international federations and organisations in order, if possible, to promote quality standards in respect of the activity of sports agents;

- 11.5. to provide a sporting experience for children that encourages a lifelong commitment to healthy physical activity;
- 11.6. to avoid treating children as small adults, but be aware of the physical and psychological changes which accompany their development and how these affect sporting performance;
- 11.7. to avoid placing expectations on children which they are unable to meet;
- 11.8. to make the participant's pleasure and enjoyment the priority and never exert undue pressure on the child which impinges on their right to freely choose to participate;
- 11.9. to take the same level of interest in all young people regardless of their talent and emphasise and reward personal levels of achievement and skill acquisition in addition to competitive success;
- 11.10. to be attentive and responsive to children's needs, so that each child feels appreciated as an individual, irrespective of his or her sporting prowess;
- 11.11. to encourage young children:
 - to devise their own games with their own rules, to take on the roles of coach, teacher, official or referee in addition to that of participant;
 - to devise their own incentives and sanctions for fair or unfair play; and
 - to take personal responsibility for their actions;
- 11.12. to provide young people and their families with as much information as possible to ensure awareness of the potential risks and attractiveness of reaching high levels of performance.

Conclusion

12. To succeed in promoting and developing sport and involvement in sport, respect and education are crucial to the concept of sports ethics.

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The major role of the Council of Europe and the Enlarged Partial Agreement on Sport (EPAS) in addressing the new challenges to sports ethics was confirmed by the 11th Council of Europe Conference of Ministers responsible for Sport, held in Athens on 11 and 12 December 2008. A political impetus was given on 16 June 2010 by the Committee of Ministers, with the adoption of an updated version of the Code of Sports Ethics (Recommendation CM/Rec(2010)9), emphasising the requisite co-ordination between governments and sports organisations.

The EPAS prepared the ministerial conference and stepped up its work in an international conference organised with the University of Rennes, which was attended by political leaders, athletes, researchers and officials from the voluntary sector. The key experiences described in the conference and the thoughts that it prompted are described in this publication. All the writers share the concern that the end result should be practical action – particularly in terms of the setting of standards – that falls within the remit of the EPAS and promotes the Council of Europe's core values.

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The Enlarged Partial Agreement on Sport is an agreement between a number of Council of Europe member states (34 as of 1 February 2011), which have decided to co-operate in the field of sports policy. As an "enlarged agreement", the EPAS is open to non-member states. It works in co-operation with relevant organisations, in particular with representatives of the sports movement.



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